

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: August 23, 1961

FROM : R. W. Smith *RS*

SUBJECT: MR. EDGAR C. BUNDY
 GENERAL CHAIRMAN
 CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
 WHEATON, ILLINOIS
 MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING
 CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

Purpose of Memorandum

The purpose of this memorandum is to make available to the Crime Records Division an analysis of available material written and circulated by Edgar C. Bundy.

Background

Memorandum R. W. Smith to W. C. Sullivan 8/11/61, captioned as above, stated that the Central Research Section was analyzing Bundy's writings, since Bundy had expressed, in a letter to the Director, extreme criticism of statements made by the Director and Sullivan in regard to the extent of communist penetration into our religious organizations.

Analysis of Bundy's Written Material

A review of Bundy's material reveals that he is a professional anticommunist who uses vague and nebulous terms. He is conducting a constant campaign against the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America (NCCCA). He is opposed to the NCCCA for theological reasons but uses the charge of communist infiltration in his attack against the NCCCA.

Bundy relies heavily on testimony given before a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) in 1953. While most of the testimony relates to the pre-World War II era, Bundy does not give dates for communist affiliation. He conveys an impression of current affiliation and indiscriminately lumps communist front groups with organizations which have not been cited.

Enclosure

JEK/JMS:lms (9)

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Hanning

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Section tickler

1 - J. E. Keating

J. M. Sizoo

SEP 6 1961

58

SEP 13 1961

ENCLOSURE

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memo Smith to Sullivan
Re: Edgar C. Bundy
General Chairman
Church League of America

Bufiles will show that Bundy could not prove any substantial communist infiltration into the leadership of the NCCCA at the present time and that his argument that there has been considerable communist infiltration of the NCCCA will collapse if he is confined to specifics instead of sweeping generalities.

(100-403529 Not Recorded 5/5/60)

Enclosed is a blind memorandum concerning Bundy, his activities, and his writings which has been prepared for the use of the Crime Record's Division in connection with contacts and sources unfamiliar with Bundy's true nature.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum and enclosure be forwarded to the Crime Records Division for appropriate handling.

97 *[Signature]* WES *[Signature]*

1 - Original
1 - Yellow file copy
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach

Mr. Hanning
Mr. Sullivan
1 - Section tickler
1 - J. M. Sizoo
1 - J. E. Keating

EDGAR C. BUNDY

Bundy
Edgar C. Bundy is the General Chairman of the Church League of America, 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois. Bundy has authored one book entitled Collectivism in the Churches. He is currently circulating a one-page promotion sheet for a textbook on communism entitled A Manual for Survival. Bundy is also the editor of News and Views, a monthly bulletin published by the Church League of America. For all practical purposes, the Church League of America is Bundy.

In addition to his publications, Bundy, posing as an expert, travels throughout the country giving lectures on communism. A current memorandum being circulated by Bundy reveals that his anticommunist activity can be a profitable venture. In this memorandum, the Church League of America advertises either a two- or three-day counter-subversive seminar. Anyone desiring such a seminar is required to gather a minimum of at least 50 persons. Each person who will attend the seminar is instructed to write a check, with the observation that it is tax deductible, to the Church League of America for 10 dollars. Thus, the Church League of America is guaranteed a minimum fee of \$500.00 for each seminar.

Bundy has found another money-making scheme by selling United States Government publications at a price higher than they can be obtained from the United States Government Printing Office. (100-158864-33)

Bundy claims that the Church League of America "has over 185,000 cross-referenced index cards on all organizations and individuals who have aided the cause of subversion over a period of years." In describing his source material, Bundy states: "In addition to the State and Federal Government reports, we have five tons of files, by actual shipping weight, consisting of the books, leaflets, flyers, minutes, and other propaganda material published and distributed by left-wing organizations." (Ibid.)

It is noted that Bundy refers to "left-wing organizations," but he does not identify them. This is typical of Bundy's writings in both News and Views and Collectivism in the Churches. He used the following terms in his book: Socialist clergymen, left-wing Protestant leaders, liberals, modernists, liberal church leaders, Social Gospellers, self-styled liberals, liberal clergymen, leftists, pro-communists, radical liberals, left-wing records, left-wing adherents, left-wing leaders, and left-wing associations. These vague and nebulous terms are used by Bundy to convey opprobrium on individuals and groups which are the targets of his scorn.

62-104576-46
NOTE: See memo Smith to Sullivan dated 8-23-61, captioned "Mr. Edgar C. Bundy, General Chairman, Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois, Miscellaneous Information Concerning Central Research Matter."

TMS:meh/maj
(10)

TELETYPE UNIT

A review of the material published by Bundy will reveal that he is conducting a constant campaign against the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America (NCCCA). From the standpoint of theology, Bundy is opposed to the "social action programs" of the NCCCA and to the Revised Standard Version of the Bible which was edited by the NCCCA. From the standpoint of anticommunism, Bundy's position is that there has been considerable communist infiltration of the leadership of the NCCCA and he equates anti-anticommunism with communism. In this manner, Bundy combines a profession of anticommunism with a theological argument against the NCCCA. He uses anticommunism and super-patriotism as a weapon against the NCCCA.

The following statement, taken from the July, 1960, issue of News and Views, illustrates Bundy's position in regard to the NCCCA: "This record of anti-anticommunism, Soviet and Communist coddling, meddling in purely secular matters, and carrying on brazenly every aspect of the modernist and quasi-Socialist 'social action' programs has been more than amply documented in this journal and numerous other unimpeachable sources."

To substantiate his argument that there has been considerable communist infiltration of the leadership of the NCCCA, Bundy relies heavily upon testimony before hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities during the Spring and Summer of 1953. At these hearings in New York City, five former members of the Communist Party testified concerning communist efforts to infiltrate churches in the United States. Of these five, only one was still a member of the Communist Party as late as 1949. None of the other four had been a member of the Communist Party after 1941. Thus, the main portion of Bundy's documentation is based on testimony that is eight years old. The firsthand knowledge upon which this testimony was based is at least twelve years old.

At one point in his book, Collectivism in the Churches, Bundy lists "prominent persons" in the NCCCA along with their so-called "left-wing affiliations" with 51 organizations. It is interesting that only 21 of those groups have been set forth in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications released in 1951 and 1957 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. At the same time, Bundy shows no basis for listing the other 30 of the 51 groups as "left-wing" except for stating that one group called for socialism. In addition, Bundy, in an apparent abuse of facts, calls affiliation with the Russian War Relief, Inc., "Communist-front association" although that organization is not listed in the Guide previously mentioned.

From a reading of Bundy's writings, one gets the impression that the affiliations of certain individuals with procommunist or "left-wing" causes are recent if not current. For nowhere does Bundy list the dates of affiliations of individuals with the 21 groups or the dates when the groups existed. It is noted that less than one third were active as late as 1958 when his book was published. A majority existed only prior to World War II when Americans expressed antipathy to fascism and/or during that War when the Western Allies were cooperating with the Soviet Union.

With over five tons of files and over 185,000 cross-referenced index cards on all organizations and individuals who have aided the cause of subversion, Bundy should be able to bring his documentation up-to-date and, in the spirit of Christianity and objectivity, he should be willing to do the following:

1. List all members of the NCCCA who are current members of the Communist Party. List all members of the NCCCA who have been members of the Communist Party and the dates of their membership.
2. List all former leaders of the NCCCA who have been members of communist front organizations. The list should include the position the person held in the NCCCA, the years in which this position was held, the name or names of the communist front organizations in which membership was held and the exact or approximate dates of this membership.
3. List all current leaders of the NCCCA who are or who have been members of communist front organizations. The list should include the position the person holds in the NCCCA, the name or names of the communist front organizations in which membership was held and the exact or approximate dates of this membership.

REC- 23

62-104576-47

September 5, 1961

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

I have received your letter postmarked August 28, 1961, and appreciate the interest which prompted you to communicate with me.

In response to your inquiry, I must advise you that the comments contained in my letter of July 19, 1961, to [Redacted] speak for themselves.

Sincerely yours,

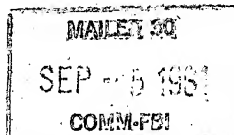
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: See Morrell to DeLoach memo dated 9-1-61, captioned as above.

BS:co
(4)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____



FBI - 762115E
REC.D - 28111111

66 SEP 13 1961

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEP 5 12 40 PM '61
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

SEP 1 3 24 PM '61
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

13 SEP 13 3 30 PM '61
FBI - JUSTICE
REC.D - 28111111

Florida

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

My minister, The [redacted]
a letter from you regarding a tape of the television-radio
appearance of Edgar Bundy on the "Central Florida Showcase",
and statements attributed to agents of your bureau by
Mr. Bundy. You stated that no agents of your bureau would
make such statements attributed to them. I presume that the
statement in question was the reference to the number of
communists and/or sympathizers in the clergy.

Now here is what I would like to know. Do I detect an inference
that not only were the individuals referred to by Mr. Bundy
not your representatives, as stated, but that the accusations
made by Mr. Bundy were false? I feel that this point is

one that should be clarified, otherwise, Mr. Bundy can not only be
accused of disseminating false information regarding the
F.B.I., but also may be accused of lying with respect to the
accusations made regarding the infiltration of the communists
into the ranks of the clergy.

Thanking you in advance for a reply at your convenience, I
remain,

Yours very truly

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Ingram _____
Miss Gandy _____

b6
b7C

AUG 30 1961

REC-23

62-104576-47

9-7
AUG 30 1961

CORRESPONDENCE

MMJ
ack let
9-1-61
BS:co

102
rell to DeLoach memo
9-1-61

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*

DATE: September 1, 1961

FROM : D. C. Morrell *DeLoach*SUBJECT:
 FLORIDA

Bm

Tolson	_____
Parsons	_____
Mohr	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

By letter postmarked 8-28-61, captioned individual advised

from the Director concerning a tape of a television-radio appearance of Edgar Bundy and statements attributed to Agents of the FBI by Bundy.

wonders if he detects inference in the Director's letter to that not only were the individuals referred to by Bundy not representatives of the FBI as stated, "but that the accusations made by Mr. Bundy were false?" seeks clarification and feels that Bundy cannot only be accused of disseminating false information about the FBI, but also may be accused of lying with respect to the accusations made regarding the infiltration of communists into the ranks of the clergy.

It is noted that by letter of 7-3-61, tape recording of a speech Bundy gave in Orlando, Florida, and requested the Director's comments as to whether Bundy's statements were correct. The tape was reviewed in Correspondence and Tours Section and contained Bundy's remarks concerning communist infiltration of churches; Bundy's answers to questions concerning whether current remarks by Assistant Director Sullivan were in conflict with prior statements of the Director; and the comment that FBI Agents, were planted in Ohio to inform the FBI regarding the 200 members of the Communist Party in Columbus, Ohio.

By letter 7-19-61 (copy attached), the Director advised that Assistant Director Sullivan's remarks in no way repudiated any statements by the Director. The Director then clarified his position on the subject of communism and religion. The Director also assured that the individuals referred to by Bundy as FBI Agents are not representatives of this Bureau, and pointed out that no representative of this Bureau would make such statements since information in our files is confidential and for official use only.

Enclosures *sent 9-5-61*BS:co
(2)

66 SEP 13 1961

EX-102

16 SEP 1961

CRIME RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
Re: Mr. James D. Hendrix, Jr.

Bufiles reflect Bundy is General Chairman of the Church League of America who tours the country speaking on communism, primarily before church and patriotic groups. Bufiles contain no information identifiable with [redacted]

OBSERVATIONS:

Bufiles contain no information identifiable with [redacted] [redacted] seems confused in his letter and appears to be seeking an elaboration of the reply which the Director sent [redacted] The Director's letter to [redacted] of 7-19-61 needs no clarification as the Director's comments were fully and clearly stated. If [redacted] is confused, it is a result of his own doing and it is felt he should receive a perfunctory reply. Such a reply is attached.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached perfunctory letter be sent to [redacted]

[Handwritten signatures and initials: "B", "H", "Deem", and others]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: September 1, 1961

FROM : Mr. R. O. L'Allier *L*SUBJECT: ^①EDGAR C. BUNDY
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

Bundy is a former Baptist minister who has been accusing various Protestant ministers and organizations of being infiltrated by communists. In the course of his activities Bundy claims to have been an intelligence officer in the Air Force (AF) during World War II and active in the AF Reserve.

Referral/Consult

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. L'Allier
- 1 - Mr. O'Connor

58 SEP 13 1961
 JOC:mar/nph (7)

REC-92
 SEP 8 1961

EX-107

62-1104576-49
 SEP 8 1961

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

Re: Edgar C. Bundy
Church League of America

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information. Liaison will follow with [redacted]
[redacted] regarding additional data concerning Bundy.

Joe

Wef

gals

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS/BR* DATE: August 11, 1961FROM : R. W. Smith *RB*SUBJECT: MR. EDGAR C. BUNDY
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WHEATON, ILLINOIS
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
DeLoach	✓
Evans	✓
Malone	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Ingram	✓
Gandy	✓

Purpose of Memorandum

The purpose of this memorandum is to point out some obvious falseness in the irrational diatribe presented by Edgar C. Bundy in the attached seven page letter to the Director and to recommend that Bundy's letter not be acknowledged.

Background

In his letter to the Director, Bundy is extremely critical of statements by the Director and Sullivan in regard to the extent of communist penetration into our religious organizations. Bundy, in his harangue, employs all the well-known tricks of the professional demagogue.

Bundy is the General Chairman of the Church League of America and claims to have formerly been a Major in Air Force Intelligence. He is also a former Baptist minister who does much lecturing around the country on communism. Bundy is typical of the irresponsible, irrational, "professional" anticommunists who make a living out of touring the country and charging fees for their lectures. Bundy's book, "Collectivism in the Churches," is an emotional attack against the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Bufiles reveal that Bundy has been the subject of an impersonation case; however, a violation was not established. Recently he has been selling U. S. Government documents at a price higher than they cost him.
(62-104576-23; 25)

Bundy wrote a letter to the Director on March 13, 1961. On a memorandum from Sullivan to Belmont dated March 17, 1961, Mr. Tolson noted: "Nothing will be gained by writing Bundy." The Director noted: "I concur."

(62-104576 Not Recorded 4/6/61)

Enclosure

JEK:meh

(7)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Section tickler
1 - J. E. Keating

66 SEP 13 1961

REC-100

62-104576-50

SEP 11 1961

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memo Smith to Sullivan
Re: Mr. Edgar C. Bundy

Statement of Richard Arens

To substantiate his criticism of statements by the Director and Sullivan, on page six of his letter, Bundy refers to the statement which was made by Richard Arens, Chief Council for the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) during the hearing given the Secretary of the Air Force, the Honorable Dudley C. Sharpe, before the Committee on 2/25/60, at which time he said: "Thus far of the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist front records or records of service to Communist causes. The aggregate affiliations of the leadership instead of being in the hundreds as the Chairman first indicated is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands, and we have yet to complete our check which would certainly suggest on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee that the statement there is infiltration of fellow-travelers in churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement."

In regard to Arens' statement, "over 100 persons in leadership capacity," the Bureau requested a list of names from the HCUA. On 3/30/61, a list of 160 names was furnished. The background information furnished was very meager and no subversive data was included for any of the individuals listed. We checked the names of the 160 individuals against the names listed in the organizational setup of the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCCC) as set out in the "Yearbook of American Churches for 1960," a book issued in September, 1959, by the NCCC, and only 19 of the 160 are listed therein. None of these 19 individuals were on our Security Index in April, 1960, and none had been identified as past or present members of the Communist Party. Of these 19, only seven were listed as current national officers of the NCCC. Bureau files did not contain any identifiable data of a subversive nature concerning two of the seven. Of the remaining five, the latest activity of a subversive nature concerning any of them was in 1954. The remaining 12 individuals of the 19 held lesser positions in the NCCC. Bureau files did not contain any identifiable data of a subversive nature concerning five of them and the latest subversive activity on the part of any of the other seven was in 1952.

None of the 160 names furnished by the HCUA were those of individuals on our Security Index and none had been positively identified as Communist Party members, either past or present. (100-403529 Not Recorded 5/5/60)

Memo Smith to Sullivan
Re: Mr. Edgar C. Bundy

Use of the Director's Statements

On page three of his letter, Bundy refers to the Director's article entitled "God or Chaos?". This article appeared in Red Book magazine for February, 1949. Bundy also refers to the Director's testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947. It is noted that the article appeared twelve years ago and the testimony was given fourteen years ago. Bundy does not take into consideration that circumstances have changed since the first Smith Act trial in New York City in 1949. The communists' efforts have been thwarted by our internal security program; the investigation, arrest and prosecution of a number of Communist Party functionaries; and the rising tide of public opposition to the communist movement. Furthermore, in the 1947 and 1949 statements quoted by Bundy, the Director was alerting Americans to the menace of atheistic communism and its efforts to penetrate the churches. The Director did not comment on the extent of this penetration.

Bundy does refer to the testimony before the Sub-Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives on March 6, 1961, in which the Director stated: "They have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity: youth groups, television, radio and motion picture industries, church and school, educational and cultural groups, the press, nationality minority groups and civil and political units." While the Director speaks of communist activities in all mass-type organizations of our society, Bundy places emphasis on the fact that the Director mentioned the church. It is one thing for the Director to consistently point out that the communists have infiltrated the church and another thing for Bundy to argue that testimony "demonstrates a considerable and 'substantial' penetration of the church group by pro-communist forces."

On page five of his letter, Bundy states that he is chagrined to "find left-wing pastors using speeches of Mr. Sullivan, letters from him and letters from (the Director) couched in general terms, which seem to state that there has been no 'substantial' penetration of religious groups by Leftists." It is to be noted that some of the most respected clergymen in the country have used Sullivan's remarks and quite properly. Bundy is quick to charge anyone who disagrees with him as being "left-wing." It is noted that Sullivan's speeches, Sullivan's letters and the Director's letters do not use the term "Leftists." In fact, Bundy even refers to the Director's letter to [redacted] Florida, dated 7/19/61. In that letter the Director stated: "In my book, 'Masters of Deceit,' I pointed out that it is a continuing program of the Communist Party to attempt infiltration of every part of our society, including the field of religion. This is still true today. Fortunately,

b6
b7C

Memo Smith to Sullivan
Re: Mr. Edgar C. Bundy

this evil conspiracy has not made any substantial penetration into our religious organizations." It is noted that the Director did not use the term, "Leftists" and continued to warn of the attempt of the Communist Party to infiltrate religion.

Use of Nebulous Terms

Bundy repeatedly confuses nebulous terms, such as radical, left-wing, and leftists, with communism. On page two of his letter he refers to "radical ministers." On page five he mentions "left-wing pastors." Also on page five he speaks of "penetration of religious groups by Leftists." The term, "left-wingers" is used on page five. On page seven he refers to "left-wing churchmen." At no time does he define these terms.

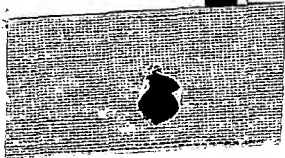
Analysis of Bundy's Material

The Central Research Section is analyzing available material written or circulated by Bundy and will submit a detailed rebuttal.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memo and the attached letter from Bundy to the Director be referred to Assistant Director DeLoach. There is no need to acknowledge Bundy's letter.

S *W* *Q* *W. E. S.* *W*



PHONE Montrose 8-3630

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

1407 HILL AVENUE • WHEATON, ILLINOIS

GENERAL CHAIRMAN
Edgar C. Bundy

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. William T. Bruckner
Mr. Edgar C. Bundy
Mr. Richard M. Dilworth
Captain Lewis S. Drill
Mr. John M. Hughey
Mrs. Walter A. Krafft
Mrs. J. Walter Larkin
The Rev. Cameron MacKenzie
The Rev. Victor E. Sears, D.D.
Mr. Harry N. Stamper
Mr. Ira E. Westbrook
Mr. Judson P. Wetherby
Mr. Edwin L. Wiegand
Mrs. H. Dillon Winship, Sr.

NATIONAL LAYMEN'S COUNCIL

August 2, 1961

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Justice Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Edgar C. Bundy

We have been receiving numerous photocopies of letters which you and Mr. Sullivan have been writing to various church people over the country.

I noticed that you and Mr. Sullivan seem to agree that there has been no "substantial penetration into our religious organizations."

Many people are writing to us and wondering what you mean by the word "substantial" since there has been substantial testimony in the form of hundreds of pages given under oath to the Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Committee and various State Investigative Committees over the country by people who served as informants (not Agents) for the F.B.I., as well as former leaders of the Communist party who disaffected and gave this valuable testimony to the Committees of the Congress.

Since the testimony of these people has never been

AUG 8 1961

EXP. PROC.

See memo Smith to Sullivan dtd 8-11-61. J.E.K. me

18 ENCLS.

ENCL. BEHIND FILE

EX-116

REC-61

62-104576-51

SEP 12 1961

56 SEP 15 1961



successfully challenged under oath or they have not been sued for perjury, we have been using this testimony publicly over radio and television, before thousands of people throughout the United States and in our publications, some pertinent copies of which we are enclosing for your perusal.

If at any time any of your agents, or anybody of your headquarters staff sees anything printed in these issues of News and Views and in our reprints of Congressional testimony which is not factual, we would certainly like this to be brought to our attention.

When radical ministers write into you and try to absolve the field of religion from being penetrated by communist influence, and they receive letters back from you and Mr. Sullivan using the generalized terms, they then proceed to use your replies as weapons against many of us who have been serving our great patriotic organizations, the intelligence branches of our armed forces as staff officers, and who have also appeared under oath in executive and open sessions quite a number of times before Federal and State committees.

We are seeking to combat the communist menace in this country not by means of "hysteria" or "alarmist tactics" but by the use of documented material which has been given under oath to the committees of the United States Congress and which we uphold to the nth degree.

I know that it is not within the jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to identify names of

churchmen, church organizations, et cetera, but when you say, as you did in your article entitled, "God Or Chaos?", which appeared in Red Book Magazine for February 1949, copies of which were handed to me in your headquarters by some of your own headquarter's personnel several years ago, "Many Communist fronts have operated under the guise of some church commission or religious body. It is ghastly to see the monster Atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks to destroy," then we must answer individuals when they write in to us and ask us: "what churches?"

Since you or Mr. Sullivan cannot identify any of these churches or communist fronts, we have only the committees of the Congress to turn to and the testimony which has been given to these committees. If we are wrong in doing this, we would like to know so, as we have been defending the very committees which are under such terrible attack by the communists, their fellow travelers and sympathizers and just plain dupes today.

When you say in your testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947, entitled "Menace Of Communism", page 11, as follows: "I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism," and people write in to us and want to know what ministers, then, again, we can only turn to the testimony given to the Committees of the Congress in which specific names were given by various witnesses under oath, since you cannot give out the names of these ministers.

When you say as you did in your testimony before the Sub-Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives on March 6, 1961 on page 425 as follows: "they have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity: Youth groups, television, radio and motion picture industries, church and school, educational and cultural groups, the press, nationality minority groups and civil and political units" and people ask us what church activity, then again we can only turn to the testimony as given under oath to the Congress since you are not permitted to name the church activity.

When Mr. Louis Cassels, a religion editor of United Press International, and a propagandist for the National Council of Churches, comes out with a syndicated column that appears in United Press International serviced newspapers throughout the country and states that he sits down with an official of the F.B.I., and the F.B.I. official tells him that he is concerned with the charges being made of communist penetration of religious groups, and Mr. Cassels then proceeds to absolve the National Council of Churches of any penetration of left-wing activity, and smears those who are using Congressional testimony regarding some of these same leaders, we wonder if it is within the jurisdiction of the F.B.I. to be sitting down with men like Mr. Cassels and making such statements to him. We understood that the F.B.I. was not allowed to do this. Is this correct?

Although many people have confused F.B.I. "agents" with F.B.I. "informants" we have always tried to make this clear to our audiences throughout the nation, and in everything we print. We realize that [redacted] was never an agent of the F.B.I., although he was an informant. We realize that this is true of [redacted] and others

whose testimony we have complete here in our files, incidentally, one of several such complete files in the entire United States.

We are doing our best to straighten out in the mind of the public the difference between the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Investigative Committees of the Congress. I note from your testimony given to the committees of the Congress that you have been very much in favor of these committees and have also acknowledged the fact that they have been under the same vicious attacks which your bureau has been under from the same sources over a period of years.

We are somewhat chagrined, after supporting the work of these Congressional Committees and your own Bureau, to find left-wing pastors using speeches of Mr. Sullivan, letters from him and letters from yourself, couched in general terms, which seem to state that there has been no "substantial" penetration of religious groups by Leftists, in the light of hundreds of pages of testimony which have been given under oath to the Congress. We notice that you use the word "target" of penetration along with the words "substantial" and "influence".

If great church bodies, such as the United Church of Christ which was formed in Philadelphia several weeks ago, come out and vote for the recognition of Red China by this government, seating her in the United Nations, destruction of our defenses, and castigates our own government for having had any part in the Cuban invasion, we can only conclude that somewhere in that demonination there has been "influence" on the part of "left-wingers who are using a great church body for propaganda purposes. Upoh digging

into their social action commissions, we find the same group of people who have supported communist front organizations, petitions and enterprises, which have been exposed years ago by the committees of the Congress.

I know that you cannot comment on the statement which was made by Mr. Richard Arens, Chief Council for the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the hearing given the Secretary of the Air Force, the Honorable Dudley C. Sharpe, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 25, 1960, at which time he said:

"Thus far of the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist front records or records of service to Communist causes. The aggregate affiliations of the leadership instead of being in the hundreds as the Chairman first indicated is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands, and we have yet to complete our check which would certainly suggest on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee that the statement there is infiltration of fellow-travelers in churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement."

But, it does seem to us, although you cannot comment on this statement or name the names, that this certainly demonstrates a considerable and "substantial" penetration of the church group by pro-communist forces.

Such statements as you made in your letter to the [redacted]

[redacted]
Florida, and in many other letters, copies of which we have received in this headquarters, only serve to raise questions in the minds of the people who see these letters -

b6
b7c

- 7 -

many of them reproduced in church bulletins by left-wing churchmen - as to the veracity of the witnesses who have appeared under oath before the Congressional Committees and have given voluminous testimony as to communist penetration of religious groups.

Very truly yours,

Edgar C. Bundy

Edgar C. Bundy
General Chairman

EB/de

62-104576-51

WEATHER

Shreveport and Vicinity—Partly cloudy with little change in temperatures today and tomorrow; slight chance of showers tomorrow.
 Louisiana—Partly cloudy and mild today and tomorrow; widely scattered showers west.
 Arkansas—Continued warm today and tomorrow; widely scattered showers today.
 East Texas—Partly and mild today and tomorrow with a few isolated thundershowers.

The Shreveport Times

Ninetieth Year of Leadership in the Ark-La-Tex

Vol. 90—No. 147

Times Radio KWKH—Dial 1130

Shreveport, Louisiana, Sunday, April 23, 1961

Telephone Number 423-7131

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Seven Sections - 78 Pages

Fifteen Cents

INTENSIVE ST. MARK'S STUDY

U.S. Episcopal Church Urged to Leave NCC

The vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church has passed a resolution calling for the withdrawal of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States from the National Council of Churches of Christ.

Action by the vestry came Friday immediately after approval of a comprehensive 12,000-word report declaring that the NCC is a "harmful and dangerous institution." The report was compiled by a six-man committee of prominent Shreveporters, all members of St. Mark's.

St. Mark's is the largest Episcopal church in the diocese of Louisiana.

Completion of the study required 10 months and it is believed

Major Excerpts from Committee Report on Pages 2B and 3B

to be the most extensive investigation of the NCC ever made.

The document criticizes the general board of the council for allegedly departing from matters of religion by political pronouncements on questions of "huffing constitutional law." In addition, it challenges the authority of the council to express itself in such cases as "representative of 39 million American Protestants."

The report draws the conclusion that the NCC has become a "Protestant political hierarchy" operating under the pretense of promoting Christianity. And it declares that the council actually is seeking one political world rather than striving for unity among Christians.

Although concluding that the NCC itself is not Communist in nature, the report declares that the organization definitely has been an aid to the Communist con-

(Continued on Page Four-A)

4-A Sunday, April 23, 1961 THE SHREVEPORT TIMES

Episcopal Church Withdrawal From NCC Urged by St. Mark's

(Continued From Page One)

spiracy. It points out that many of the top officials including its past presidents, have been involved in numerous Communist front or pro-Communist propaganda efforts.

The vestry committee cited a number of instances when the council has issued pronouncements paralleling Communist propaganda. The report rapped the activities of certain individual NCC officials commenting that they either "wittingly or unwittingly" have furthered causes favorable to Communists.

The report is critical of the church organization for alleged lobbying activities and it denounces a reading list, recommended by NCC for use by its churches, for obscene language in the books. Mentioned specifically are passages from "approved" reading material which employ descriptive phrases even more low than vulgar terminology usually found in the worst of pornographic literature.

The committee also raises objections to the reading list because of the affiliation of a number of the authors with Communist front organizations. And it points out that at least two of the authors have been identified as active Communists.

There are 33 pages of detailed information on every phase of NCC activity in the document. Also, the report is accompanied by an appendix of more than 16,000 words which includes much of the information derived from the vestrymen's research and the evidence for their case against the council.

The committee was appointed on June 13, 1960, by St. Mark's vestry to determine its satisfaction whether the NCC is subversive.

Members of the committee were: Joseph L. Hargrove, well-known local oil man, oil consultant and a partner in the firm of Hargrove Oil and Gas Co.

Henry Linam, prominent Shreveport oil operator and former president of Standard Oil of Venezuela.

Charlton Lyons Sr., Shreveport financier who has long taken leading roles in oil and gas circles, political and civic enterprises.

John M. Madison, an attorney, vice president of the Caddo Parish School Board and active leader in Shreveport civic and legal organizations.

Charles T. McDord Jr., another prominent oil man who is owner of McDord Oil Co., president of Wilcox Crude Oil Corp. and has participated in many local civic

activities. The report notes that the NCC always acts in controversial political matters on the general ground that they involve Christian principles. However, the document notes

possessing only a half of vote for all Protestantism in the state of Louisiana. Those representatives in both are members of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Inc., in Louisiana a Negro branch of the Baptist Communion.

ing led by the AFL-CIO which doated \$200,000 to the NCC.

AIR FORCE MANUAL
 The report also refers to a manual distributed by the U.S. Air Force last year, dealing with Communist infiltration into the churches, and said the NCC made no attempt to refute the charges.

After the publication of the manual, Chairman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee invited top officials of the NCC to appear before the committee to refute the accusations.

However, the local group was informed by the House committee that the invitation was not accepted.

The report expresses the opinion that the instance involving the manual merely is indicative of the general attitude of the NCC.

The vestry report deals with criticism of individual leaders of the NCC in regard to their activities which have furthered Communist causes, and the appendix includes a lengthy enumeration of the activities of Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, immediate past president of the council who has been under frequent criticism.

The information, which was furnished by the House Un-American Activities Committee, cites sources listing Dr. Dahlberg as an initiator of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, which is labeled "subversive." Also it reveals that he signed a letter released by the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, another Communist front organization and he is credited with helping formulate a conference against the North Atlantic Pact.

PACIFIST ACTIVITIES
 The report also points out that he drew criticism for pacifist activities as a member of the National Committee of the Church Peace Mission.

The vestry committee made a point of explaining clearly that Dr. Dahlberg's membership in these organizations never has been proved. But they stated that his only denial is in the form of a letter on file with the NCC "to be displayed only upon request."

In the appendix, the vestrymen express the opinion that Dr. Dahlberg's failure to "clarify, deny or confirm the allegations" reflected on all 34 communions of the NCC. And they describe the council's course in the matter as "irresponsible" in that it failed to step actively into the situation.

PURELY POLITICAL
 Delving further into past activities of the council, the local group uncovered numerous other pronouncements on "purely political problems" such as ethics in agriculture, international aid and trade, immigration and permanent universal military training which it opposed. All the pronouncements were issued as representing the thinking of American Protestants.

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Vestry Gives Approval to Report on NCC

On the basis of a committee report of the activities of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, the vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church Friday afternoon passed a resolution enumerating its major grievances against the organization.

In addition, the vestry voted to petition the Bishop of Louisiana to take the necessary steps in moving to withdraw the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America from the council.

The resolution read:

Whereas, at a meeting of the vestry of the St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, La., held on June 13, 1960, the rector of the church was instructed to appoint a committee to study the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America (NCCCA); and

Whereas, said committee was immediately thereafter appointed and after extensive research has rendered a report of its findings and conclusions, fully documented; and

Whereas, said committee has made numerous interim reports to this vestry, provoking on such occasions general and lengthy discussions of various aspects of the matter, and has in advance of the special vestry meeting at which these resolutions are adopted provided copies of its final report to all members of this vestry for their individual study and consideration; and

Whereas, among other things, this report discloses that the said National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America has done and is doing a great number of things inconsistent with the best interest of our church and contrary to the purposes for which it was formed, among other things:

CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES
 (1) Speaking out, as the official voice of Protestantism in America, on such controversial issues as federal aid to education, the right-to-work laws, the ethical considerations of the steel dispute, the seating of Red China in the United Nations, etc.;

(2) Participating in lobbying activities before the United States Congress in fields of economic and political controversy;

(3) Refusing to repudiate mistakes or to correct misinterpretations in the press regarding actions taken by the NCCCA except in those instances where such mistakes or misinterpretations are contrary to what the professional

time allowing the public to gain the impression that it is voicing the views of 39,000,000 Protestants in the United States; and

Whereas, the activities of said NCCCA are, in the opinion of the Vestry of the said St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Shreveport, La., contrary to the best interests of the Episcopal Church and in particular 'contrary to the best interest of the members of this church.

Now, Therefore, Be it Resolved:

(1) That the report of the committee be and it is hereby approved and adopted as a report of this vestry; that the same be released to the press and other news media; that copies of said report and of these resolutions be

forwarded to the bishop of Louisiana, the suffragan bishop of Louisiana, to the vestries of all Episcopal churches in Louisiana and to such others as said special committee may deem appropriate; and,

(2) That the Bishop of Louisiana be and he is hereby petitioned immediately to take such steps as may be necessary and expedient to cause the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to withdraw from the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States.

activities.

James A. Van Hook, a prominent attorney and also an active worker in civic projects, including a term as chairman of the Community Council.

WITHDRAWAL URGED

The resolution urging withdrawal of the Episcopal Church from the NCC was approved after the vestry acted on the report Friday afternoon. It urges that the bishop of Louisiana "immediately take such steps as may be necessary and expedient to cause the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to withdraw from the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States."

Their investigation included a thorough study of files on the NCC compiled by various persons through the years. Also, the committee invited Dr. Quinter Hiller, assistant general secretary of the NCC, here in person for an eight-hour session of questioning which was transcribed by a court reporter.

Portions of the transcript have been included in the appendix.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (commonly referred to as the NCC) was formed in 1950 as a merger of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and seven smaller religious organizations. In the present membership are most of the major historical bodies of American Christianity except the Roman Catholic Church.

The council embraces 34 Protestant Communions with 39 million members—almost all the larger and many of the smaller Protestant denominations. The membership includes the Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, the Lutheran communions; both the Presbyterian Church U.S. and the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. and Eastern Orthodox churches.

The Southern Baptist Convention, which includes most Shreveport Baptist Churches, is not affiliated with the council.

The NCC is headed by a General Assembly of approximately 800 persons who meet every three years.

GOVERNING BODY

However, the General Board of the Council is the day-to-day governing body of the organization and is composed of representatives of the various constituent Communions selected as the national level. Membership varies at intervals as the result of fractional voting but in December, 1960, according to the report, there were a total of 173 votes divided among 278 members.

Representation in both bodies is determined for the most part on each Communion's total membership.

The vestry report notes critically that an extremely small representation is required for a quorum (20 votes) to conduct business for the General Board.

Consequently, the report states, a mere eleven and a half per cent of the total voting membership of the General Board, if it is from twenty-nine and a half per cent of the Communions, is a quorum and can conduct business. And it stresses the fact that only 11 votes are required for a majority of such a quorum.

The Vestrymen describe the General Board as a body created through a somewhat "nebulous" chain of authority that has resulted in only two representatives, each

tions the "right," either morally or constitutional of the council to determine the Christian position in any matters of political, legislative or governmental nature.

The vestrymen point up that there is no question of freedom of the pulpit. But they declare that by its political activities, the NCC has carried political discord into the many facets of Protestant Christianity, "building fires of destruction under the tenets of Christian Faith, Fellowship and charity."

'HARMFUL AND DANGEROUS'

Elaborating on other ways in which it found the council "harmful and dangerous," the committee indicated that the size of the organization's professional staff largely is responsible for far-flung activities of the NCC. And they expressed the opinion that the staff is controlled by a "hard core" of professionals, many of whom have never served pastorates.

According to figures obtained from Dr. Miller, there is a total of 6,000 NCC employees including executive and administrative officials and personnel of the various departments and divisions of the council.

The report points out that the number of persons on the staff enables the NCC to produce a tremendous amount of propaganda—professionally handled publicity, speeches, reports, General Board and Assembly pronouncements. In addition, workers are available for lobbying activities such as appearances before Congressional committees, the vestrymen noted. And all evidence indicates that the propaganda follows lines set by the General Board although Protestants, they concluded.

Discussing the charge of Communism within the NCC, the committee commented that to its knowledge, the council never has been listed by the four major governmental bodies which investigate such matters: the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Attorney General's Office and the California House Un-American Activities Committee.

PARALLELS CONSPIRACY

However, the report lists the following examples of utterances and activities of the council as closely paralleling those of the Communist conspiracy:

The Cleveland Conference which urged the seating of Red China, the abolition of universal military training and the abandonment of such military alliances as SEATO. Proposals for alterations to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which the report indicates ultimately would destroy it. Criticism of the film "Operation Abolition," exposing Communist instigation of the student riots in San Francisco in 1960.

Efforts urging the repeal of the McCarran Act which restricts immigrants and also was opposed by the Communists (the vestrymen point out that the act serves to bar the entry of more Communist spies into the country).

According to the report, the NCC takes a stand in direct contrast to its position on the McCarran Act by opposing the entry of Mexican migratory workers in California. But the committee also supplies the information that the fight against Mexican "brazeros" is in

the activities of Dr. Carter Blake, another past president of the NCC, also are mentioned specifically as furthering causes favorable to the Communists. He drew criticism for signing a petition to Congress published as a newspaper advertisement demanding the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee which also has been attacked by Communist front organizations.

LOBBYING ACTIVITIES

Turning to other areas of criticism of the council, the vestry committee reported that Dr. Miller admitted that the NCC does participate in activities which can only be defined as lobbying. And they indicated that examples of such activities include official opposition to right-to-work laws.

According to the report, the council currently is studying a document which it prepared on "The Ethical Aspects of Inflation and the Ethics and Economics of Defense Spending and Disarmament." Another project mentioned is a church-wide program on the role that churches can play in the use and conservation of natural resources.

Reflecting the opinion that the "hard core" of professionals has extended its influence into every branch of the NCC, the report lashes out even at the United Church Women. The organization is the sponsor of such projects as the World Day of Prayer observance held annually in Shreveport and cities throughout the nation.

However, the vestrymen uncovered evidence recorded in the Workbook for the Fifth General Assembly, December, 1960, to support their theory. They relate that the United Church Women have offered testimony on the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and foreign aid; have given statements on immigration legislation, appropriations for UNICEF and appropriations for the UN Technical Assistance program.

In addition, instances are cited in which the women's organization has supported the establishment of the Development Loan Fund of the United States of America, the Special Fund and the International Development Assn. of the United Nations and has adopted resolutions asking for the repeal of the Connally Amendment.

DISBANDED LAY COMMITTEE

They recall that in 1955, the General Board disbanded a lay committee which objected to pronouncements not allowed consideration by its members. And they refer to a report by J. Howard Pew, who served as the lay chairman for the council as substantial evidence for their claims.

The sixth section of the report is devoted to a pamphlet published by the NCC in 1957 and entitled "The Negro American—a Reading List." The publication for churches in the council includes recommended literature for children

core of the NCCCA believes and professes;

(4) Making no attempt to determine the attitude of the individual churches but at the same

from the pre-school ages through high schools as well as books suggested for adults.

The vestrymen review briefly several of the books for adults which employ the most obscene language to describe intimate sexual activities in lurid detail. They also discuss extensively the authors of several of the recommended books, pointing out that at least five of them either are active Communists or affiliated with Communist front organizations.

According to the report, the author whose works are most numerous on the list, is Langston Hughes, who was identified before a Congressional investigating body as an active Communist. He is listed as a member of at least 19 subversive organizations. In addition, he is the author of a blasphemous poem included in the appendix, which is entitled "Goodbye Christ."

Among the authors of other books on the list is Margaret Halsey, listed as a member of at least three organizations which have been cited as subversive. She also is listed as a supporter of Communist book shops, a signer of the Communist Party nominating petition and a sponsor of the World Peace Conference.

Also authors of NCC recommended literature, Victor Perlo, Herbert Aptheker and W. E. B. DuBois, all have long records of association with Communist organizations, according to the report.

The vestrymen related that they questioned Dr. Miller extensively about the list and that he admitted that its release was a "mistake." However, they indicated that his attitude expressed embarrassment rather than regret.

They also quoted a letter from Dr. Roy Ross, general secretary of the NCC as follows:

"I think that the greatest harm that may come out of the issuing of the book list is the misuse of it by enemies of the council who have distorted the nature of the list and who have misrepresented the purpose for which it was issued."

The report concludes that Dr. Ross' statement typifies the attitude of indifference to the effect on others reflected throughout the professional administration of the organization. And they declare that rather than serving as a great cohesive power as it was intended, the NCC by its actions is splitting the churches wide open.

Church Council Called Dangerous and Harmful

Political Propaganda Hit In St. Mark's Report

(Continued From Preceding Page.)

in the General Board—30 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 24.2-1, June 4, 1958: Protesting that there might be too much secrecy in the American government concerning control of armaments and the use of space. The pronouncement was passed with 57 favorable votes—30 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 20.2-1, June 6, 1956: A demand for freeing of all Japanese war prisoners. Passed by 67 affirmative votes, 20 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 21.2a, December 2, 1959: Covers ethics in industrial relations. Passed with 73 favorable votes, 14 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 30.1-1, February 25, 1960: Dealing with health services. Became the position of the NCCCA through 48 favorable votes, 39 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 7.2-1, May 18, 1954: This Pronouncement on technical assistance to foreign countries became a policy of the NCCCA "as representative of" 34 Protestant Communions, with 39,000,000 members, by a vote of 31 for 6, against, and 0 abstentions. It is the smallest total vote recorded for any Pronouncement available to the Vestry Committee from 1951 to the present.

Other examples of positions taken by the NCCCA through Pronouncements of its General Board—approved by less than a majority of the Board's total votes—could be cited, but the above are typical. As typical examples of positions taken by the NCCCA on purely political problems in which there is certain to be disagreement in almost any group of any type that can be brought together, we cite the following General Board Pronouncements enacted by voice vote:

PRONOUNCEMENT 2.1-2, June 4, 1953, Agriculture: Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy. No vote record available.

PRONOUNCEMENT 4.1-1, December 5, 1957: International Aid and Trade. No vote record available.

Discussions and amplifications on some of these Pronouncements are found in the Appendix.

Acts on Various Disputed Issues

The NCCCA also has taken specific action on controversial political no-

California House Un-American Activities Committee, which has conducted years of investigation into Communist activities, particularly in California.

But there is room for discussion of the extent to which activities or Pronouncements of the NCCCA or of high officials within it may have paralleled propaganda of the Communists.

The NCCCA leader who has been attacked most strongly as furthering causes which the Communists wish furthered, whether wittingly or unwittingly, is Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, immediate past President of the NCCCA. Since the controversy concerning Dr. Dahlberg is an area of criticism which could be extended to include many other prominent leaders, such as Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who is mentioned elsewhere in this Report, the Vestry Committee thinks that it should be the subject of a separate report. However, since it has received a great deal of national publicity, many sincere Christians are concerned about the discredit which has been brought on the constituent Communions and the laity, whether wittingly or unwittingly. Therefore, we include a report of it, containing our opinions, in the Appendix as Section J, pages xx through xxvi.

Activities Parallel The Communists

Some of the utterances and activities emanating from or promulgated by the NCCCA have closely paralleled those of the Communist conspiracy. The following are examples:

1. The Cleveland Conference . . . urged the seating of Red China.

2. The Cleveland Conference urged abolition of universal military training; so do the Communists.

3. The Cleveland Conference urged abandonment of military alliances such as SEATO. The Communists have long fought against our military alliances.

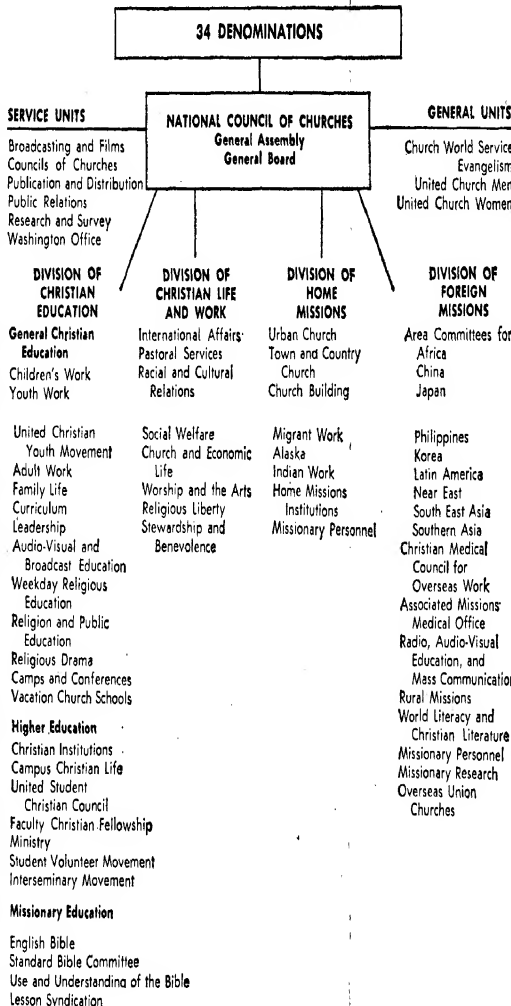
5. The NCCCA is bitterly opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has proposed what amounts to its dissolution, by offering alterations which would in effect destroy it. Mr. Hoover wrote on Page 194 of "Masters of Deceit" the following:

"A primary tactic of the Communist Party is to preserve the legal status of the Party. Thus, any organization which has the duty to investigate or expose Communist activity is singled out for attack. For years the Party has campaigned against the House Committee on Un-American

PROGRAMS

From this vast array of U.S. denominations and church members, more than 5,000 lay men and women and clergy, appointed by their denominations, from every state in the union, serve on Council committees and commissions, making the decisions on the Council's policies and programs in the various areas of its activity.

The programs which the denominations carry on through the National Council may be briefly indicated by the following divisional and departmental chart.



ORGANIZATION CHART of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., showing scope of the executive and administrative setup operating in behalf of 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members. Two hundred pro-

fessional executive employees, 600 others at clerical and similar levels, plus 5,000 unpaid Department, Division and Committee workers carry out its programs. The above chart is reproduced from an official booklet of the National Council.

that they would approve it, and would help it to the fullest extent of the NCCCA.

N.C.C. Group of 100

Called on President

Communism can not properly be viewed as a conflict between good and evil. Page 35.

7. That the United States abolish universal military training. Page 33. The General

carry out activities which can only be defined as lobbying.

The NCCCA maintains a permanent Washington office which it is seeking to enlarge. It urges member denominations not to present

apparatus or agents in this country. One is the testimony of Communists who were part of such activities at one time and who have repented. The other is the testimony of FBI agents who were undercover agents in Communist cells for years. Some testimony from both sources has been referred to with disdain—as to veracity—by some officials of the NCCCA.

Individual members of the NCCCA—and some newspapers—have been active in movements to have the House Un-American Activities Committee abolished; for example, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, past President of the NCCCA, was a signer of a petition to Congress published as a paid newspaper advertisement, making such a demand.

The General Board issued a pronouncement (14.1-1) on March 17, 1954, which would render it ineffective . . .

House Committee Formed in 1938

This attitude of belittling a constituted congressional investigating committee of nearly a quarter of a century of activity is, to this Vestry Committee, amazing. The House Committee was formed in May, 1938, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration as a special committee of the House. Shortly thereafter, it was made a permanent standing committee of the House and still is. During its more than 22 years of existence, it has heard literally millions of words of testimony from literally hundreds of witnesses. In addition, it has had for its information quantities of private reports of investigations of private governmental agencies. At times it has been Democratic in the majority of its membership, at times Republican. It has had Republican and Democratic Chairmen. It has functioned under Republican and Democratic Speakers of the House—the Speaker having a powerful voice in naming the personnel of such committees . . .

When last November's presidential election brought a "liberal" victory, the organized and seemingly well financed efforts to destroy the House Un-American Activities Committee were increased in intensity. But when a vote came in the House in the present session—only six members voted against the appropriation. The Chairman of the Committee, when he arose to speak in behalf of the appropriation, was given a long and standing ovation from virtually the entire House membership, Democratic and Republican . . .

The Vestry Committee recognizes that the mere fact that the beliefs of a person or an organization may be in line with some beliefs of Communism or its leaders does not mean that the person or organization necessarily are communistic, any more than that having four legs makes an animal a horse.

as if that nullified the importance or veracity of the criticism.

Does political thinking of those of the far right—or left, or any other direction—make them un-Christian?

Does Wealth Bar Christianity?

Does possession of wealth keep a person from being a Christian? (Abolition of private property, of course, is one goal of Communism.)

Where would the cause of the NCCCA itself—and the work of most of its Communions—be but for persons of wealth in regard to the furthering of Christianity? This is, indeed, demagoguery—in the name of Christianity. The NCCCA itself lists 12 per cent of its annual income as coming from special gifts from corporations and others—presumably all of wealth. It is no secret that gifts running individually into several hundred thousands and dollars have come to the NCCCA from organizations or individuals of wealth.

In this same pamphlet, "The Truth", the introduction—presented by the NCCCA itself—contains the following as its second paragraph:

"A handful of arch-rites and dissident groups who are devoting their lives to undermining the Protestant churches and their regularly constituted agencies, are unwittingly the handmaidens of Communist techniques."

The NCCCA thus turns to a weapon it denounces its critics for using—"Communist name-calling." Well along in this pamphlet, it is brought out that the document is aimed specifically at certain identified persons who have been persistent critics of the NCCCA, especially in connection with furthering some causes Communism wants furthered.

Deliberate Deceit Seems Certain

But a reader picking up "The Truth" and reading that paragraph at the very start easily might interpret it as inclusive of all who criticize the NCCCA. It is difficult to believe that deliberate subterfuge and deceit were not used in the writing of this NCCCA document.

Let us state very emphatically here that there is nothing communistic or of being "handmaidens of Communist techniques" in the many Protestant churches, ministers, and church groups, including Protestant Episcopalians, who have been criticizing the NCCCA sharply for several years, specifically on utterances and activities of its high officials and its General Board. That includes, of course, this Vestry Committee in its present report.

Some others who have criticized the NCCCA are the Very Rev.

Negroes live. (Dr. Miller did this because the NCCCA claims the list is now out of print and that there are no available copies; we have several in our files.) If this book is a recommended example, we wonder what the rest of the books must be like. Vile language is used in "Without Magnolias." It depicts an act of adultery, between a Negro woman and a white man in York City, not only without an expression that this was immoral, but in such a manner that it was actually condoned; furthermore, the reader is led to feel sympathy for the participants, who experienced no remorse or qualms of conscience.

Why Pornography In a Church List?

Another book, "Color Blind," by Margaret Halsey, is written in acceptable language, but devotes all of Chapter 8, pages 89-120 inclusive, to the subject of "Sex, Jealousy and the Negro," with discussion included on relative sex potentials of Negro and White males. Regardless of what Miss Halsey contends—and the Vestry Committee is not dealing with that point—why should such materials be included in the recommendations of churches?

The question raised here is not one of Negro or White morals. But, why should a tremendous church organization recommend to its 34 Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members the use and distribution of a book couched in filthy and pornographic language? If the subject should be on the reading list, certainly there are books that discuss it in language of common decency . . .

The second basic fault we find in the reading list is a strange affinity found between the Communist conspiracy and some of the authors whose work is cited. Miss Halsey has been listed as a member or supporter of certain Communist Front organizations. The author whose works are most numerous is Langston Hughes, who was identified before a Congressional Investigative body as an active Communist. He is the author of a blasphemous poem the very reading of which condemns him as not just atheistic but anti-God. He is a member, sponsor or signer of numerous Communist fronts, or subversive committees and organizations.

Another author is Victor Perlo, whose book "The Negro in Southern Agriculture"—recommended on this list—was published by International Publishers, the Communist Party's major publishing firm in this country. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee describes him as "an open propagandist for Soviet World conspiracy."

Herbert Aptheker wrote the recommended "A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States." He stated before the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1952 that he joined the Communist Party in 1939, and that the Soviet Union and Red China were on the

sitions on such federal legislative matters as immigration, permanent universal military training (which it opposed), and the loyalty oath in federal college scholarships.

In all instances, the NCCCA acts in controversial political matters on the general ground that a "moral problem" or "Christian question" is involved. That can be true of any factor in any phase of the life of any individual, community, organization or nation. There can be no disagreement that all Christians want Christian principles to prevail in the activities of every one.

But, by what moral or constitutional right does the NCCCA, through action usually by only a minority of the members of its General Board, arbitrarily determine what is the Christian position in political, legislative and governmental problems?

In the Pronouncements of its General Board, the NCCCA in effect says to its 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members: "This is the Christian side and you, as a Christian, should follow it."

Are Protestant Episcopalians, including those of the congregation of St. Mark's, less Christian for not agreeing with political Pronouncements of the NCCCA, and are those who agree more Christian?

There is no question of freedom of the pulpit or of the right—sacred duty—of all Christians and Christian groups, whether church congregations, Communions or organizations such as the NCCCA, to seek Christian objectives in behalf of benefiting humanity. But it is not the function of any executive group in an organization of Protestant Communions to assume authority to determine which of several political approaches to such objectives are right and Christian, and which are not, or to resolve questions of controversial constitutional law in which points of dispute are not factors in furthering the Faith, Fellowship and Charity of Christianity.

SECTION TWO

The Charge of Communism Within the NCCCA

The Vestry Committee knows of no instance where any responsible person has accused the NCCCA of being Communist, a Communist Front, or of having any of its executive or administrative posts manned by a Communist. A check made in behalf of this Committee by a local newspaper shows that at no time has the NCCCA been listed as subversive or cited as a Communist Front by any of the four major governmental bodies which investigate such matters, these being: The House Un-American Activities Committee, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Attorney General's Office and the

Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and the Senate Investigating Committee."

6. The NCCCA has been very critical of the film "Operation Abolition," which exposes Communist instigation of the student riots in San Francisco in 1969.

7. The Communists would undermine our morals; Mr. Hoover wrote on Page 195 of "Masters of Deceit" that "Morality is strictly a bourgeois device. To the Communists everything that promotes the revolution is moral, legal and beautiful." The NCCCA published and distributed a reading list some of whose recommended books would certainly tend to undermine the public morals.

8. The NCCCA urges repeal of the McCarran Act (restriction of immigrants). The Communists are anxious for this repeal also, so that they may be able to bring even more spies into this country.

9. The NCCCA urges that we should not allow Mexican migratory workers to continue to cross the border to work in California. (This appears to us, incidentally, to be in direct contrast to their standing in reference to the McCarran Act.) This fight against the Mexican braceros is being led by the AFL-CIO (which donated \$300,000 to the NCCCA) and is receiving great assistance from the Mexican Communist Party. The results on the economy of North Mexico from the sudden unemployment of 400,000 workers would be disastrous and could well lead to another "Castro" revolution.

SECTION THREE

The Cleveland Conference; Lobbying

Many of the pronouncements and resolutions that concern us emanated from the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, November 18-21, 1958. The NCCCA, through the General Board, claims that the findings of the conference speak only for the conference and do not represent the views of the NCCCA, and that the NCCCA is not responsible for its actions or statements. This is hard to swallow; this is an example of where the NCCCA has been the Prime Mover in causing something to happen and then denying responsibility for the results.

The Study Conference was called by the General Board after the NCCCA's Department of International Affairs had worked the better part of a year preparing "work sheets" for it. The NCCCA published and widely distributed a report on the conference called "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet." This report states that the Conference "was planned by the National Council of Churches with the understanding that it was to be followed with a nationwide educational effort." It also furnished a Study Guide and a list of 14 background papers, both of which were selected before the conference convened. Apparently they knew even before the Conference what the result would be,

SAID ON TESTIMONY

In addition, a group of 100 from the NCCCA, headed by Dr. Dahlberg, then President of the NCCCA, called upon the President of the United States and presented to him a study program for a nationwide program for peace, which study program grew out of the Fifth World Order Study Conference. We do not believe that they would have done this had they not approved the report in its entirety. (It is of interest to note that they did not inform the President at this meeting of all of the recommendations made in the report!)

The NCCCA claims that only the official Pronouncements and resolutions adopted by the General Board or the General Assembly speak for it. A complete list of official Pronouncements by the Board from 1950 through 1959 will be found in the Appendix. In addition, these are the recommendations of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, for which we insist the General Board must assume responsibility.

1. That the United States recognize Red China and that Red China be admitted to the United Nations. Page 22.
2. That the United States suspend atomic tests, unilaterally if necessary, for a sufficient period of time to permit full exploration of the possibilities of arriving at a definitive international agreement. Page 32.
3. That the United States show a greater willingness to resolve disputes through the World Court. Pages 36 and 31.
4. That a purely national concept of security is wrong from every point of view. Page 30.
5. That the concept of nuclear retaliation or preventive war is contrary to Christian principles. Page 34.
6. That the present struggle between the free world and

Communism is a struggle between good and evil. See 23.1 and 23.2 G.B., January 30, 1952 and March 3, 1955, respectively.

When the World Order Study Conference in Cleveland in 1958 recommended recognition of Red China by the United States and the inclusion of it in the United Nations, the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations conducted a poll of Protestant clergymen throughout the nation. A complete analysis of this Committee and of the results of the poll are contained in Appendix, Section K, pages xxvii and xxviii.

To present a more precise picture of the thinking of the professionals within the NCCCA who guided the thoughts of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, the Vestry Committee has examined the "Study Guide" for use with the "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet" together with some of the background papers which were published both before and after the conference. . . .

Says NCC Carries On Legislative Lobbying

The Vestry Committee considers it improper for the NCCCA to distribute educational material concerning matters so far afield from those of the Gospel; but it feels that it is even a greater mistake to lobby on behalf of these matters before agencies or legislative bodies of the federal government. For it does in fact so lobby, despite the fact that Dr. Miller at one point in his testimony states this: "In all of the debates about the function of this office (Washington) it is always understood and explicitly stated that this has no lobby purpose and has absolutely no relationship to a lobby approach." However, in another portion of his testimony he admits that it does

lobby, but through the NCCCA. The range of subjects upon which lobbying has occurred is very wide. In addition to the subjects mentioned in the Workbook, the NCCCA has officially opposed the right-to-work laws.

It is currently studying a document which it prepared called "The Ethical Aspects of Inflation and the Ethics and Economics of Defense Spending and Disarmament." It has a project under way on a church-wide program "on the role of churches in resources and conservation of natural resources." These studies relate to the program of the NCCCA designed to influence government thinking and legislation.

SECTION FOUR

The NCCCA and the House Un-American Activities Committee; "Name Calling"

The NCCCA seems to take the position that any information obtained in any hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee cannot be accepted. Dr. Miller used the phrase, "I surely wouldn't ever take that as authentic" when asked by the Vestry Committee concerning certain revelations in the House Committee's records concerning Communism. The attitude seems especially to be as placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller—that testimony before the House Committee by ex-Communists cannot be given credence in any way.

The Vestry Committee cannot judge the veracity of evidence by any witness before any governmental committee. But we do feel that there are two main sources of accurate information concerning activities of Communist cells,

But, persons who hold high public positions in, or are spokesmen for, an organization which professes itself in political and other propaganda as "representative of" or expressing "the current opinions" of 34 Communions of 39,000,000 American Protestants should take especial care that in their personal activities they are not bringing reflection upon these millions and are not furthering a Communist cause in a manner inimical to both Christianity and American freedom.

Hypocrisy Marks Defense by NCC

The NCCCA and some of its leading figures have resorted to "name calling" as their reply to and denunciation of what they consider "name calling" of the NCCCA by some of its critics. Hypocrisy and demagoguery in this way have crept into the NCCCA's own defense against various charges made against it. In its publication, "The Truth," the NCCCA reprints a New York Times article of March 26, 1960. In it J. Howard Pew, former President of the Sun Oil Company, head of the United Presbyterian Foundation, and Chairman of the General Board's 1951-1955 Lay Committee (which was disbanded by the General Board after the Committee sought futilely to end or lessen the Board's political propaganda activities) is quoted as saying that men of wealth would "continue to withhold contributions to the corporate Church" until it stopped making Pronouncements on certain social and political issues.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Past President of the NCCCA, was quoted as saying that "support for slanderous accusations against liberal churchmen" comes from groups "specifically including wealthy men of the far right" (politically

Matthews (Episcopal) Cathedral at Dallas, Texas; The Rev. Paul DeWitt Urbano, Rector of All Saints Episcopal Church at Phoenix, Arizona; the Episcopal Upper South Carolina Diocese; the Texas District of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, and the largest Baptist American Convention church in the nation at Wichita, Kansas. Brief details of these criticisms are contained in Appendix, Section N.

These are simply some activities that have come to the Vestry Committee's attention. None of those concerned can be considered as unintentional or intentional "hand-maidens of Communist techniques," nor can criticism of the NCCCA from such sources be looked upon as uttered with other than the most sincere desire to further the teachings of Christ and to spread Christianity throughout the world. These are informed, intelligent, respected Christians—including Episcopalian—speaking. The pamphlet, "The Truth," in the haphazard manner in which it denounces critics of the NCCCA is another example of irresponsibility in the executive and administrative functions of the NCCCA itself.

SECTION SIX

The Reading List

In 1957 a pamphlet titled "The Negro American—A Reading List" was published by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the NCCCA. It contains a Foreword by Alfred S. Kramer, who was then Associate Executive Director of the Department. It contains, in addition to the Foreword, an Introduction, a Reading Guide, a list of "Some Other Helpful Materials," a list of "Some Race Relations Organizations," an Index of Authors, Addresses of Publishers, and lists of books for Primary Children (pre-school and grades 1-3), Intermediates (grades 4-6), Juniors (7-9), Seniors (grades 10-12), and Adults.

In the introduction, one of the compilers of the list urges: "Read for enjoyment and information, remembering to note publication date. Read aloud to your children, or put the books where they will be picked up. Make recommendations to your children's teachers and to librarians. Share your copy of this list with friends. Urge church, PTA, and other organizations to circulate copies."

This reading list is indefensible—Dr. Miller admits the NCCCA is "embarrassed" about it—and we can find no excuse for its having been printed and circulated. Dr. Miller stated that it was prepared for "mature leaders," an obviously erroneous statement in view of the fact that there are specific lists for children.

The list is bad for two reasons. First, some of the books are of highly questionable moral background. For instance, Dr. Miller, in a letter to our Rector in December, 1960, especially recommended to the Vestry Committee the book "Without Magnolias," by Bucklin Moon as being representative of the list in that it was trying to show the moral climate in which

the Government of the United States was the center of war danger in the world. For Communist affiliations see the Appendix.

"Black Reconstruction," by W. E. B. DuBois, was recommended. DuBois has long been actively associated with Communist organizations. In Peking on the occasion of his 51st birthday, he was given a testimonial dinner by Vice Premier Chen Yi, at which he heaped praise upon Red China. For this occasion he, too, wrote a blasphemous poem, "I Sing to China." You will do well to read it if you are to understand our charge that these authors are out of place for Christian thinking and education.

Admits Reading List Was a Mistake

There are others. We cannot imagine why the NCCCA could have possibly allowed such people to have had their writings placed on a reading list recommended by the NCCCA. At first Dr. Miller could see no relevance between "a few phrases and a few poems" and the irresponsibility of the list. He did finally admit that they did in deed indicate the character of the authors, which we pointed out must pass on into any work the authors might write. He admitted that the list was a mistake, that recommending "Without Magnolias" specifically was a mistake, and he read a letter from the General Secretary of the NCCCA stating that he is very much embarrassed by the fact that the book list was used and that he feels its issuance was very unwise and inappropriate.

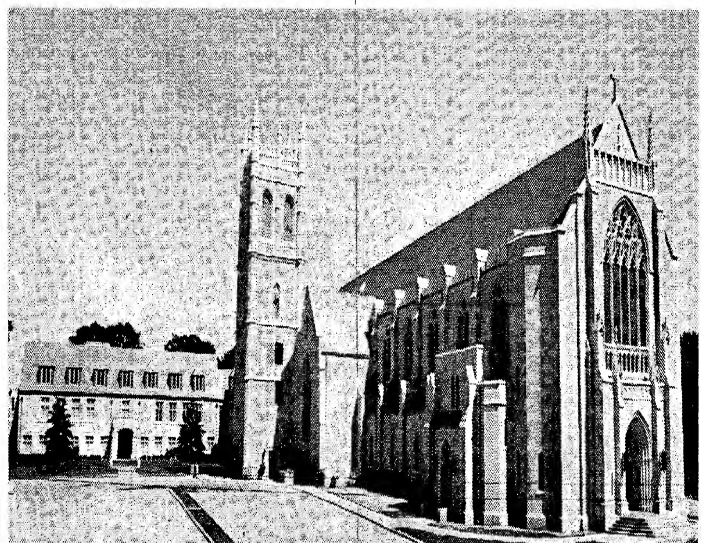
Excerpts from Section Five of this Report will be published in The Times tomorrow.

In Past Times

(FROM OUR FILES)
75 YEARS AGO
April 23, 1886—The Times has the largest circulation of any newspaper in Louisiana outside of New Orleans.
The union member shot at seriously injured in a strike riot in St. Louis recently is reported out of danger.

50 YEARS AGO
April 23, 1911—Monroe had it first airplane flight yesterday made by Walter Johnson in a Thomas biplane. He stayed only a few minutes before landing in a field.
Victor Herbert and his 50-piece orchestra will give a concert at the Grand Opera House May 2.

25 YEARS AGO
April 23, 1936—Three thousand singers will attend the second annual Tri-State Singing Convention in the Municipal Auditorium here April 25.
Johnny Torrio, a former comrade of Al Capone, has been arrested by federal authorities in a charge of evading liquor taxes by smuggling whiskey from Canada.



... St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church ...

The Shreveport Times

Founded as a Daily and Sunday Newspaper Nov. 28, 1871. Following the Consolidation and Merger of its Predecessor Weekly Newspapers Published Since March, 1839

PAGE TWO-B

SUNDAY, APRIL 23, 1961

Political Propaganda Hierarchy

The Report of the Special Vestry Committee of St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church on its 10-months study of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is a devastating revelation of controversial political propaganda activities by that huge organization of 34 Protestant Communions (denominations) with 39,000,000 members.

The Vestry Committee Report fully documents its findings that the N.C.C. is "a harmful and dangerous institution," and operating as "a Protestant Political Propaganda Hierarchy" when its own Constitution designates it as founded to "manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour . . ."

Acting on the Report, the St. Mark's Vestry called on the national Protestant Episcopal Church to withdraw from the N.C.C.

The Report alone is 12,000 words in length. Its documentation takes an additional 16,000 words of Appendix. Included additionally is the full transcript of an all-day question and answer session of the Committee with Dr. Quinter Miller, Assistant General Secretary of the N.C.C., with a court reporter present transcribing everything that was said.

No other member church of the N.C.C. ever has attempted such complete and painstaking investigation of the national body, although studies of lesser scope have been made by Episcopal Churches in Arizona, Texas, and South Carolina. Also, a Baptist Church in Wichita, Kansas, recently withdrew its \$33,000 annual contribution to the American Baptist Convention because of the latter's membership in the N.C.C.

The Times publishes today on this and the opposite page major excerpts from the text of the Report in addition to a Page One news story. Excerpts from sections of the Report not covered today will be published on this page tomorrow. We urge that every Christian, regardless of denominational faith, read every word.

Doubtless the Vestry Committee will be the target of a barrage of attack from the N.C.C., perhaps patterned on its recent name-calling of critics as "handmaidens of Communist techniques." But the St. Mark's

have made minor mistakes. That would be only human. But the Committee has marshalled its facts in magnificent manner and presented them with commendable dispassion.

The St. Mark's Report shows that the political activities of the N.C.C. are publicized by such phrases as "representative of" and "the current thinking" of its 34 constituent Communions, which have 39,000,000 members. The N.C.C. often protests that it does not "commit" these members. But it is equally careful to give the public impression that it is representative of them and is a "Voice of Protestantism" in this country—when its "voice" actually is that of only a small number of individuals.

The endless political activities of the N.C.C.—from professionally publicized "Pronouncements" to providing Congressional Committee witnesses who are instructed how to testify—could gain little public attention but for the prestige given by such phrases as "34 Protestant Communions" and "39,000,000 Protestant members."

The General Board of the N.C.C., which determines political policies in frequent meetings, has 273 members with 173 votes—due to fractional voting. But only 20 are needed for a quorum.

Some Board political "Pronouncements" have been approved by as few as 31 or 38 favorable votes. No General Board political "Pronouncement" on which there was a numerically recorded vote from 1950 through 1959 received a favorable total equivalent to a majority of the Board.

All of Louisiana Protestantism with N.C.C. membership is represented on the Board only by two Baptist Negroes, each with half a vote.

Yet, as the Report states, N.C.C. political "Pronouncements" often deal "with baffling constitutional law" and controversial federal legislative issues "which have split Bar Associations and divided the major political parties within themselves." In some instances questions covered in N.C.C. political propaganda were major issues in last November's presidential election when the American people divided by a margin of only 112,000 votes in 69,000,000 cast.

Like Hungary, Like Cuba



'POLITICAL PROPAGANDA HIERARCHY'

Vestry of St. Mark's Hits Church Group

The Times presents herewith excerpts from the 12,000-words Report by the St. Mark's Episcopal Church Vestry Committee on its 10-months study of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. The Committee charges the huge organization of 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members with being "harmful and dangerous" and with using its professed purposes of spreading Christianity as a sounding board for activities as "a Protestant Political Propaganda Hierarchy" on highly controversial legislative issues. An editorial appears in the columns to the left and a news account of the Report is on Page One. Some additional

islative establishment of medical care for the aged.

Yet the points at issue in this legislation now pending are not care for the aged but means of paying for it and this was debated on opposite sides last fall by the two major presidential candidates almost daily. On election day there were only 112,000 votes difference between the candidates in 69,000,000 votes cast. By what assumption of omniscience does the NCCCA, through the General Board, determine which legislative method in obtaining care for the aged best serves Christianity?

The NCCCA is headed by a General Assembly of approximately 800. It meets every three years.

The day-to-day governing body, with full constitutional authority to act as it sees fit in any way except on such matters as membership in the NCCCA, is the General Board, made up of representatives of the various constituent Communions.

The Board's membership varies from time to time, due to fractional votes being permitted. The Triennial Workbook for the General Assembly of last December, 1959, gives the Board a total of 173 votes divided among 273 members. Both the General Assembly and the Board are divided approximately 65 per cent clergymen and 35 per cent laymen. Representation of each Communion in both bodies is determined by a formula based chiefly on a Communion's total membership.

Instead of being an executive body administering programs "more fully to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior" (Preamble of Constitution) the NCCCA's General Board functions in practical effect, in the manner of a Protestant Political Propaganda Hierarchy.

Only 20 Needed For a Quorum

Under the NCCCA's Bylaws (Article XV, Section 2), 20 members of the General Board constitute a quorum, provided they include members of at least 10 of the 34 constituent Communions. For the General Assembly, 60 representatives constitute a quorum. (Presumably this means members holding 20 and 60 full votes, respectively.)

Thus, 11 1/2 per cent of the voting membership of the General Board, if it is from 20 1/2 per cent of the Communions, is a quorum and can conduct business—with only 11 votes of the 20 being a majority of such attendance.

The NCCCA, when criticized for non-religious political propaganda activities, hides behind the contention that "actions of the Board commit no one." This statement literally is true and is set down in the Constitution and in other formal actions of the Board itself.

But the Pronouncements of the General Board are presented to the churches and the public in a manner to give the impression that they are representative of the thinking of the 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 members. NCCCA activities and Board

Pronouncement. The Board may act simply on knowledge or opinion of the members present or it may have a report from or of the 70 entities of the NCCCA or a staff report prepared by its own professionals.

But such staff reports are not necessarily impartial or objective. They might be well compared to a brief prepared in a law firm to advocate whatever the law firm sought to advocate in a case at hand. Clearly the 39,000,000 Protestants have no way of knowing what is going on until it happens, and no recourse then.

Less Than Majority Provides Okay

Usually these political propaganda stands are approved by the General Board through less than a majority vote of its voting membership.

The Vestry Committee has had before it the official texts of approximately 40 political Pronouncements by the General Board from 1951 through 1959. Many of these were passed by voice votes. But, where a record vote was taken not a single one of these Resolutions mustered as many as one-half of 173 General Board votes.

For example, the General Board's first Pronouncement on federal aid to education (Pronouncement No. 13-2-1, May 18, 1954) was passed by the General Board through a vote of 33 to 8, the favorable total being 34 less than a majority of the 173 total votes on the Board. Here is an issue which—with some amplifications—still is red hot not only in Congress but all over the nation and has been throughout the seven years since the 1954 action of the General Board. Yet, at that time, the General Board—with only about 23 per cent of its voting membership present and less than 20 per cent of the voting membership approving the Pronouncement—disposed of this issue handily.

The only General Board Pronouncement that has come to the Vestry Committee's attention in which a majority of the voting membership was recorded in the tally was a second federal aid to education Pronouncement passed at the Syracuse General Board meeting last February 22, 1961. This drew 87 affirmative votes, exactly one more than a majority of the total voting membership.

In this discussion the Vestry Committee is not concerned with which side of any issue the General Board has taken. Our point is that any political Pronouncements of the type often made are not in accord with the constitutionally announced purposes of the NCCCA, or with what we consider to be the obvious intent in forming the NCCCA in 1950, and that they should be no part of non-denominational activities by many Protestant denominations united " . . . to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior . . ."

While the Vestry Committee has avoided questions of what side the NCCCA takes in Pronouncements on various controversial political

Committee needs no defense. Its members have served not only their own Episcopal faith, but all Protestantism and all Christianity. The names and reputations of the Committee members constitute a hallmark which in itself will withstand any assault that can be made.

Probably somewhere in the approximately 40,000 words of the Report, documentary appendix and transcript of the Miller hearing the St. Mark's Committee may

The St. Mark's Report emphasizes that the Committee was not concerned with what side the N.C.C. takes in controversial political issues.

It condemns a church organization formed to "manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ" for taking any side, especially in a manner implying that its position is the Christian position and in any way is "representative of" 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members.

excerpts, for which there was not space today, will be printed on this page tomorrow. The Report caused the St. Mark's Vestry to pass a resolution urging the national Episcopal Church to withdraw from the N.C.C.

SECTION ONE Pronouncements, Resolutions and Representations

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. was organized in 1950 as a merger of the old Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and seven smaller religious organizations. The NCCCA is basically a continuation of the Federal Council, and the Preamble as well as the body of the Constitution of the NCCCA make it clear that the NCCCA shall continue the work of the Federal Council. In addition, some of the specific actions of the Federal Council, taken years before the formation of the NCCCA, are lauded by some official actions of departments of the NCCCA: the NCCCA also adopts works, statements, goals, etc. of the Federal Council as its own.

It now embraces 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members. It budgets more than \$12,000,000 net a year—about 61 per cent from the churches; 26 per cent from sales of materials (mostly literature); 12 per cent in gifts from corporations and other, and 1 per cent from miscellaneous sources. (Percentages and budget figures from current National Council pamphlet, "The National Council of Churches, What It Is, What It Does.")

The Preamble to the Constitution of the new organization stated that it was formed because

"... in the Providence of God, the time has come when it seems more fully fitting to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior, by the creation of an inclusive co-operative agency of the Christian churches of the United States of America..."

Under the heading, "Objects," the Constitution listed 10 purposes (Article II, Sections 1-10), all intended primarily to (Article II, Section 4) "assist in the spread of the Christian religion," and encourage Christianity in its basic religious tenets of Faith, Fellowship, and Charity—the latter word used here in its simple dictionary definition of "Christian love."

Calls National Council Propaganda Machine

In the 11 years since adoption of that Constitution, the NCCCA may have achieved some of its aims in the purely Christian religious fields referred to above.

But it also has become a national and even international propaganda machine in controversial political issues involving baffling problems in constitutional and statutory law and statutes which have split Congresses, created deep schisms within both major political parties,

divided bar associations, resulted even in reversal by the Supreme Court of its own previous decisions, and provoked basic differences of opinion in groups everywhere, including Church congregations.

The NCCCA has done this in the name of Christianity and Christian unity, yet obviously the more controversial an issue the greater the cleavage in opinion concerning it.

Thus, instead of fostering Christian love and unity, the NCCCA's course has been one to encourage and breed dissension among Protestant Christians and in their Communions and churches over political problems having no place in the worship of God. The end result has been to weaken the confidence of American Protestants in their own clerical leadership and to divide them against each other in bitter disputes even within individual congregations. The effect of the NCCCA in its political activities thus has been to hinder rather than to help Christianity.

The NCCCA carries on with this almost daily political propaganda through a huge staff organization of 200 executive and administrative officials plus 600 employees of lesser importance (figures by Dr. Miller in his testimony before the Vestry Committee) and through 70 groups known as Units, General Departments, Divisions, Departments of Divisions, Committees and professional Staff Study personnel totalling approximately 6,000 persons. (Facsimiles of the NCCCA's organization chart and its membership and General Board make-up are included as Appendix Section E, page xiii.)

Professionals Handle Political Propaganda

An Office of Information, well staffed and with an Executive Director, pours forth to communications media, the churches, and the people generally the controversial political propaganda which the NCCCA contends is part of its furtherance of Christianity on the vague principle that everything in life—business, social, economic, or religious—could be improved by greater use of Christian principles, an obvious truism.

The NCCCA's controversial political propaganda goes forth not only in professionally handled publicity but through speeches, reports, General Board and General Assembly Pronouncements and through legislative lobby by testimony before Congressional Committees of its representatives—along lines set by the General Board.

Press releases of the NCCCA, Pronouncements of the General Board, and utterances and statements of various officials of the NCCCA make it clear that the organization presents itself as "the voice of Eastern Orthodox and American Protestantism" and as "representative of" the "thinking of" its 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members.

Dr. Miller pointed out to the Ves-

try Committee that the NCCCA seeks to be a voice for Protestantism similar to the voice of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The Roman Catholic Church is a single organization with all of its individual Churches under control of a central authority. Protestantism is not so organized and does not now so function except to the extent that the NCCCA has, in exceeding its mandate, arrogated to itself such authority. Dr. Miller also said that the federal government often calls on the NCCCA for "the Protestant viewpoint" on various issues.

The statement directly suggests a basic issue: that the NCCCA, chiefly through its General Board, is looked upon as the voice of Protestantism—including the Protestant Episcopal faith and St. Mark's Church—and that it deliberately fosters the belief that it is the voice of Protestantism, when it actually is not and cannot be.

Dr. Miller said there has been confusion about the authority of the NCCCA because of "garbling" by the press. There are 1,755 daily newspapers, with 50,299,722 circulation (World Almanac, 1961). Probably not more than half a dozen have New York news offices. The rest get whatever news they print about the NCCCA from the press associations, each of which has a religion editor in New York. The religion editors are in constant contact with the NCCCA's Office of Information.

While an individual reporter or newspaper may have garbled a NCCCA news story at some time or other, it is inconceivable that the press associations have been doing so for 11 years—especially since the NCCCA holds press conferences in "well staffed and equipped press rooms" (quotations from NCCCA news release 17 GA 2-10-61) for Board meetings.

It is inconceivable also that, if there had been widespread garbling leading to widespread misunderstanding of the functions of the NCCCA, the guiding executives of the organization should not have repudiated such garbling long ago. Dr. Miller said there has been no repudiation. Of course there hasn't. There is nothing to repudiate.

Only the NCC Side Is Called Christian

The NCCCA through its General Board, insists that the side taken by the National Council in a controversial political issue is the Christian side, the implication thus being that any other side is not Christian—or not as Christian as the NCCCA's.

But, on what grounds, for example, can anyone contend that medical care for the aged—an ideal and a purpose on which all Christians might agree—is Christian only if paid for by one method and not Christian if paid for by another method? Yet, that is a subject on which the NCCCA, through its General Board, has taken what it holds to be "the Christian stand" in leg-

islations come that gain a large volume of publicity in behalf of Christianity or political causes otherwise. What a quorum of 20 on the Board decided—or a minority of 50 or 75—would not be "news" for any communications media or of interest to many people. It is the embracement of "39,000,000 Protestants" that draws attention to the NCCCA's activities and makes them important in the public mind and to the news media.

The most recent Pronouncement by the General Board—on federal aid to education at the Syracuse meeting last February 22, 1961—was given to communications media by the NCCCA with a news release (No. 22 GA 3-14-61) that this Pronouncement made by the General Board as "representative of the 34 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Communions in the Council." The General Board itself in a Resolution adopted at its September 14-15, 1954 meeting stated that its Pronouncements "do have full value as an expression of the current conviction of the churches through its (the NCCCA's) General Assembly or General Board." The NCCCA is, collectively, the 34 Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members.

Deceitful Assertions As to Its Authority

It is noteworthy that these representations mentioned above occurred both before and after Dr. Miller's appearance before the Vestry committee. It is almost unbelievable in light of the representations in the various resolutions that Dr. Miller, as a full-time staff member of the NCCCA, could claim that the NCCCA not only does not seek to foster the idea that it speaks for 39,000,000 Protestants, but actually attempts to remove this implication from press releases. The NCCCA will not, however, refute or repudiate such claims. These contradictory assertions are deceitful.

The General Board is created through a somewhat nebulous chain of authority in which neither individual Protestants, nor individual churches, nor Dioceses have any direct voice in selecting Board members.

For example, St. Mark's Church has a voice in affairs of the Diocese of Louisiana. The Diocese of Louisiana has a voice in selection of the Protestant Episcopal National Council. The Protestant Episcopal National Council names members to the National Council of Churches General Board (and the General Assembly).

The Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana has no representation on the NCCCA's General Board. All Protestantism in Louisiana Communions belonging to the NCCCA is represented on the General Board only by two members of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. (in Louisiana a Colored Branch of the Baptist Communion), each with one half a vote.

It has not been the practice of the NCCCA to give expression to minority views on any political

issues, it has become obvious to us in our studies that it nearly always is found on the side of more government control of the lives and liberties of individuals. Thus, in the pretense of seeking One Christian World, it actually is seeking One Political World.

When 39,000,000 Americans of all walks of life, all religious beliefs or no religious beliefs, of all colors and creeds, split evenly at the political polls, the same political differences must extend on into every group or organization, including the Protestant Communions, Dioceses and individual congregations.

Carries Discord Into Religion

Through its political activities, the NCCCA carries this political discord into the many facets of Protestant Christianity and thus builds fires of destruction under the tenets of Christian Faith, Fellowship and Charity which it was created to preserve and increase.

As an example of questions on which the General Board acts—supposedly in furtherance of Christianity—we cite the following Pronouncements and the total of favorable votes cast; in each case less than a majority, but with the public obviously given the impression that these positions are "representative of" or "the current thinking of" 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members:

PRONOUNCEMENT 25-2-1, June 2, 1960: An Agenda of what the United States government should do as action for peace. Sixty-nine votes for, three against.

PRONOUNCEMENT—25-3-2, June 2, 1960: In this Pronouncement a NCCCA position on use of nuclear energy was approved with 57 favorable votes

(Continued on Following Page)

The Shreveport Times

Robert Ewing, Publisher, 1906-1931
John D. Ewing, Publisher, 1931-1952

Entered as second class matter at the Shreveport Post Office under the act of March 3, 1879, issued morning, daily and Sunday, by The Times Publishing Co. Ltd., 408-410 Marshall St.

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William H. Bronson, Publisher
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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

Vol. 23, No. 10

Wheaton, Illinois

October 1960

THE REVOLT IS ON!

Sometimes we become weary of people asking: "What can we do?" But, patiently point out to them the obvious—that which they could have done all along but for many reasons and convenient excuses they did not do.

Here is what the General Board of one church has already done and others are following their example. They will not be misled by the smears of Senator Kennedy's religious advisor, who just recently resigned from the National Council of Churches in which body he held the office of a secretary in charge of "interpretation", that is, interpreting things as he decided they should be interpreted, whether true or false!

James W. Wine brought all kinds of trouble down on the heads of the National Council of Churches when he took it upon himself to battle the United States Air Force and the Defense Department. He is now on Kennedy's staff. And, what is he doing?—smearing some of the same Protestant clergymen who defended the Air Force and its training manual!

Wine's attack and the subsequent attacks of the National Council's hierarchy have backfired! If they had kept quiet, millions of American church people would never have known about the Congressional documentation available on how far the Communists and their influence have penetrated American religious institutions. Since that time, millions of Americans have asked questions and they are getting the answers, despite the desperate attempts of the paid publicists, officers, syncophants, and local church hirelings to suppress the truth.

The rebellion of the people who pay the bills is on!

Now read what one church board has already done. This is a good beginning:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the General Board has accepted and adopted the report of the Special Study Committee wherein it was concluded that the National Council of Churches was a political action body and that various of the National Council's officers and leaders lend their time, talents and name to questionable groups and causes;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that Spring Branch Christian Church unite with other church groups so that the following objectives may be achieved;

(1) The filing of an official protest with our district, state and national conventions together with the National Council of Churches and their respective officers and leaders, of the political activities of the National Council of Churches.

(2) That this church work together with other church groups toward the end that the National Council will cease all political activities.

(3) That the leaders and officers of the National Council of Churches, who are now, or shall knowingly become, affiliated with an organization or cause, which, either the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice of the United States, Attorney General of the United States, Senate Internal Securities Committee or the Un-American Activities Committee, classify as "subversive" or "Communist-front" be relieved of their position.

(4) That such a plan of representation be worked out between the individual churches and the National Council that the individual church member will have a role and voice in what the National Council does and says, together with the election of all officers and leaders and that the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Council be amended to provide for same.

(5) That a standing committee be appointed by the Chairman of the new Board of this church to work toward the above objectives and that such a committee be given authority to correspond with and to contact other church groups including the distribution of the report of the Special Council Study Committee to accomplish these goals.

THE ABOVE RESOLUTION WAS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL BOARD OF THE SPRING BRANCH CHRISTIAN CHURCH, DULY ASSEMBLED AT A SPECIAL MEETING ON JUNE 26, 1960.

BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL

KNOW THEM

A Report on the National Council of Churches

*"And ye shall know the truth,
and the truth shall make
you free."*

John 8:32

FOREWORD

To the General Board of Spring Branch Christian Church, Houston, Texas:

Your committee to study the various Councils of Churches was appointed pursuant to the following Motion properly presented, seconded and unanimously passed by the General Board of our Church duly assembled at its regular monthly meeting in March, 1960:

"In view of the active support of this Church to the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the Texas Council of Churches and the Houston Council of Churches and the duty of this board to keep the Congregation of this Church fully informed on all church matters; I move that a Committee of not more than five laymen be appointed by the Chairman of this Board to conduct a survey

and study of these Councils and to submit their report, both orally and in writing, to the Board as soon as possible, covering, but not limited to, information on:

- "(1) The formation of these respective Councils;
- "(2) Their purpose, program, leadership and governing principles;
- "(3) How a Church becomes a member; and
- "(4) The role and voice of each individual member church."

We have entered into our study and survey with prayerful interest and an open mind. We have studied and read volumes of factual data on the councils and have had access to three extensive libraries by outstanding Christian laymen containing literature on the various councils.

We have met together, studied together and discussed all phases of the Council's activities. We have discussed the Councils with numerous people, both laymen as ourselves and members of the clergy. We have been afforded the opportunity by local ministers to read books and materials which they had in their possession.

Three of the committee have met in private conference with the Head of the Department of Stewardship and Benevolence of the National Council.

We have studied the National Council's "1957 TRIENNIAL REPORT" policy statements and pronouncements made by the General Board and General Assembly of the National Council. "The Churches and the Air Force Manual Issue," compiled by the National Council has been read.

We have read and studied "The Chairman's Final Report to the National Lay Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America" written by the Chairman, Mr. J. Howard Pew.

The report on the World Council, the Texas Council and the Houston Council of Churches, which recently changed its name to the Houston Association of Churches of Christ, will be given orally. Our report on the National Council will be given in writing as follows.

We have made every diligent effort to present the facts as we have found them, and our presentation of the National Council of Churches is completely documented from material read and studied. We have entered into this study in an effort to determine the truth and our Conclusions are based on the truth as we have found it.

Respectfully submitted,
Your Council Study Committee
June 12, 1960

"BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM"

A Report on the National Council of Churches

FORMATION:

A group of clerical and lay delegates from major Protestant denominations met in Cleveland, Ohio, on Nov. 29, 1950, and formed the ecclesiastical organizations designated as the National Council of Churches. It is a corporation established for religious purposes "to continue and extend the following general agencies of the churches and to combine their interests and functions:

(Cleveland Constitution, 1950)

- "Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
- "Foreign Missions Conference of North America
- "Home Missions Council of North America
- "International Council of Religious Education
- "Missionary Education Movement of the US and Canada
- "National Protestant Council on Higher Education
- "United Council of Church Women
- "United Stewardship Council."

Four additional agencies later decided to merge their interests in the National Council:

- Church World Service, Inc.
- Interseminary Committee
- Protestant Film Commission
- Protestant Radio Commission

"The National Council is the direct creation of the churches themselves. Its constitution was officially ratified by the highest authority of each of the thirty member denominations. The Council is directly responsible to the denominations as officially represented at the General Assembly.

"Other Churches which share the basic faith in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior may become members of the National Council under the provisions outlined in the Constitution."

Among other functions (Art. V of the Council's Constitution) the Council is charged as follows:

- "1. The general oversight and coordination of the whole field of work of the Council and its Divisions and other units.
- "2. All actions and utterances of the Council in representation of the cooperating churches.
- "3. Basic studies in fields of common interest to the churches.
- "4. The safeguarding for each Division of the fullest measure of autonomy . . .
- "5. General relations with the public and with governments, either directly or through one or more of the Divisions . . ."

The National Council, in its "Working Together" pamphlet states that its establishment was an outgrowth of common endeavor and an effort "to do together what could be done better unitedly than separately."

The Federal Council of Church's program was transferred to the National Council and such plan was acknowledged in the December, 1950, issue of the Federal Council *Bulletin*:

"All the work of the Federal Council will continue under the new auspices—it is expected that the program will be enlarged as the new organization gains increased support—other divisions in the National Council and the general administration of the Council will also draw upon the resources in both personnel and finance."

Many, if not the majority, of the active officers and leaders of the Federal Council became the same leaders, and, in some cases, the department heads for the National Council. The present President of the National Council, Edwin T. Dahlberg had been Chairman of the Department of Evangelism in the old Federal Council. G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council in 1948, and long active in the affairs of the Council, became a member of the General Board. These are but two of the many leaders who transferred their activities to the newly constituted organization.

The Federal Council was officially formed in the latter part of 1908. Apparently growing out of efforts toward organic union, this is one of the earliest recorded steps of the ecumenical movement. For your information, ecumenical is defined as "pertaining to the entire inhabited world or belonging to the Christian church as a whole, or universal." Its synonyms are "world wide, liberal and tolerant." The application of the word may be taken from the hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee on July 21, 1953, testimony of G. Bromley Oxnam, at page 3633:

"Protestant churches must continue the present brotherly and inspiring cooperation with the Eastern Orthodox Churches until such time as Protestantism is itself reunited. They may then consider union with Eastern Orthodoxy which it is prayerfully hoped may be consummated. When the full union of Protestantism and of Eastern Orthodoxy is accomplished and the Christians of the world belong to but two great churches, the leadership of that day may be Christian enough and creative enough to kneel before a common altar, beg forgiveness of the Christ for disunity and, sharing in the bread and wine of Holy Communion, rise in his Spirit to form the Holy Catholic Church to which all Christians may belong."

One of the steps leading up to the Federal Council was the formation of the National Federation of Churches in either 1900 or 1901. A leading proponent of the Federation was a Chicago pastor by the name of Harry F. Ward. Ward was one of the founders of the Federal Council and was at one time a professor in Union Theological Seminary in New York. Sworn testimony by former members of the Communist Party has placed him in the heart of the Communist apparatus in the United States. Manning Johnson, before the Un-American Activities Committee, referred to Ward as "The Red Dean of the Communist Party in the religious field."

Reading from the official publication of the Federal Council, "Furthering Christian Unity," we find the requirements for membership in the Federal Council:

"All churches which share the basic faith in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior, are eligible to membership—Into the details of doctrine the Council does not enter, its function being practical rather than theoretical." (Emphasis added.)

Here, as followed later in the National Council, the question of whether or not the people in their respective churches wanted to join the Council was not submitted to them. Rather, it was a matter for the denominational leaders to take their particular denominations into membership with the Federal Council.

Your committee's study of the volumes of material on the Federal Council of Churches has indicated that they made studies, reports and releases on the following subjects:

- The League of Nations
- The World Court
- The Peace Pact
- The Pan-American Arbitration Treaty
- The Arms Embargo
- War Debts
- Naturalization
- The United States and Japanese relations
- Extraterritoriality in China
- The 1927 Navy Building Program

- International relations between the United States and Mexico
- The 1928 Navy Building Program
- Increase in Armaments
- Compulsory Military Training in Colleges and Schools
- Appropriations for the Bureau of Indian Affairs
- The Mexican Oil and Land Controversy
- The Rural Cooperative Movement
- The Agricultural Credit Situation
- The Industrial Strife on the Western Maryland Railroad
- The Bituminous Coal Industry
- The Relations of Russia and the Western Democracies
- The Political Situation in India
- The Development of China's Industrial Cooperatives
- The Effect of the War on European Preaching
- Analyses of Significant Supreme Court Decisions
- Proposed Tax Measures
- An Interpretation of the Election Results
- Trends in American Education
- Disturbed Relationships in the Coal Fields of Colorado
- Rural Urban Conflict in the United States
- The Controversy in the Chicago Dairy District

A Study of Relations between the Silk Hose Mills and the American Federation of Full Fashioned Agriculture, Child Welfare, Church and Social Problems, Civil liberty, Cooperative Movements, Cost of Living, Crime, Economics, Education, Ethics, Free Speech, Government and Politics Industrial Relations, Public Health, Internal Relations.

The activities of the Federal Council became so questionable that the highly reputable office of Naval Intelligence of the United States Navy Department, in a report which was read into the Congressional Record in September 10, 1935, starting on page 13503, stated as follows:

"Organizations which, while not openly advocating the force and violence principles of the Communists, give aid and comfort to the Communist movement and party. Among the strongest of these organizations is:

"The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. This is a large radical pacifist organization. It probably represents 20,000,000 Protestants in the United States. However, its leadership consists of a small radical group which dictates its policies. It is always extremely active in any matter against national defense."

It is interesting at this point to turn next to the final report of the National Lay Committee of the National Council of Churches, the existence of which was terminated by the Council, at the time of the Presidency of Eugene Carson Blake, and read:

"The members of the Lay Committee believe, and so stated, that the political adventures of the National Council in the fields of economic and political controversy would seriously hinder and not further Christian leadership in the pressing fields of evangelism, fellowship and education. It appears that the National Council could find no room for opposition to the philosophies and practices carried over from the old Federal Council." (Emphasis added.)

PURPOSE, PROGRAM, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

From the "Working Together" booklet on how the National Council is governed:

"The governing body of the National Council is the General Assembly of 694 delegated representatives, 443 clergy and 251 laymen, all named directly or approved by the member communions. The Assembly, which meets every three years, constitutes a central board of inter-denominational strategy, developing a common mind, planning united policies, and the providing for concerted action.

"In the interim between assemblies, the supervisory body is a General Board of 256 members, 166 clergy and 90 laymen, all of whom directly represent the member communions or are approved by them. The General Board meets several times a year. It reports regularly to each of the denominations and is subject to their review. Thus, the Council is responsible at all times to the communions which established it as their agency for cooperation, depending wholly on the principal of voluntary cooperation through democratic representative processes. Through these two bodies—General Assembly and the General Board—which make all policy decisions affecting the life and work of the organization, the Council speaks as a united voice on public matters of concern to its constituent churches.

"In addition to the above, each of the Council's programs is directed by a committee which includes denominational executives carrying corresponding responsibilities within their denomination. Thus, in its specific programs, as well as in its broad policies, the Council is supervised and governed by nearly 5500 official representatives—approximately 2700 lay men and women and 2800 clergy—of the 34 communions that presently constitute it.

"Closely associated with the National Council are over 900 city, state and county councils, created by the churches of their own communities and responsible for programs of cooperation there. There are 2200 councils of churchwomen and 2,000 ministerial associations that provide further networks of local cooperation. All of these are autonomous but linked with the National Council in common aims, programs, concerns, and functions."

From the Council's Constitution, Art. X, Sections 1, 2 and 3, regarding its Divisions:

"The Council shall constitute four Divisions, the distinctions between which are broadly functional, as follows:

- "a) Division of Christian Education
- "b) Division of Christian Life and Work
- "c) Division of Foreign Missions
- "d) Division of Home Missions

"Each Division shall have the primary responsibility, subject to the provisions of Art. V. Section I of this Constitution, for developing the basic philosophy and the requisite programs within its assigned field, it being understood that there will be interdivisional cooperation and exchange ideas.

"Each Division may establish and maintain direct relations with the church boards and agencies corresponding to its field of operation, and with other organizations carrying closely related interests."

The National Council maintains a Washington office (Working Together Booklet) which:

"serves both member churches and Council units; gives prompt and authoritative notice regarding pending legislation, governmental directives, and other developments in the capital affecting the functioning of the churches and their agencies; secures official interpretations of legislative and administrative acts when required; indi-

cates channels for contacts in Washington and furnishes facilities for affecting them when desired (*the Office does not engage in efforts to influence legislation*); coordinates activities in relation to governmental agencies carried on by Council representatives in Washington. (Emphasis added)

The present officers serving from 1957 to 1961 are:

PRESIDENT: Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg
(American Baptist Convention)

VICE PRESIDENTS AT LARGE:

Bishop of Elaia Athenagoras
(Greek Archdiocese of North & South America)

Mrs. Guy A. Benchoff
(United Church of Christ, Evangelical & Reformed)

Arthur Gardiner Coons
(United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.)

Francis S. Harmon (American Baptist Convention)

Charles C. Parlin (The Methodist Church)

Bishop B. Julian Smith
(Christian Methodist Episcopal Church)

Charles P. Taft (Protestant Episcopal Church)

Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel (Protestant Episcopal Church)

VICE PRESIDENTS FOR DIVISIONS:

Bishop Reuben H. Mueller—(Evangelical United Brethren) Christian Education

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam—(The Methodist Church) Christian Life & Work

Rev. Virgil A. Sly—(Christian Churches) Foreign Missions

Rev. Willard M. Wickizer—(Christian Churches) Home Missions

TREASURER:

Charles E. Wilson
(American Baptist Convention)

ASSOCIATE TREASURER:

John H. Platt
(United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.)

RECORDING SECRETARY:

Rev. Norman J. Baugher
(Church of the Brethren)

GENERAL SECRETARY: Rev. Roy G. Ross

ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARIES:

R. H. Edwin Espy
James W. Wine (Recently resigned)

There are numerous other officers and leaders who serve in official capacities as Departmental Heads, Committee Chairmen, etc.

The Council states as its objectives in Article II of its Constitution:

- "1. To manifest the common spirit and purpose of the cooperating churches in carrying out their mission in the world.
- "2. To do for the churches such cooperative work as they authorize the Council to carry on in their behalf.

"3. To continue and extend the work of the inter-denominational agencies named in the Preamble of the Constitution, together with such additional objects and purposes as the churches through their representatives in the Council from time to time agree upon.

"4. To encourage study of the Bible and to assist in the spread of the Christian religion.

"5. To encourage fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.

"6. To foster and encourage cooperation among the churches for the purposes set forth in this Constitution.

"7. To promote cooperation among local churches and to further in communities, states or larger territorial units the development of councils of churches and councils of church women, in agreement with the Preamble of this Constitution.

"8. To establish consultative relationship with national councils of churches in other countries of North America.

"9. To maintain fellowship and cooperation with similar councils in other areas of the world.

"10. To maintain fellowship and cooperation with the World Council of Churches and with other international Christian organizations."

In order to present a complete picture of the activities of the National Council, we turn to literature published and released by their Office of Information for their response to the question: "What does the National Council Do?"

"First, it works constantly to make Christians more aware of the central unity of their faith. It aids Christians to direct their faith into channels of action . . .

"Through its *Division of Christian Education*, the Council gives guidance to the United Christian Youth Movement. It provides eight interdenominational summer conferences through the Commission on Missionary Education, which also reaches seven million persons annually by means of books, plays, film strips and films produced by the Friendship Press. The Division administers some 600 leadership schools each year, guides religious education and daily vacation schools, coordinates programs for 471 church-related colleges. The Division produced and holds the copyright of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and serves as the custodian of its basic text . . .

"Through its *Division of Christian Life and Work*, the Council encourages study in the churches of international affairs and worship and the arts; seeks to stimulate among Christians the application of Christian principles to economic life and racial and cultural relations; gathers and analyzes information on religious liberty; helps to coordinate the churches' health and social welfare agencies with national voluntary and government agencies; aids the denominations in planning a cooperative approach to stewardship and benevolence . . .

"Through its *Division of Home Missions*, the Council works to meet the changing needs of urban and rural churches; maintains a church building consultation service; has programs for agricultural migrants and Indians; provides a clearing house of information and

experience for home mission institutions; assists member boards and agencies in recruitment of missionary personnel . . .

"Through its *Division of Foreign Missions*, the Council coordinates the proclaiming of the gospel overseas by 73 foreign missions boards and 41 denominations. It works with the churches in area committees, and with the churches overseas through National Christian Councils, on problems facing Christian missions in 60 countries. It assumes responsibility for the health of missionaries while in the United States, and supplies clinical services through the Associated Mission Medical Office. It conducts a literacy program in 65 countries . . .

"Through *Church World Service*, 35 Protestant and Orthodox boards and agencies provide world-wide aid to the needy. CWS sends millions of pounds of food, clothing, medicines and other relief aid overseas annually. It rehabilitates war amputees, runs child care centers overseas and has already brought more than 100,000 refugees to the United States.

"Through the *Central Department of Evangelism*, the Council holds National Christian Teaching Missions, campus meetings and programs, services and discussions at military bases. It cooperates in a National Parks Ministry . . .

"Through the *General Department of United Church Women*, the Council promotes the united work of church women in missions, world relations and social action; sponsors the World Day of Prayer; World Community Day for relief and international understanding; May Fellowship Day for the local community; and programs of leadership education . . .

"Through *United Church Men*, the Council helps develop programs that concern the national consciousness of church men in local communities, supports their emphases on Christian colleges and Christian missions in cooperation with existing programs of the National Council . . .

"Through the *Broadcasting and Film Commission*, the Council presents Christian programs on radio and television networks and stations; maintains liaison with the movies; prepares audio visuals for the churches; provides broadcast training for clergy and laity . . .

"Through the *Bureau of Research and Survey*, the Council gathers and analyzes information, carries out research in cooperation with colleges, universities and foundations; publishes Information Service, a bi-weekly review and digest; gathers church statistics and publishes them in The Year-book of American Churches . . ."

The National Council has made statements and taken positions, in the name of the church, on the following topics:

1. **The recognition of Red China by the United States and the admission of Red China to the United Nations.**
2. **Against the right to work laws.**
3. **Against the immigration laws as now written.**
4. **Against the Bricker Amendment.**

These are some of the numerous pronouncements of the National Council and are among those which your committee considers to be of a controversial, political nature.

The National Council, Departments or Committees thereof, have indicated in their literature that they represent

thirty-eight million to sixty million Protestants. When a statement or pronouncement is made, it is made in the name of only that committee or the Council, but the newspapers indicate that the council is speaking for millions of Protestants, and this impression is not corrected with equal publicity. In other words, it is this committee's opinion, that the Council is only too happy to have the United Nations, the U.S. Legislative Bodies and the public believe they are speaking for thirty-eight to sixty million people.

Regarding the right to work law issue, you may or may not be aware of the fact that several years ago the AFL-CIO made a gift of some \$200,000 in cash to the National Council. This money was given through the Phillip Murray Memorial Foundation, and the labor union *News* quoted the Council as stating "that the money will be used by the National Council on behalf of the practical application of religious principles to the everyday world of economic life." Shortly after this gift was received the Council's Department of the Church and Economic Life began a study of the right to work law issue, and their report, in pamphlet form, which was officially approved by the General Board of the National Council, holds that the right to work idea is all wrong from the Christian standpoint, and, therefore, there should be no right to work laws. We understand that the pamphlet issued by the Council was used extensively by the unions in the right to work referendum campaign in various states during the 1958 campaign.

From the "Hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, February 25, 1960, on the Issues Presented by Air Reserve Center Training Manual," at page 1303 and 1304, we find the following statement made by the staff director of the committee:

"Mr. Arens. May I first say, Mr. Chairman, in view of the Secretary's repudiation of the information conveyed respecting the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the chairman issued a statement to the effect that the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America had hundreds or at least over 100 affiliations with Communist fronts and causes. Since then we have made careful, but yet incomplete checks, and it is a complete understatement. *Thus far of the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist front records or records of service to Communist causes.* The aggregate affiliations of the leadership, instead of being in the hundreds as the chairman first indicated, is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands, and we have yet to complete our check, which would certainly suggest, on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee, that the statement that there is infiltration of fellow-travelers in churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement.

Now, with reference to the people whose names are specified, on 15-14 the first is *Walter Russell Bowie* whose name appears on 15-14. Our records thus far, and we have only made an examination of the most available information, is that he has had over 33 affiliations with Communist fronts and causes; that *Henry J. Cadbury* has had a total of not less than nine, which we have been able to confirm—the manual says 13—that *George Dahl*, concerning whom the manual says had 13 affiliations, we have thus far verified not 13 but 18.

With reference to *Leroy Waterman*, we have thus far identified and verified 20 connections with Communist fronts or causes. With reference to *Fleming Jones*, we have thus far verified a total of 25."

(Emphasis Added)

A resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council contained the following statement, which was sent to the Un-American Activities Committee:

"We call upon the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee to retract his untrue statement of charges against the churches and to apologize to the National Council of Churches and to the 60 million members of Protestant churches in America, and we further call to the attention of all churches and their members the never ending necessities to protect the freedom of religion and to exercise the duty of all Christians to judge the acts of the same in the light of the teachings, example and sacrifice of Jesus Christ."

The telegram was signed by: Eugene Blake, Clerk, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Fred Hoskins, President, the United Church of Christ; Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church; Arthur Miller, Moderator, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Frederick Buckley Newell, Bishop of New York area of the Methodist Church; and James E. Wagner, President, United Church of Christ.

Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the Committee immediately sent the following telegram to each of the signers:

"Do you desire the opportunity to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in order to question the accuracy of the material which came from the Committee files and which appears in the Air Force Manual? If you desire such opportunity, we can arrange a time convenient to yourself. Signed, Francis Walter."

From that date in April of this year to the date of this report, the invitation to testify has not been accepted by any of these six gentlemen.

What is a "Communist front organization"? The following is an excerpt from the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947:

"For the most part, front organizations assumed the character of either a mass or membership organization. Both solicited and used names of prominent persons. Literally hundreds of groups and organizations have either been infiltrated or organized primarily to accomplish the purposes of promoting the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States, the promotion of Soviet war and peace aims, the exploitation of Negroes in the United States, work among foreign-language groups, and to secure a favorable viewpoint toward the Communists in domestic, political, social, and economic issues.

The first requisite for front organizations is an idealistic sounding title. Hundreds of organizations have come into being and have gone out of existence when their true purposes have become known or exposed while others with high-sounding names are continually springing up.

"There are easy tests to establish the real character of such organizations:

1. Does the group espouse the cause of Americanism or the cause of Soviet Russia?
2. Does the organization feature as speakers at its meetings known Communists, sympathizers, or fellow travelers?
3. Does the organization shift when the party line shifts?
4. Does the organization sponsor causes, campaigns, literature, petitions, or other activities sponsored by the party or other front organizations?
5. Is the organization used as a sounding board by or is it endorsed by Communist-controlled labor unions?
6. Does its literature follow the Communist line or is it printed by the Communist press?
7. Does the organization receive constant favorable mention in Communist publications?
8. Does the organization present itself to be non-partisan yet engage in political activities and consistently advocate causes favored by the Communists?
9. Does the organization denounce American and British foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?
10. Does the organization utilize Communist "double talk" by referring to Soviet-dominated countries as democracies complaining that the United States is imperialistic and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?
11. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?
12. Does the organization, if espousing liberal progressive causes, attract well-known honest patriotic liberals or does it denounce well-known liberals?
13. Does the organization have a consistent record of supporting the American viewpoint over the years?
14. Does the organization consider matters not directly related to its avowed purposes and objectives?"

In his decision on the deportation of Harry Bridges, the Attorney General, Mr. Francis Biddle, included the following excellent description of Communist-front organizations:

"Testimony on front organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution."

We might add, in reference to certain press releases that we have read concerning the retraction of the Air Force Manual and the apology that was made to the National Council, the following taken from page 1299 of the Air Force Manual Hearing:

"Mr. Arens. Mr. Secretary, when you issued your press release repudiating the publication as representing the Air Force views and issued your apolo-

gy to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S., did you, by that act, mean to convey the impression that the Air Force was convinced that the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S. was not infiltrated by fellow-travelers? Secretary Sharp. No, I did not intend to indicate any concurrence with this statement, or objections to the statement as to its validity. I felt simply that this kind of a statement should not be made in an Air Force publication."

From Page 1302-1303:

"Mr. Arens. Did your statement of repudiation of the Air Force manual in any sense mean a repudiation of the validity or the integrity of the statements attributed to committee sources by the author of the manual?

Secretary Sharp. I have no reason to doubt that they were authentic, although, actually, I have not checked in detail to find whether the statements were accurate.

From Page 1313:

"Mr. Jackson. Mr. Secretary, in the revised edition of this particular manual, is it contemplated that the material relative to communism in religion is going to come out of the revised manual? Is any mention at all going to be in the new manual with respect to the efforts of the Communist Party to infiltrate into church institutions?

"Secretary Sharp. I would hope so; yes sir.

"Mr. Jackson. I would think it would be a dismal retreat from the facts of life if it is not pointed out that these efforts are going on.

The Communist Party is not stupid and, obviously would not neglect as important a field in our national life as churches.

Within the last month, here in the city of Washington, in a Methodist church, a former president of the National Council of Churches (G. Bromley Oxnam) sat in a forum discussion with an identified agent of the Communist Party, one who was convicted of contempt of Congress, whose appeal was recently turned down, and who is probably going to jail. This was not a matter in which the church individuals involved had no knowledge of the nature of the meeting, because for weeks it had been discussed in the press.

One Baptist church in the District—and I hope Heaven will look kindly on the minister of that church—refused to let the group use his church for that purpose when the nature of the meeting became apparent and when it was made known that an identified, convicted Communist was going to be on the platform with high church officials.

I would hope that in this revised manual it will again be pointed out very clearly that there is a continuing effort to infiltrate the churches of this country."

"Secretary Sharp. I would say that if it were not in the manual, we would be very derelict in our duty to inform our people.

Mr. Jackson. I would look forward to seeing the manual when it comes out because the same thing

that pertains to churches pertains to some of the schools of this country.

Secretary Sharp. That is correct."

In response to our correspondence with the Un-American Activities Committee requesting additional information concerning the Air Force Manual and the National Council, we attach the letter from Chairman Walter in reply as Exhibit I.

LEFT-WING ACTIVITIES:

G. Bromley Oxnam: A former President and member of the Board of the Federal Council. He was one of the most active promoters of the new National Council and presently serves as one of its Board members. The report of his affiliations is contained in his testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee on July 21, 1953, and is attached hereto as Exhibit II. (Oxnam is the only leader of the National Council who has appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee.)

His sworn explanation to his affiliations breaks down this way:

1. As to some he doesn't remember.
2. As to some he signed because somebody else had already signed ahead of him.
3. As to some his name was used without his permission.
4. As to some he signed because it was a good and righteous cause, and he would do it again.
5. As to some he made a mistake.

Edwin T. Dahlberg: Formerly the Chairman of the Department of Evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches and Vice Chairman of the Joint Department of Evangelism of the National Council. Presently President of the National Council, and long known as a radical pacifist, Dahlberg has signed and endorsed:

1. A "friend-of-the-court" brief in the famous *Melish* case.
2. A statement calling for the end of nuclear tests.
3. A signer and member of the Citizens Committee to free Earl Browder.
4. A member of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, a Communist spy.
5. A member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.
6. On the National Committee to Repeal the Immigration Act.
7. Signer of an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting the deportation of Harry Bridges.
8. Endorsed a report of 7 clergymen who visited Yugoslavia.
9. A member of the Washington Conference on Peaceful Alternatives.
10. For the recognition of Red China.

Roswell P. Barnes: Formerly Associate General Secretary of the Federal Council and former Executive Secretary of the Division of Christian Life and Work. He has been affiliated with the following:

1. A national sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign.
2. National Religion and Labor Foundation.
3. Committee on militarism and education.

4. Secretary of Norman Thomas Campaign Committee.
5. Fellowship of Socialist Christians, which he served as secretary.
6. North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy.
7. United China Relief.
8. War Resisters League.

W. Russell Bowie: Active in the National Council; former Vice Chairman of the Commission on Worship of the Federal Council and former Vice Chairman of the Department of Worship for the Federal Council. He has been affiliated with the following:

1. American Committee for non-participation in Japanese aggression.
2. American Committee to Save Refugees.
3. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
4. Church Emergency Committee for Relief of Textile Strikers.
5. Church League for Industrial Democracy.
6. Attack the American Legion Lobby in Washington.
7. Citizens Emergency Conference for Inter-Racial Unity.
8. Civil Rights Congress.
9. Committee on Militarism in Education.
10. Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo.
11. Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief.
12. Friends of Italian Democracy.
13. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.
14. Member of Harry Bridges Defense Committee.
15. National Citizens Political Action Committee.
16. National Citizens Committee on Relations with Latin America.
17. National Councils of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.
18. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.
19. National Federation of Constitutional Liberties.
20. Non-Intervention Citizens Committee.
21. North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
22. Signed open letter to President Roosevelt protesting Harry Bridges deportation.
23. World Tomorrow Poll, which called for socialism.

These are only a few of the records of left-wing activities of various leaders, past and present, of the National Council that your Committee has listed.

HOW A CHURCH BECOMES A MEMBER

A single church does not and can not become a member of the National Council. We, as church members, are related to the respective Councils through our own denominational bodies. We are related to the local Houston Council through the congregation; to the Texas State Council through the state denominational judicatory; in our case, the Texas Convention of Christian Churches; to the National and World Councils through our national group, or the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ.)

An individual church then does not become a member of either the National or the World Council. They are affiliated with the two Councils through their denomination, and, as long as the congregation belongs to a certain denomination and that denomination is a member of the National and World Councils, the relationship between the individual Church and Council will continue.

The important thing to keep in mind is that our congregation did not vote to join either the World or National Councils. This decision was made for us by our National leaders. The only choice that we, as a church group, have is whether or not to cooperate with them.

THE ROLE AND VOICE OF EACH INDIVIDUAL CHURCH

A single church congregation has no role or voice in either the National or World Councils. The Executive Secretary of our International Convention advised us by letter that he serves on various committees and the matter of voting, votes his own particular conscience as to what he feels like the particular stand of our denomination would be on any given issue. *The Committee has made a diligent inquiry, and it has not been brought to our attention that any opportunity has been given us, either as individuals or a church group, to express our opinion on the election of the leadership of the National Council or any of the matters which have been passed in resolution form, or otherwise, by the General Assembly, General Board, or the various departments of the National Council, except through registering a protest at our District, State and National Conventions.*

We can look to a resolution passed at their General Board meeting in December of 1958 for the starting point:

"If and when it appears that specific pronouncements in any area of international affairs should be made by the National Council of Churches, such pronouncements will be developed by the responsible departments and divisions of the Council for adoption by the General Board."

The Cleveland World Order Study Conference held in November, 1958, which was sponsored by the Department of International Affairs of the Council, illustrates the operation of this principle.

The message of this study conference was brought to the General Board of the National Council in December of 1958. Although the Board withheld official endorsement, its resolution commended the Cleveland Conference for speaking out "on controversial political, economic and social issues" in its "message to the churches, calling for changes in the United States foreign policy."

The Board then declared that the Cleveland Study Conference has performed a valuable function in helping the churches and their members carry forward the process of the American people's development of their foreign policy. The Board's resolution concluded as follows:

"We call upon our constituency and all American citizens to study carefully the full text of the message of the Cleveland Conference, and later, when available, its full report, to the end that reasoned progress may be made by the people of the United States and their government toward solving the serious problems faced by our nation in its foreign relations."

We have mentioned the Red China issue which came out of this Conference. The following was also advocated:

"Coexistence with the Communist nations;

"Avoidance of the posture of general hostility to the Communist nations;

"A call to fellow churchmen to work to overcome segregation in all areas, beginning with their own congregations and including housing, public services and economic or occupational opportunities;

"Ratification of the Genocide Convention;

"Internationalism to supercede national patriotism;

"Disarmament by multilateral agreement with the goal of universal disarmament;

"The use of military force only when sanctioned by and under the control of the United Nations;

"The creation of a permanent United Nations police force and abolition of universal military training;

"Abolition of the system of military conscription and of selective service system;

"Opposition to the concept of nuclear retaliation or preventive war;

"Extension of trade and travel without restrictions between the United States and Communist countries."

THE LAYMEN'S POINT OF VIEW

As stated in the foreword to this report, we have read Chairman Pew's final report to the National Lay Committee and attach hereto as Exhibit III, his explanatory letter preceding the report.

We quote from page 36 of the report listing a few of the comments made by members of the Lay Committee on the activities of the National Council:

"Greater concentration and attention than ever is being given economic and political questions; I thought that this was a religious organization!"

"The majority of the General Board decisions are made without proper consideration and far too little research."

"Questions that Congress must take months to decide are disposed of in the General Board inside a half hour."

"No referendum is expected on any of these political questions; no procedure for referring questions to constituency is provided; what has become of the democratic process?"

Briefly summarized, the activities of the Lay Committee were originally to collaborate with the General Board of the National Council and the various Departments on all pronouncements and statements of policy. The first job, however, given the Lay Committee was to raise some \$600,000 to finance the National Council, in its formative years and until its Department of Finance could become activated. Thereafter, the Lay Committee took a strong adverse position to the issuance of "controversial statements and studies in the fields of sociology, economics and politics; and the danger inherent in speaking to official Washington and the United Nations General Assembly in

behalf of Protestantism on matters outside their field and for which they possess no mandate."

When it became apparent that there could be no reconciliation between the statements of the National Council and the Lay Committee membership of over 200 distinguished men and women, the Lay Committee was disbanded officially on June 30, 1955, by action of the National Council General Board.

A major issue of disagreement between the Lay Committee and the General Board and one which "dissipated time and energies which members of the Lay Committee had constantly anticipated would be devoted to spiritual purposes" was the development that the National Council's policy in regard to its stands on controversial political questions of a secular nature was to be substantially that of the old Federal Council of Churches.

In May 1954, Chairman Pew, at the Lay Committee's yearly meeting in Philadelphia, made a report concerning the issuance of controversial statements and studies by the Council and its units. This report was based upon the discussions which had occurred between the Council and Lay leaders; upon prolific correspondence with members of the Lay Committee; upon discussions with the Executive Committee members of the Lay Committee and upon public opinion polls. In part this report states:

"There are, in general, four ways by which the public are reached by the National Council; *First*, by so-called "study materials" which require no action by the General Board; *second*, through national and local conferences sponsored by the National Council, but whose findings do not come before the Board for approval prior to release for publication and are not monitored for conformity to General Board policy; *third*, through speeches of those more or less importantly associated with the National Council; and *fourth*, through the pronouncements released after the formal approval of the General Board.

"As an illustration in point, there can be cited two examples: the material issued by the Council's Division of Christian Life and Work commenting on Inflation; and the Council's expressed opposition to the Bricker Amendment.

"In the case of Inflation, the report was made a study document. And in the Bricker Amendment, it was the National Council's Department of International Justice and Goodwill, at its conference in Cleveland, *which succeeded in creating the inference that 33 million church people in this country are opposed to the Bricker Amendment.*

"Our Lay Committee believes that the church should be a dedicated religious organization and as such, doubts that it should be engaged in making pronouncements on highly controversial economic and political subjects upon which the clergy are frequently ill-informed, regarding which they have no mandate whether from God or the Laity, and where such controversy diminishes the effectiveness of the church's moral and spiritual leadership.

"How controversial these pronouncements have been is illustrated by the fact that a great majority of the laypeople in our churches, for instance, believe that the transitional free market and a voluntary society, are spiritually, morally and philosophically right. *Our Committee believes that church*

organizations should devote their time and energy to saving souls and making Christians out of people; that once people have become Christians, they will evolve a government which can be depended upon to administer the affairs of state wisely and well.

"The resolutions passed unanimously at our Lay Committee's Hershey meeting a year ago were an expression of the critical attitude of this lay group toward a purportedly religious activity in which it appears that 30 out of 64 statements issued by the Council were addressed to the Federal Government, either directly or through the press, thus bringing the church into the area of political controversy.

"The National Council of Churches, as presently constituted possesses no valid mandate to speak on controversial political, economic or sociological questions for 33 million Protestants who sit in the pews of those church denominations affiliated with the National Council of the Churches.

"These comments do not bear on the merits of any particular controversial issue, nor to freedom of any individual clergyman to give expressions to any view he may hold with respect to such controversial political, economic or sociological issues. The question raised runs both to the propriety and the desirability of continuing the practices currently being followed." (Emphasis Added)

CONCLUSIONS

The policies and plans of the National Council of Churches, as now constituted and directed, are not in accordance with the faith and practices of the Spring Branch Christian Church.

Many of the statements and pronouncements forthcoming from the National Council have been of a serious political nature and directed toward the Federal Government.

We believe that the Church has every right to, and should speak out on all moral issues. We believe that the corporate church has the same right. We do not believe that the Church nor the corporate Church should speak out on political issues nor on the political aspects of economic and social issues. When they do, they are seriously in danger of linking state and church, and combining two divine institutions whose objectives and functions are in every way different and independent of each other.

The state is temporal in its administration, and designed for the temporal welfare of its citizens. The Church is a spiritual organization designed to witness to the saving and keeping power of the Lord, Jesus Christ, and to minister to the spiritual needs of the people.

We do not condemn the principle that should derive from the corporate Church of cooperation between church groups. We recognize that there may be a need for an agency which can, in mutually agreed areas, represent Protestantism.

The National Council of Churches is, in effect, a powerful action body exerting its influence on our National Government on controversial political, social and economic issues, and as such a group, the Council wields a very powerful influence on legislative bodies because of the inferences, allowed to be created in the press, that it represents and speaks for some thirty-eight to sixty million Protestants.

Not only does the Council make pronouncements to the press, they actively seek to influence the Congress by litera-

ture and statements, and by personal contact. The effect of such activity by such a large and powerful group doubtless affects legislation, and is certainly intended to affect legislation.

The Council concerns itself with political issues to the detriment of its stands on religious or moral issues.

We believe that the National Council attempts to influence the thinking of our National Legislators toward Socialistic action through the Council's policy statements and pronouncements.

The National Council is led and directed by a small group of religious professionals who have tended to utilize the Council as a political pressure group. We believe that some of them have been duped or led into allowing the use of their names by organizations which do not have the best interests of our nation and our way of life as their objectives.

As presently constituted, the rank and file members of the Church have no voice in what the National Council does and says. How can the Council speak for the Churches affiliated with it except the people be given an opportunity to express themselves and be recorded on each issue? The National Council represents "Authority without Responsibility."

Although creating the impression that it speaks for anywhere from thirty-eight to sixty million people, the National Council possesses no such authority, and we are convinced that *the overwhelming majority of the Protestants in America do not approve of getting the Church involved in political, social and economic issues in the name of the Church.*

EXHIBIT I

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities WASHINGTON

June 2, 1960

Dear Mr. _____:

In response to your request for any additional information the Committee might have in connection with the controversial Air Force Manual and the National Council of Churches, it would seem appropriate that some explanation be made of the position of the Committee with reference to religious institutions.

The Communists know, and have so stated, that before the people will accept the ideology of communism, religion, which they call the opiate of the people, must be eliminated or neutralized.

Since the Communists understand that religion is the greatest obstacle to the success of the Communist cause, this Committee has always recognized and pointed out that our religious institutions are the free world's greatest bulwark against atheistic, godless, communism. The Committee, therefore, has urged and continues to urge the growth and strengthening of our religious institutions.

The Committee has not and does not investigate churches or religious organizations. What it has done is to point out the techniques used by the Communist apparatus to infiltrate and weaken the church. It would be grossly erroneous to interpret such activity on the part of the Committee as an attack upon the church or religious institutions.

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain information with respect to participation in behalf of Communist fronts and causes of individuals who, from time to time, have been identified in a leadership capacity with the National Council of Churches, but such participation in behalf of Communist fronts and causes does not necessarily indicate that such individuals should be considered Communist, Communist sympathizers, or fellow travelers.

It has not been the policy of the Committee, in the course of its investigative hearings, to inquire as to Communist front activities of individuals unless such activities were connected in some way with alleged Communist Party affiliations. The reason for this is, that though some individuals participate in front activities wittingly, others do so unwittingly. The Committee strongly feels that in the light of this policy, and the present controversy which has arisen over the publication of the Air Force Manual, it would be against public interest for the Committee to release a list of names of individuals with Communist front affiliations.

With very best regards, I am,

Sincerely yours
Francis E. Walter (signed)
Chairman

EXHIBIT II

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Subject: G. Bromley Oxnam

Public records, files, and publications of this committee reveal the following information concerning the individual named above:

The Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9. The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties, and declaring that the slogan of "America First" must be interpreted as meaning America first in world service, and not "to be first to go into Mexico to steal oil lands."

A letterhead of the League for the Organization of Progress dated February 2, 1931, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam, president De Pauw University, as a member of the board. The League for the Organization of Progress has never been cited as a front organization. It was an international organization founded in Paris in 1912, with headquarters in Bern, Switzerland. The American office was located at Yellow Springs, Ohio. The league has long been out of existence.

A letterhead of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, dated 1932, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the national committee.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation, which has not been cited as a front organization, was founded in 1932 by Francis J. McConnell, Jerome Davis, and John A. Ryan. The official publication was Economic Justice. The first issue of Economic Justice (November 1932) printed a cartoon of Jesus by Art Young, New Masses cartoonist. With the cartoon of Jesus appeared these words: "Reward for Information Leading to Apprehension of Jesus Christ. Wanted—for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and

Conspiring to 'Overthrow the Established Government.'" The National Religion and Labor Foundation apparently is still in existence. There is no record in the public files of this committee showing Dr. Oxnam's disaffiliation with that organization.

On January 30, 1933, the Fellowship of Reconciliation released a petition addressed to the President of the United States urging the recognition of the Soviet Union. The name of G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, appears as one of the signers.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, allegedly a strictly pacifist organization, was organized in 1915 and is the American section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the reorganization of society, and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. The public records and files of this committee contain no further reference to any affiliation of Bishop Oxnam with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A letterhead of the Committee on Militarism in Education, dated October 1, 1935, reflects the name of Bromley Oxnam as a member of national council. Kirby Page, a member of the national council, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on June 15, 1934. He stated that the Committee on Militarism in Education was opposed to military education in civilian schools. The following is quoted from a letter of the Committee on Militarism in Education dated September 22, 1930:

"* * * Militarism in education goes on, accumulating power and tradition, aided by War Department money and resources, *** by propaganda, glorified by every device of military romance in literally hundreds of American colleges, universities, and high schools, building that blind, unreasoning, emotional response to military symbols which has so often swayed and deceived men in a crisis. Against this glorification of the military method and machine, the peace movement has accomplished little as yet. The spearhead of the struggle against militarism in schools and colleges has been this committee. It has waged peace with intelligence and courage, showing not only the zeal of the peace advocate but the sound methods of the social scientist. Specializing on this one issue, it occupies a unique place in current peace endeavors, duplicating no other agency.* * *

The Daily Worker of September 24, 1937, page 6, contains an article about a meeting to be held at Madison Square Garden on October 1. This meeting held under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People, featured William E. Dodd as the speaker. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as a sponsor of the meeting.

Letterheads of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, list the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor.

A photostatic copy of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 16, 1939, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor. The June-July 1941 issue of the Protestant Digest reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as an editorial adviser. A Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, to be held November 6-8, 1943 reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor of that congress.

The Daily Worker of October 6, 1944 (p. 9) carries a news item concerning a rally sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, celebrating the 27th

anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union and the 11th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one of the sponsors.

A letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated March 13, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as sponsor.

A letterhead of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated December 15, 1943, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as chairman of the executive board.

The Washington Daily News of April 7, 1947, contains a news item concerning the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In the article, the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one who had withdrawn from the organization. The date of Bishop Oxnam's withdrawal is not mentioned.

On December 26, 1941, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties issued a press release to the effect that an open letter had been addressed to the President and the Congress of the United States, opposing anti-labor legislation as a dire threat to the unity essential for the defeat of Japan and her axis partners. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of the letter.

In January 1943, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed a message to the House of Representatives. This message was a plea for the discontinuance of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. One of the reasons given was: "The Dies Committee, by continuing and repeated attacks on our great ally, the Soviet Union, has utilized its resources to obstruct the cooperation of the United Nations, which is a prerequisite for victory." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of the message.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges issued an undated press release in regard to an open letter addressed to President Roosevelt by more than 300 clergymen throughout the country, urging that the deportation order against Harry Bridges be set aside. The letter, dated April 22, 1943, and signed by the Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons states, in part, "Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economic beliefs." The name of the Rt. Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop, Boston, Massachusetts, is listed as one who joined with Bishop Parsons in signing the letter.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, located at 1775 Broadway, New York City, was one of four such organizations created for the defense of Harry Bridges. The others were: The Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges at 1265 Broadway, New York City; the Harry Bridges Defense Committee of San Francisco, with branches in Los Angeles, Seattle and Portland; and the Harry Bridges Victory Committee of San Francisco.

The Attorney General of the United States has listed the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges as a Communist organization. The same classification applies to the other three organizations.

A letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated February 8, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national committee. A Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States (Fish Committee), in a report dated January 17, 1931, said:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of the ACLU is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag and erecting a Soviet Government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

In a report dated January 3, 1939, a Special Committee To Investigate Un-American Activities and Propaganda in the United States (Dies Committee) said:

The committee heard testimony with reference to the Civil Liberties Union. Some witnesses listed this organization as communistic, while other witnesses denied it was communistic. We received in evidence a number of pamphlets distributed by the Civil Liberties Union, which speak for themselves. From the evidence before us, we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not this organization can properly be classed as a Communist organization.

A letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, dated January 21, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

A letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service dated October 4, 1928, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, while another letterhead of the same organization dated April 12, 1946, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the executive committee.

The Bureau County Republican of May 18, 1939, carries a front page story concerning the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The following appears in the article:

Five Bishops of the new unified Methodist Church in session at Kansas City last week aligned themselves with the radical Methodist Federation for Social Service which conducted a conference running simultaneously for the Uniting Conference. Three other bishops, at meetings of the federation, were declared to be in sympathy with the organization, making eight bishops favoring their cause out of a total of more than 40 bishops present at the Uniting Conference. While the number of bishops endorsing the radical organization was small in proportion to the total number, yet their influence was tremendous over the entire session. It was so strong that no objection to their activities was expressed from any quarter. The federation suffered only one defeat and that was when the Uniting Conference passed a motion to delete a pronouncement in favor of social economic planning from the discipline of the united church.

The five bishops endorsed the federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States and favored its replacement with a social-planning order. The pamphlets of the federation, distributed at the session, declare that under the new social order private ownership of property is to come to an end. Under their system there are to be no capitalists. Private property, according to the pamphlets, is to be taken over without compensation to the owners and operated by "useful social workers."

Four prominent bishops of the Methodist church attended the dinner of the Methodist Federation for Social Service held at the YMCA Building. The bishops occupied seats at the speakers' table and made addresses. A fifth bishop, Edgar Blake, of the Detroit area, sent word that he was unable to be present on account of conference work,

but extended his best wishes for the success of the federation of which he is a member of the executive committee.

The four bishops who made speeches eulogizing the federation are:

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of the New York City area, president of the American Federation for Social Service.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, formerly of the Omaha area, assigned last week to the Boston area.

Bishop James C. Baker, of the San Francisco area.

Bishop Paul B. Kern, of the Nashville, Tennessee area.

* * * Bishop Oxnam, who as a student got his training from Dr. Harry F. Ward, at the Theological Institute, was the first speaker on the program. He was introduced by Bishop McConnell as a man who comes out flatfooted on any principle for which he stands and does it without mincing words. Bishop McConnell said Bishop Oxnam reminds him of a railroad train which starts rather idly, but steams up as it goes along and gradually makes high speed at the climax.

Bishop Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the things for which it stands. He read from the masthead of the federation's literature the following statement, which outlines the federation's purposes:

"The Methodist Federation for Social Service is an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction and privilege."

The economic plan referred to by Bishop Oxnam is further elucidated in the pamphlet containing the platform of the federation.

On page 11 the pamphlets declare "Social economic planning can give everybody plenty and security."

On page 12: "Under social ownership there won't be any capitalists and all the returns will go direct to the people."

Page 10: "The only country that has a complete social economic plan is the Soviet Union."

On page 13 the plan of the Soviet Union of Russia is again commended. On a dozen pages the pamphlets declare private property will be taken from the present owners without compensation. The owners, however, are to be given the jobs by the useful social workers and it is said they ought to feel grateful to be permitted to become a part of the planning scheme.

Bishop Oxnam paid a high tribute to the federation and to its secretary, Dr. Ward, whom he regarded as one of the greatest leaders in the new industrial, social, economic planning movement. Bishop Oxnam said that as a student he took dictation from Dr. Ward in the writing of some of his books known to all radical leaders * * *.

The Washington Post of November 24, 1948, page 1, carries a news item datelined Newark, New Jersey, November 23, regarding a speech made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam before the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church. Bishop Oxnam is reported to have denounced the Committee on Un-American Activities. He is quoted as saying:

"Protestants believe that the conspirators who would destroy our freedom can be ferreted out and properly punished better by the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than by the heresy and un-American procedures of this committee."

Bishop Oxnam was evidently referring to a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled, "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion," wherein it was reported that the Methodist Federation for Social Action, while not an official church unit, is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party.

The Washington Star of December 8, 1948, at page 7, carries a news item datelined Buck Hills Falls, Pennsylvania, December 8, in which Bishop Oxnam is reported as having said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is un-American itself for attempting to pin the Communist label on some churchmen and church groups. Also, Bishop Oxnam is reported as saying that such "absurd charges" are "disguised efforts to silence men on the pulpit by threatening to call them Communist."

The Daily Worker of December 1, 1947, at page 3, carries a news item regarding a letter made public by the arts, sciences, and professions council of the Progressive Citizens of America, denouncing the motion-picture producers for their "shocking and degrading capitulation to the discredited and irresponsible House Committee on Un-American Activities." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of this letter.

The New York Times of February 24, 1949, pages 1 and 3, contains a news item regarding the presentation of the annual award of the Churchman to Bishop Oxnam. It was reported that Bishop Oxnam said that the United States must not flirt with Franco to stop Stalin. Bishop Oxnam is quoted as saying: "We cannot expect the common man to believe our democratic pronouncements if we make deals with dictators, or ally ourselves with political, economic, or ecclesiastical reaction."

The Daily Worker of June 22, 1949, carries a news item datelined Boston, June 21, to the effect that Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam assailed congressional witchhunts, and said:

"Freeman may well be alarmed at the action of the House Un-American Activities Committee in asking for a list of textbooks used by schools and colleges. At the very moment calm and critical minds are essential, leaders in the grip of fear become hysterical and adopt procedures destructive of democracy. More time given to constructive legislation designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of dynamic democracy, and less time to character assassination would produce greater benefits."

The Washington Evening Star of May 26, 1950, carries a news item datelined Boston, May 26. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is reported as calling for joint action between Protestants and Catholics to meet the onslaught of communism.

Bishop Oxnam addressed a letter to the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 11, 1950. In it, he stated that he never belonged to the American League Against War and Fascism. He further stated he thought it would be fundamentally unfair to say he belonged to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship without saying that affiliation with this organization was during the war, when Russia was one of our allies.

In another letter dated May 16, 1950, Bishop Oxnam states that the American Civil Liberties Union is not, and has never been, a Communist organization; that the Committee on Militarism in Education was never a Communist organization; that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an absolute pacifist organization and he never belonged to it;

that he did belong to the Methodist Federation for Social Action but no longer is a member; that he did serve on the advisory committee of the Protestant, but resigned.

In the third letter he wrote to the committee, dated February 12, 1951, Bishop Oxnam stated that he was never a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People; that he was never a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and never signed any statement of that organization; that he did authorize the use of his name by the American Friends for Spanish Freedom, and that he resigned from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship following the war.

Organizations and publications mentioned herein which have been—

- (1) Cited by the Special Committee and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities;
- (2) Cited by the United States Attorney General:
 - American Committee for Spanish Freedom (2)
 - American Friends of the Chinese People (1)
 - American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2)
 - American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2)
 - Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (1) and (2)
 - Congress of American-Soviet Friendship (1)
 - Daily Worker (1)
 - Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1)
 - National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2)
 - New Masses (1) and (2)
 - Protestant Digest (1)

1608 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.
December 15, 1955

EXHIBIT III

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LAY COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

The following report is a painstaking compilation of the events, conversations and documents we have recorded during our Committee's term of life, March 28, 1951-June 30, 1955.

In the failure of this most important effort to bring about an enduring partnership between the clergy and laity, I feel a very real responsibility to provide a comprehensive and factual account of those steps which led to the Board's action discontinuing lay participation.

The members of the National Lay Committee gave liberally of their time and energy in an effort to establish unity in Protestant organization. Its members substituted for the Board's Committee on Business and Finance until that Committee could be organized late in 1951, and even after that continued to lend a helping hand. It supplied members to a long list of the Council's assemblies, boards and committees. It held yearly meetings of its members, and I shall long remember them for their high degree of spiritual inspiration.

Throughout our Committee's term of life, it repeatedly brought to the Council's attention the seriousness of the

problems involved in its issuance of controversial statements and studies in the fields of sociology, economics and politics; and the danger inherent in speaking to official Washington and the United Nations General Assembly in behalf of Protestantism on matters outside their field and for which they possessed no mandate. (Emphasis Added)

We had been told at the Lay Committee's Princeton meeting, April 5-6, 1952, that laity had been absent in large degree from the councils of organized Protestantism for decades. The reappearance of independent and responsible laity in the councils of the church was said by Dr. John A. Mackay at that meeting to be "the most creative movement which had emerged in the recent history of the Christian Church."

However, as we participated in the discussions of the General Board, the Council's divisional assemblies and committees, we laypeople found ourselves not only deeply in the minority but often poles apart from the clergy who invariably outvoted us ten-to-one in these sessions. The whole membership of the Council was continuously aware of the inadequacy of lay participation in its deliberations. Many official reports emphasized this fact. For example, those of us present at the Council's General Assembly in Denver heard Bishop Oxnham, chairman of the Committee on Study and Adjustment report as follows:

"There has been a tendency in recent years to expect religious professionals to carry too heavy a share of those responsibilities which should be carried jointly by professionals and laity."

The members of the Lay Committee were often misunderstood in their urgency to keep the churches out of politics and their insistence on the primacy of evangelism. Our premise was that, instead of appealing to government, the church should devote its energies to the work of promoting the attributes of Christianity—truth, honesty, fairness, generosity, justice and charity—in the hearts and minds of men. We attempted to emphasize that Christ stressed not the expanded state but the dignity and responsibility of the individual. (Emphasis Added)

It was at a General Board meeting in Chicago, May 18-19, 1953, that we realized the extent and character of the philosophy held currently by most of the ordained executives and officers directing the work of the several denominational headquarters staff, and therefore of the National Council. Their philosophy it seemed to the Lay Committee, looked to an ever-expanding government. Clergy and laity active in organized Protestantism seemed to have lost the capacity to understand each other. We, as laypeople, were alarmed and unhappy as the National Council assumed the right to speak increasingly on subjects in which it was difficult to see ethical or spiritual content for that inarticulate and voiceless body called, "34,000,000 Protestants."

The Chicago Board meeting indicated beyond doubt that the time was not yet ripe for the partnership between clergy and laity we had envisioned with so much hope and enthusiasm when the National Council was organized, back in 1950.

Laypeople, however, were not alone in questioning the Council's issuance of statements and studies in which ethical or spiritual content was absent or overshadowed by political implications. We learned that in the issuance of statements pastors of local churches were closer to laypeople and their thinking than were denominational executives and officers.

How did it happen that the hopes and aspirations expressed by the Planning Committee and concurred in by the Chairman and the members of the Lay Committee failed so utterly of accomplishments? This much is certain—with a few exceptions, the members of the Lay Committee had agreed to serve only because they had been assured that the new National Council would avoid the political involvements and controversies which had characterized the activities of the old Federal Council of Churches which was now superseded.

I shall not discuss the steps by which the National Council was to follow substantially the policy of the Federal Council. These are enumerated in the report which follows this letter. It did, however, become increasingly evident with the passing of time that it was vital for the National Council to have functioning within its organization an autonomous lay group with the responsibility of interpreting the work of the Council to the laity, and of interpreting the viewpoint of the laity to the Council.

On February 24, 1954, the Lay Committee's officers and Executive Committee addressed a letter to Bishop William C. Martin, then president of the National Council, and forwarded copies to the members of the Council's General Board. This letter in full is to be found in the appendix which follows the report. As you will note, this letter suggested that the Lay Committee must retain its planning and working entity; that the proposed integration of the Lay Committee members, one-by-one, into the more than seventy units of the Council was not the answer. The letter said further that members of the Lay Committee were presently participating in the work of a large number of the Council's divisions, boards and committees; and that further dissemination without being able to discuss problems and aspirations with an autonomous Lay Committee would cause the loss to the Council of these laypeople's skills, experience and viewpoints. The letter emphasized that

"The overall view of the Council's work, plus the opportunity to review this composite picture, is essential to the keeping together of this group of 190 laypeople. If our primary task is to be the interpretation of the Council's work, then we must know the whole picture collectively, be organized to discuss it and plan its interpretation together."

The Executive Committee stressed that dissemination alone could only render us ineffectual, and mean the abandonment of the whole philosophy of a clergy-and-laity partnership.

Our Committee's work seemed to the Executive Committee to be completed when we addressed our "Lay Affirmation" to the Council's Committee on Policy and Strategy on September 13, 1954, and to the General Board on September 15, 1954, on the subject of "Corporate Pronouncements of Denominational or Interdenominational Agencies." While the entire statement is to be found in the appendix, I quote here one important paragraph:

"Our Committee believes that the National Council of the Churches impairs its ability to meet its prime responsibility when, sitting in judgment on current secular affairs, it becomes involved in economic or political controversy having no moral or ethical content, promoting division where unity of purpose should obtain, nor do we believe that the National Council has a mandate to engage in such activities."

When the General Board took no action on this "Lay Affirmation" beyond voting to receive the document with gratitude, most of the members of the Lay Committee came finally to the realization that a wide chasm existed between the thinking of the laity and the clergy and executives of the denominational bodies which comprise the National Council.

One last effort was made to hold the support of the Lay Committee without conferring upon its membership the opportunities or responsibilities which had been looked for since the first discussion in July of 1950. This approach, however, did not come from the General Board but from the Executive Committee of the Board of Managers of the General Department of United Church Men. The proposal was reminiscent of the earlier unworkable situation that had existed between 1950 and 1952 and called for constituting the Lay Committee as a standing committee of United Church Men but with even more limited autonomy, status and program than had heretofore been the lot of the Lay Committee. Since the minimum conditions for continued existence as fixed by the Executive Committee of the Lay Committee had the support of the membership at large and were found to be incompatible with the invitation tendered, the Chairman found no alternative but to decline it, which he did in concurrence with the prior approval of the Vice Chairman and twenty-seven of the thirty-one members of the Executive Committee.

Thus, on June 30, 1955, the Lay Committee ceased to exist as a Committee of the General Board. The partnership projected by the Planning Committee and subsequently thus described as a goal desired by the National Council officials, proved in practice to be one where lay men and women of the churches were expected to provide avenues of support for policies and programs largely determined by professionals.

The members of the Lay Committee believed, and so stated that the political adventures of the National Council in the fields of economic and political controversy would seriously hinder and not further Christian leadership in the pressing fields of evangelism, fellowship and education.
(Emphasis Added)

It appears from the record that the National Council could find no room for opposition to the philosophies and practices carried over from the old Federal Council. Lacking the patience to resolve the basic problem, it has sought to bury it.

But the issue still remains as one which must be resolved if the Protestant Christian witness of the great denominations which make up the membership of the National Council is to gain strength and not weakness from its activities.

If our Christian witness is to flourish an effort must be made to develop stronger roots of leadership in the great and still largely untilled fields of Christian lay activity, both within and without denominational channels. This is the effort to which the members of the Lay Committee had hoped to add their strength. It is an effort which should be continued until a more resourceful lay leadership can effect that partnership between clergy and laity so vital to the welfare of Protestantism. *The Lay Committee believes also that the Constitution of the National Council must be so amended as to permit real lay participation before it can speak authoritatively for the clergy and those who sit in the pews.*
(Emphasis Added)

The Chairman believes, as stated in the Affirmation of the Lay Committee, that the National Council's proper and legitimate field of activity transcends in importance all other areas of human activity and aspirations. He is convinced that until the problems crystallized by the experiences of the Lay Committee have been adequately dealt with the vitally necessary work of Christianity will not go forward with that unity of purpose between the clergy and laity essential for progress toward our common aim that God's Will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

He trusts that efforts to discover a workable reconciliation of the divergent views will be carried forward and that a program can be developed through which laity and clergy many more effectively work together for the greater glory of God and the redemption of all mankind.

Sincerely yours,
s/J. Howard Pew
Chairman
National Lay Committee

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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PART TWO

Pacifism, Socialism, Communism, and the National Council of Churches

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

Pacifist manifestos, pacifist demonstrations, "walks for peace," and picketing at the nuclear and missile weapons testing sites are among the pacifist activities which are in the news almost daily.

Whatever the motives which inspire the growing pacifist agitation in the United States may be, it is clearly in the interest of Soviet aggression and against the interest of the United States that every type of pacifist activity and propaganda be encouraged. The seal of Moscow's approval is bestowed upon every effort of American pacifists to thwart the preparedness of the United States to meet the aggression and the threat of aggression of the Soviet Union.

At the end of *Part One* of this study, attention was directed to a press release (April 21, 1958) of A. J. Muste's Church Peace Mission, reporting that 137 individuals (all but one of whom are Protestant clergymen) had signed "A Call for Moratorium on Nuclear and Missile Tests."

The signers of the Church Peace Mission's "call" stated that their action was "in line with the responsibility laid upon [them] by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches." Just how a body composed of clergymen who are not American citizens for the greater part (and including clergymen from the Iron Curtain Communist countries) could exert moral authority over a group of American clergymen is an interesting phenomenon.

The ideological position of the World Council of Churches with respect to Communism is essentially neutralist or anti-anti-Communist, always excepting of course its definitely pro-Communist members who come from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere behind the iron curtain. This august body of globally-minded ecclesiastics lacks the moral perception and courage to brand Communism and the Communist states as intrinsically evil.

The views of the high officials of the World Council of Churches are well represented by Professor John C. Bennett, on the question of "hostility" and "opposition" to Communism. Professor Bennett, who is Dean of Union Theological Seminary, has been a key figure in the World Council of Churches and his name heads the list of the clergymen who signed the Church Peace Mission's "call for a moratorium on nuclear and missile tests." Addressing the International Congregational Council on July 4, 1958, Dean Bennett called upon the Christian churches in the West "to stop the continuous expressions of national and religious hostility to Communists and Communist nations."

Dean Bennett then added that the churches "should not take so rigid an attitude that they cannot see that second generation Communists in Russia may become concerned chiefly about building their own country, that they may become less fanatical believers in their ideology and less a threat to the freedom of their neighbors." That, my dear readers, is an example of the Christian leadership offered by the contingent of pacifist, Socialist, and fellow-traveling clergymen of the World Council of Churches as well as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

The widely distributed pamphlets of the Church Peace Mission are written by such left-wing pacifists as Harold A. Bosley, Henry J. Cadbury, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Nels F. S. Ferré, Georgia E. Harkness, Albert E. Day, Paul E. Scherer, A. J. Muste, and George Miles Gibson.

Fellowship of Reconciliation

The Church Peace Mission grew out of the activities of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, according to the claims of the latter. In fact, the FOR claims to have spawned many of the leftwing organizations which have worked in season and out of season to further the interests of the Communist conspiracy without being an integral part of the latter. The FOR has the following to say about itself: "Out of its activities and the concerns of its members and committees have grown such diverse organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Religion and Labor Foundation, the Workers Defense League, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the Congress on Racial Equality, the National Council Against Conscription, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the Church Peace Mission, and most recently, the American Committee on Africa."

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has been characterized by a socialist orientation throughout its history. It is an affiliate of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation which is officially on record as urging its members in its national affiliates to join "political movements which aim at the replacement of private capitalism by a system of collective ownership."

In its current publications, the Fellowship of Reconciliation lists 47 individuals as members of an advisory council or as editorial contributors. Three of these individuals are not citizens of the United States. Thirty-five of the 44

Americans listed have records of affiliation with Communist fronts and enterprises, as follows:

Roland H. Bainton
 *Harold A. Bosley
 *Charles F. Boss
 *George A. Buttrick
 Henry J. Cadbury
 *Robert L. Calhoun
 *Allan Knight Chalmers
 *Bernard C. Clausen
 Sarah N. Cleghorn
 Florence Converse
 *Henry Hitt Crane
 *Edwin T. Dahlberg
 *Albert Edward Day
 William J. Faulkner
 Nels F. S. Ferre
 *Harry Emerson Fosdick
 Richard B. Gregg
 Isidor Hoffman

John Haynes Holmes
 Allan A. Hunter
 Josephine W. Johnson
 *E. Stanley Jones
 *Martin Luther King, Jr.
 Kenneth S. Latourette
 W. Appleton Lawrence
 Halford E. Luccock
 Mary Ely Lyman
 Milton Mayer
 Alfred D. Moore
 Clarence Pickett
 *Paul Scherer
 Pitirim A. Sorokin
 Douglas V. Steere
 Arthur L. Swift, Jr.
 *Howard Thurman

According to Milton Mayer, an editorial contributor of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, this organization of pacifists has some 5,000 clergymen and 10,000 laymen in its membership.

*Indicates official connection with Federal or National Council of Churches.

Milton Mayer's brand of pacifism, as illustrated in a speech delivered in Syracuse, N. Y., in 1947, is beyond comprehension by most Americans. In defending his proposal for world government, Mayer told his audience: "We must haul down the American flag. And if I wanted to be vulgar and shocking, I would go even farther and say haul it down, stomp on it and spit on it." (*Syracuse Post-Standard*, February 17, 1947).

The California Senate Investigation Committee on Education, under the able chairmanship of Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, has recently published a comprehensive report on the Fellowship of Reconciliation, showing the great extent to which the members and officers of the FOR have supported the Communist-front apparatus.

In 1951, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a special report entitled *The Communist "Peace" Offensive*, sub-titled "A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States."

The report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities opens with the following words: "The most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy is the current world-wide 'peace' offensive."

"Communists and their co-conspirators are spearheading this movement in cities and communities throughout the United States—at meetings, on street corners, in shops, homes, schools and colleges, in the press and on the radio—in fact, in every walk of life. Unless it is completely exposed, many may be deceived and ensnared."

The international Communist conspiracy is as active in perpetrating a peace hoax in 1958 as it was when the House Committee's report was published in 1951.

In the body of the House Committee's 166-page report, the names of 508 Protestant clergymen are listed as supporters of one or more of the units of the Communist peace hoax. Seventy-eight of the 508 listed clergymen have been officially connected with the Federal-National Council of Churches.

In a section of its report entitled "Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact," the House Committee on Un-American Activities traced the beginning of that Communist "peace" organization to a committee of five which included the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg who is now the president of the National Council of Churches. With reference to this Communist "peace" front, the House Committee said: "Communists in the United States did their

part in the Moscow campaign by instigating a Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, allegedly held in July 1949 in Washington, D. C. This resulted in the formation of a front organization known as the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact."

The House Committee's report then named the five individuals who served as Communist tools in the initiating of this "peace" front, as follows: Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, both of whom were refugees from Hitler's Germany; Emily Greene Balch, long active as a pacifist; Bishop W. J. Walls, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; and the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, who was then a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. Einstein, Mann, and Miss Balch were Nobel prize winners. With respect to the organization of this committee of five stooges, the House Committee observed: "That these individuals actually traveled from the four corners of the continent to confer on this plan is doubtful."

Einstein, Thomas Mann, Miss Balch, and Bishop Walls were already veteran fellow travelers in the Communist-front apparatus by the summer of 1949. Dr. Dahlberg was at that time far behind his four colleagues as a Communist frontier.

The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact issued two press releases dated August 21, 1949, and December 14, 1949. The first of these press releases listed 631 clergymen as supporters and the second listed 609. Subtracting 253 whose names appeared on both lists, we find that a grand total of 987 Protestant clergymen were publicly affiliated with this unit of the Communist peace hoax. Eighty-one of these 987 clergymen have been on the rosters of officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches.

In another section of the House Committee's report, we find the following statement: "Encouraged by its success in drawing dupes into its campaign, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact launched a more ambitious project under the high-sounding title of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace. This was held at the St. James Methodist Church in Chicago on May 29 and 30, 1950.

"The Avowed purpose was to pressure 'the President and the Congress of the United States to Undertake negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union' and demand that the 'United States delegation to the United Nations' present 'positive proposals for peace.' In plain terms, the conference was aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda."

Among the clergymen who appeared publicly as sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, 54 have been officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches.

Editors Support the Communist "Peace" Offensive

The Communists have shown an amazing ability to draw the editors of religious periodicals into their "campaign to disarm and defeat the United States." In their misguided pacifist sentiment, these editors have disseminated the Communist Party line among hundreds of thousands of church-going Americans whom the Communists could never reach with their own publications.

In the list of editors which follows, an asterisk indicates that the name of an editor has been on the rolls of the Federal-National Council of Churches officers. The following religious editors (with the titles of their publications and denominational status) supported the Communist "peace" organizations which were exposed in the April, 1951, report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

- *David D. Baker, *The Messenger* (Evangelical and Reformed)
- *J. Pius Barbour, *National Baptist Voice* (National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.)
- *Desmond W. Bittinger, *Gospel Messenger* (Church of the Brethren)
- John W. Bradbury, *Watchman-Examiner* (American Baptist)
- J. S. Brookens, *A.M.E. Review* (African Methodist Episcopal)
- G. H. Carter, *Christian Index* (Christian Methodist Episcopal)
- *Harold Ehrensperger, *Motive* (Methodist)
- *Phillips P. Elliott, *Presbyterian Tribune* (Presbyterian, USA)
- *Harold E. Fey, *Christian Century* (undenominational)
- Roscoe T. Foust, *The Witness* (Protestant Episcopal)
- E. E. Harris, *Telescope-Messenger* (Evangelical United Lutheran)
- *J. Clinton Hoggard, *Missionary Seer* (African Methodist Episcopal Zion)
- Fred A. Hughes, *Christian Recorder* (African Methodist Episcopal)
- *Jameson Jones, *Power* (Methodist)
- William H. Leach, *Church Management* (undenominational)
- Kenneth Leslie, *The Protestant* (undenominational)
- John E. Marvin, *Michigan Christian Advocate* (Methodist)
- *E. E. Ryden, *Lutheran Companion* (Augustana Evangelical Lutheran)
- *George V. Schick, *Lutheran Witness* (Missouri Synod)
- E. W. Schramm, *Lutheran Standard* (American Lutheran)
- *John R. Scotford, *Advance* (Congregational Christian)
- Guy Emery Shipley, *The Churchman* (Independent Protestant Episcopal)
- *William B. Spofford, *The Witness* (Protestant Episcopal)
- Prince A. Taylor, Jr., *Central Christian Advocate* (Methodist)

Revised Standard Version of the Bible

Every reader of this issue of *News and Views* will undoubtedly know something about the "New Bible," published on September 30, 1952, and copyrighted by the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Here, for the first time, however, is recorded the precise extent of the pro-Communist and pacifist affiliations of the members of the committee which presided over the translation of the so-called Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

The National Council of Churches has just published a brochure in which the names of the Revision Committee (32 members) and the Advisory Board (52 members) are listed. Thirteen of the thirty-two members of the Revision Committee and fourteen of the fifty-two members of the Advisory Board have records of affiliation with Communist and pacifist groups. The names of eight members of the Revision Committee who have five or more such affiliations, together with titles of the Communist and pacifist groups, are as follows:

Translators and Affiliations

W. Russell Bowie — American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee to Save Refugees; American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression; American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy; Christian Leaders Against Atlantic Pact; Churchman Associates; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity; Congress on Civil Rights; Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo; Council Against Intolerance in America; Exiled Writers Committee; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; Joint Anti-Facist Refugee Committee; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1950); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1958); National Citizens Political Action Committee; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Open Letter on Harry Bridges; Open Letter Opposing Military Aid to Spain (1951); *The Protestant*; Schappes Defense Committee; Statement Endorsing Distribution of Report on Yugoslavia; Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Washington Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo.

Leroy Waterman — American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee to Save Refugees; Bachrach Open Letter to the Attorney General; Brief *Amici Curiae* for Communist Party; Brief *Amici Curiae* for Morton Sobell; Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young; Civil Rights Congress; Committee to End Sedition Laws; Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America;

Council on Pan American Democracy; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; Hiroshima Commemorative Committee; International Workers Order; Michigan Civil Rights Federation; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Open Letter for Eisler; Open Letter on Harry Bridges; Religious Freedom Committee; Spanish Refugee Appeal; United Summer Appeal for Smith Act Children; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Fleming James — Appeal for Amnesty for Eleven Communist Party Leaders; Bachrach Open Letter to the Attorney General; Bill of Rights Conference; Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young; Committee for Medical Freedom; Committee of One Thousand; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Inter-faith Committee for Peace Action; International Workers Order; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1950); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts; National Committee to Win Amnesty; National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Statement endorsing Distribution of Report on Yugoslavia; Statement Against "Concentration Camps"; World Peace Appeal.

Henry J. Cadbury — American Rescue Ship Mission; Appeal to Guard Civil Rights; Boston Committee Against Jenner; Christian Leaders Against Atlantic Pact; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Conference on Social Legislation; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Protest Against Massachusetts Investigating Committee; Statement Defending 5th Amendment Witnesses; Statement Endorsing Book by Albert E. Kahn; World Peace Appeal.

George Dahl — American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American Welcoming Committee for World Peace Delegation; Citizens Committee To Secure Bail for Martin Young; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Open Letter on Harry Bridges; Schappes Defense Committee; Yale Petition to Lift Spanish Embargo.

Frederick C. Grant — Churchman Associates; Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges; Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1950); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1951); Melish Brief *Amici Curiae* (1958); National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Russian War Relief; Statement Endorsing Distribution of Report on Yugoslavia.

Luther A. Weigle — Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo; National Religion and Labor Foundation; North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Protestant Digest; Union for Concerted Peace Efforts; Yale Petition to Lift Spanish Embargo.

Millar Burrows — American Committee for Yugoslav Relief; Citizens United Against Wood-Rankin Committee; Council on Pan American Democracy; National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism; Open Letter on Harry Bridges.

Interlocking Directorate

A chart of the names of 44 Protestant clergymen will graphically portray the interlocking and overlapping of personnel in the leadership of the Federal-National Council of Churches, the pacifist-socialist movement, and the Communist-front apparatus.

In the chart which follows, an X in column (1) indicates official connection with the Federal-National Council of Churches; an X in column (2) represents affiliation with the Church Peace Mission; an X in column (3) affiliation with the Mid-Century Conference for Peace; an X in column (4) affiliation with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; an X in column (5) indicates affiliation with one of the committees set up throughout the United States under the name of Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; and an X in column (6) means affiliation with sundry other Communist fronts or enterprises.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
John C. Bennett Dean, Union Theological Seminary	X	X			X	X
Lester H. Bill Methodist, Indianapolis, Ind.		X	X	X		X
Harold A. Bosley Methodist, Evanston, Ill.	X	X				X
Charles W. Brashares Methodist Bishop, Chicago, Ill.	X	X		X		X
Allan Knight Chalmers Boston University School of Theology	X	X				X
Albert Buckner Coe Congregational Christian, Boston	X	X	X	X		X
D. Stanley Coors Methodist Bishop, St. Paul, Minn.	X	X				X
Henry Hitt Crane Methodist, Detroit, Mich.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Earl Cranston Dean, University of Southern California School of Theology		X		X		X
Edwin T. Dahlberg President, National Council of the Churches of Christ	X	X		X		X
Albert E. Day American University, Washington, D. C.	X	X				X
L. Harold DeWolf Boston University School of Theology		X	X			
Phillips P. Elliott Presbyterian, USA, Brooklyn, N. Y.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Harry Emerson Fosdick Baptist, minister emeritus	X	X			X	X
George Miles Gibson McCormick Theological Seminary		X	X	X		X
A. Raymond Grant Methodist Bishop, Portland, Ore.	X	X		X		X
Wesley H. Hager Methodist, St. Louis, Mo.		X		X		X
Georgia Harkness Pacific School of Religion	X	X	X	X		X
John Haynes Holmes Unitarian, minister emeritus		X	X	X	X	X
Walter Marshall Horton Oberlin Graduate School of Theology	X	X	X			X
L. H. Lammert Evangelical and Reformed, Missouri	X	X				X
W. Appleton Lawrence Protestant Episcopal Bishop, retired		X		X		X
Charles T. Leber Presbyterian, USA, New York	X	X				X
John Wesley Lord Methodist Bishop, Boston, Mass.	X	X				X
Edgar A. Love Methodist Bishop, Baltimore, Md.	X	X				X
John A. Mackay President, Princeton Theological Seminary	X	X				X
Robert J. McCracken Minister, Riverside Church, New York		X			X	X
Robert W. Moon Methodist, San Leandro, Calif.	X	X	X	X		X
Walter C. Muelder Dean, Boston University School of Theology	X	X	X	X		X
A. J. Muste Presbyterian, USA, New York	X	X			X	X
John Oliver Nelson Yale Divinity School	X	X				X
Glenn R. Phillips Methodist Bishop, Denver, Colo.	X	X				X
Ray W. Ragsdale Methodist, Los Angeles, Calif.	X	X		X		X
Harris Franklin Rall Garrett Biblical Institute, professor emeritus	X	X				X
Ernest W. Saunders Garrett Biblical Institute		X	X	X		X
John Nevin Sayre International Fellowship of Reconciliation		X	X			X
Paul E. Scherer Union Theological Seminary	X	X				X
Walter W. Sikes Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.		X		X		X
B. Julian Smith Christian Methodist Episcopal Bishop	X	X				X
Ralph W. Sockman Methodist, New York	X	X			X	X
Arthur L. Swift, Jr. New School for Social Research		X		X	X	X
Tyler Thompson Garrett Biblical Institute		X		X		X
Howard Thurman Dean, Marsh Chapel, Boston University	X	X			X	X
Frank M. Toothaker Methodist, Redlands, Calif.		X	X	X		X

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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The Ghost Of Judas Walks In Hungary

The full story of the betrayal of the Hungarian people has not been told by the secular or ("recognized") sacred press to the American people. This story is well known inside Intelligence circles of the governments of the Western Allies and the Iron Curtain bloc. The details of the role played by liberal Protestant churchmen who are puppeteers of the Soviet government is shocking and disgusting beyond description.

In order to comprehend the part played by these "wolves in sheeps' clothing," it is necessary to go back into a few years of recent history.

On July 7, 1953, there appeared before the Committee On Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives in executive session, New York City, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, a graduate of the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow and former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Mr. Kornfeder was asked by Representative Scherer of Ohio what methods the Communist leaders adopted in Russia, shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution, for taking over the churches, and church-supported institutions.

Mr. Kornfeder stated that at first the Bolshevik leaders used crude tactics, such as attacking religion openly and ridiculing sacred institutions. However, the Red leaders soon found out that this was not accomplishing their purpose, namely, the destruction of religion in Russia and the supplanting of the same with Atheism. So, they adopted a new tactic—to infiltrate the church via the age-old method of hypocrisy; or, now known as "putting on a front." The Reds were advised to join the churches; obtain teaching positions on the staffs of seminaries; edit church literature; not to destroy the Bible, but rather *re-interpret* the teachings of Christ and the Apostles to suit Communist ends! That is, anything in the Bible which could be twisted and distorted to serve Communist ends was to be utilized by these false religious leaders to destroy the faith of the Russian people.

This plan worked so successfully in the Soviet Union that it has since been adopted as standard procedure by the Reds for penetrating the sphere of religion over the entire world.

Other witnesses who appeared before the same Committee hearing—on the subject of Communist penetration of religion—not only testified to the exact same thing but stated that it was successful beyond the wildest dreams of the Communist Party.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has stated in his article, "God Or Chaos" (Red Book Magazine, February 1949) that the Communists "have operated under the guise of some church commission or religious body and it is ghastly to see the monster Atheism being nourished in the churches which it seeks to destroy."

The strategy laid down by Lenin and Stalin was put into full operation in the nations of Eastern Europe by the present day Soviet leaders shortly after the end of World War II. They installed, in these countries, Communists and Communist-sympathizers, as church heads; as professors in the theological seminaries; and as editors of church publications and Sunday School material.

Once these Communist clergymen were put in positions of power, they used their offices to attempt the brainwashing of the religious people of the Eastern Nations in favor of the World Communist conspiracy. The evidence to back up these charges would fill volumes. This evidence is not only in the hands of churchmen throughout the world but it is stacked up in the United States State Department, the Intelligence agencies, and is known by many Statesmen of the Western World who are afraid to open their mouths for fear that they will be accused of "attacking the churches."

The most shocking thing about this whole story is that the United States of America, which is supposed to represent the hopes of free people and oppressed people everywhere, has in recent months entertained these Red wolves as house guests!

Here is the story in chronological sequence:

- August, 1948: World Council of Churches formed in Amsterdam. Six regional presidents elected, including a Communist, Dr. T. C. Chao of Peiping, China, who welcomed Mao Tze Tung's armies in their conquest of Free China. Prof. Josef Hromadka, number one Soviet Communist clergyman from Prague, Czechoslovakia, elected to powerful Central Committee of World Council of Churches along with Bishop Albert Bereczky, Communist head of the Hungarian Reformed Church. World Council of Churches planned to hold its next world meeting in the United States in 1952 (world meeting scheduled every four years) but McCarran-Walter Immigration and Security Laws were passed by U. S. Congress forbidding entry of Communists or Communist sympathizers into the United States.

- September 16, 1951: Theologian Karl Barth of Switzerland accuses Bishop Bereczky (Hungary) of openly ap-

proving Communism and that Bereczky's Church Press Service sounded like the official releases from the Soviet Union.

● **August 15 - 28, 1952:** Conference on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches in Lund, Sweden. Large group of American Protestant Clergymen, representing about 29 denominations, met in secret session with Communist clergymen Hromadka and Bishop Bereczky.

● **March 11, 1953:** The radical Christian Century spearheads attack on McCarran Immigration Law in an editorial entitled, "McCarran Act Revision A Church Priority." Christian Century is the recognized voice of the religious liberals in the U.S.A. Editorial states that "unless the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act is revised in the current session of Congress, its operation will probably keep out of the country many of the church leaders who should come from abroad to the 1954 World Assembly of Churches in Evanston.

● **April 8, 1953:** Senator McCarran replies to Century's attack in a letter and says, "(1) Untrue, or (2) a shocking charge against many of the church leaders who should come from abroad."

● **October 7, 1953:** Christian Century in an editorial entitled "Evanston Storm Warnings," urges local pastors to do a brain-washing job on members of their congregations so as to prepare them for the shock of Communist clergymen coming into the United States for World Council meeting. Century says that reporters who will cover World Council meeting "have been carefully briefed." Doesn't say by whom, but implies that they, too, will help out with the brain-washing job. The Century warns that there will be severe criticism of the United States—and that there should be. "A certain species of 'patriotism' will deeply resent this." The Century then uses the hypothetical case of Prof. Hromadka insisting that "the church not only can and does survive under Communism but that it grows in spiritual vigor." This left-wing magazine then gives its formula for making the American public receptive to such charges. It will instruct the pastors in a series of editorials as to how to attack all those who oppose the Communists, including other churchmen and patriotic societies.

● **October 15, 1953:** Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, chairman of the World Council of Churches' Study Department Committee, addresses University of Pennsylvania audience and states that there will be some resistance to the Red delegates from behind the Iron Curtain but that "this resistance will fail and the delegates will be admitted into the United States."

● **November 17, 1953:** National Council of Churches, which is host for the World Council meeting, holds its National Board Meeting in Washington, D. C., and pressurizes the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, into being its honored guest. Councilite figures in the Eisenhower Administration, John Foster Dulles, Arthur Fleming, and Harold E. Stassen, along with Bishop Oxnam, Bishop William C. Martin (Methodist, president of National Council of Churches) and Dr. John Mackay, moderator of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. and World Council Missionary head, welcome the President. Dr. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, was brought from Switzerland to address the meeting to help pressurize

the President into accepting an invitation to appear on the platform and address the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston.

● **November 22, 1953:** Same Dr. Visser 't Hooft occupies pulpit of the National Presbyterian Church while President and Mrs. Eisenhower attend the service. Further brain-washing.

● **December 9, 1953:** Same Dr. Visser 't Hooft, leaving for Geneva, Switzerland, declares at New York luncheon of "Friends of the World Council of Churches" that he had been impressed by the attitude of government representatives of the United States. "In planning for the Assembly we have had all the help that we could possibly expect from them. They have shown real understanding concerning the admission of church delegates to the Assembly from the Iron Curtain countries. Our invitation to the President to address the Assembly was also received with genuine cordiality and we have every hope that he will be able to be with us."

● **December 16, 1953:** Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the World Council of Churches for North America, and sitting on Capitol Hill as Washington area Bishop of the Methodist Church, addresses a Christmas greeting letter to all pastors under his jurisdiction in which he states, "I am happy to say that several conferences with Mr. John Foster Dulles, to whom the church owes an increasing debt of gratitude, have resulted in reasonable assurance that the delegates to the coming Assembly of the World Council of Churches will be admitted without difficulty. By the way, have you written Mr. Dulles and the President a note of appreciation for their courageous refusal to tolerate Senator McCarthy's attempt to substitute 'a big bully' policy in Foreign affairs for the dignified and fruitful 'good neighbor' policy"!

● **December 23, 1953:** Christian Century publishes editorial regarding tribute Visser 't Hooft paid to the "seriousness with which the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Hungary are pushing their preparations for the 1954 Assembly of the World Council. No other churches in any part of the world," Dr. Visser 't Hooft testified, "have devoted so much time to study of the Assembly topics or presented such extensive and searching reviews of the preliminary report."

● **March 17, 1954:** American Legion, First Division Cook County Council, Illinois, passes resolution demanding United States State Department refuse the granting of visas to Red clergymen from Iron Curtain countries planning to come to World Council Meeting.

● **March 20, 1954:** Second Division of the American Legion Department of Illinois, comprising 13 counties, unanimously adopts same resolution.

● **March 24, 1954:** Christian Century viciously attacks American Legion and "Fundamentalists" for trying to prevent entrance of Red clergymen to the United States.

● **April 1, 1954:** National and World Council's publicity men enraged over publicity given American Legion resolutions. Call for meeting with Illinois Legion officials. Attempt to smear individual Legionnaires and anti-communist clergymen at meeting with officials.

● **April 8, 1954:** Rev. Alton M. Motter, on leave for eight months as Executive Director of the Chicago Sunday Evening Club (platform for left-wing speakers), in order to handle public relations for World Council meeting in Evanston, addresses letter to Illinois Legion official demanding to know if Legion will push its opposition to Red clergymen further and adds further smear attacks in letter against individual Legionnaires. Legion replies to Mr. Motter in nine page letter rebuking him for smears and setting forth documentation regarding Communist clergymen and their attacks on the United States.

● **April 10, 1954:** World Council smear attack fails as American Legion Department of Illinois, representing 226,000 Legionnaires, passes first and second division resolutions unanimously.

● **April 28, 1954:** Christian Century again attacks American Legion in editorial and asks: "Why doesn't the organization try to learn the truth about the World Council of Churches?"

● **May 4, 1954:** Illinois resolution received by National Executive Committee of the American Legion in Indianapolis, representing three and a half million veterans. World Council's Press Agent Motter, and Indianapolis Presbyterian minister Jean Milner, protest the Resolution at Executive Committee Meeting. Over 50 clergymen in Indianapolis area support the American Legion's resolution. Highest ruling body of Legion passes Illinois resolution and instructs the National Commander of the American Legion to call upon the President of the United States and the Secretary of State personally and urge them not to admit Red clergymen.

● **May 5, 1954:** Christian Century carries article by National Council of Churches' lawyer, Charles C. Parlin, who was also made special chairman of the World Council's Press and Broadcasting Committee, with further attacks and smears on those opposing entrance of Red clergymen.

● **July 1, 1954:** Dr. Daniel A. Poling, leading Baptist clergyman and editor of influential Christian Herald, denounces World Council of Churches' Red clergymen and calls them "Puppets of Communism," who are coming to Evanston not to spread unity but to propagandize for Communism.

● **July 15, 1954:** World Council of Churches officials announce from New York City, via the American Press, that 16 Communist delegates will be admitted by U. S. State Department.

● **July 17, 1954:** Secretary of State Dulles asks United States Justice Department to admit "eleven delegates from Communist Czechoslovakia and Hungary to the United States." (Keep in mind Mr. Dulles was one of the founders of the World Council of Churches and also chairman of a powerful commission of the old Federal Council of Churches.) Chicago Tribune reveals names of 11 Red clergymen, including 5 from Hungary: Bishop Laszlo Dezsery, Bishop Peter Veto, Bishop Albert Bereczky, Bishop John Peter and Dr. Laszlo Pap, all from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Hungary. The State Department, in official press release for same day, states that "contacts with

the spiritual life of America *could have a beneficial effect upon these delegates* and out of this experience could come a spiritual strengthening of the churches in Hungary."

● **July 22, 1954:** Representative Alvin M. Bentley of Michigan, formerly in the diplomatic service in Hungary, makes major speech on Floor of U. S. House of Representatives identifying the Red clergymen as Communists, false churchmen, and said that allowing them to participate in the conferences at Evanston "is a shame and an affront upon those other Czechoslovakian and Hungarian religious heroes who attempted to oppose the Communists and suffered imprisonment or worse as a result. The State Department, in recommending the admission of these delegates, is hampering and sabotaging the work that so many of us are trying to do in exposing the real truth about international Communism. When the Department hopes that spiritual contacts in this country might have a beneficial effect upon the Communist delegates . . . it is in effect destroying much of the work of combating Communist propaganda that our own organs . . . are carrying on."

● **July 26, 1954:** State Department is besieged with protests from all over the nation. Dulles instructs special assistant John W. Hanes, Jr. to send out a stereotype form letter to the protestors saying that "the Secretary has given this delicate and difficult matter his most careful attention."

● **July 30, 1954:** Arthur J. Connell, National Commander of the American Legion, states in letter that the Legion's protest against the admission of the Red clergymen was addressed to the State Department and the Attorney General in May but that "to date we have not received a reply from either the Secretary of State or the Attorney General."

● **August 1, 1954:** The Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on page 5 devotes five column spread to a welcome for the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston with a cartoon depicting an upraised arm and hand labeled "Humanity," holding a scroll entitled "Negotiations For World Peace." The Worker attacks the American Legion and praises the efforts of the World Council.

● **August 4, 1954:** Christian Century explodes with most vicious attack yet on those opposing entrance of the Red delegates for the World Council Meeting in an article entitled, "Differences At Evanston," by Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary student and later employed by the notorious Fund For The Republic.

● **August 15, 1954:** World Council of Churches meeting opens in Evanston mid great fan-fare from radio, press and T.V. Red clergymen are received as honored guests, participating in the Committee and Assembly deliberations and are guest speakers in American churches. President Eisenhower appears on platform with Red agents who later used their American reception for propaganda purposes behind the Iron Curtain. World Council adopts peaceful co-existence but gives it another name. Substitutes term "living together" in order to escape "some of its (peaceful co-existence) current political implications."

● **August 28, 1954:** Chicago Sun-Times reveals Christian Century denounces Committee on Un-American Activities, its chairman, Representative Harold Velde, Senator Wil-

liam E. Jenner and the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, and Representative Bentley who had sent a telegram to the Hungarian delegates inviting them to tell about so-called "freedom" in Hungary to the Congressional Committee.

Attorney Parlin, Bishop Oxnam, and Dr. Franklin Fry were furious over Bentley's proposal. The Century charges Congressional Committees "had sent undercover agents into Evanston to spy on Assembly delegates." It waxes eloquent in its denunciation: "What a business for Committees of the U. S. Senate and Congress to be in, spying on a World Assembly of Churches of Jesus Christ!"

● **September 1, 1954:** World Council delegates head for home. Communists score great victory. They add two more to their number on the powerful Central Committee which directs the affairs of the World Council between Assemblies. Communist Prof. Hromadka re-elected to the Committee. Communist churches received with "the right hand of fellowship." The Archbishop of Canterbury publicly apologizes to Communist delegates before the entire World Council Assembly because Free Czech exiles picketed the Assembly on the public sidewalk and carried signs denouncing these Communist wolves. The Assembly by resolution states that these Iron Curtain delegates "in supporting the Communist Order were loyal to Christ." The World Council meeting was silent on the subject of Communist penetration of the churches of the free world and its program to capture them.

● **February 6, 1955:** World Council of Churches Executive Committee calls for a conference of clergymen between the Communist East and the Western world to formulate a policy for presentation to world political leaders. American clergymen sat with the Communist clergymen in this meeting.

● **February 15, 1955:** The American Legion, through its publication, "The Firing Line," reveals vicious attacks made against the United States by Communist clerical delegates upon their return from the World Council meeting to their homes. The U.S.A. was denounced for "the horrors of American life," "the fingerprinting of delegates which was humiliating treatment reserved only for gangsters," so-called indignities suffered at the hands of Customs Officers who "squeezed a tube of toothpaste in their search for Communist propaganda in Bishop Bereczky's luggage"; "the savagery of the American Press, the stories of murder, vice, and flying saucers and of war propaganda"; "a father with two loaded guns terrorizing his young son in a sick bed and then forcing him to take a bitter medicine"; (this was a father with toy pistols playing sheriff as he offered his boy some castor oil); attacks on the American Legion, "that fascist organization of war veterans, and all kind of European exiles"; "F.B.I. interrogations," etc., etc.

● **March 15, 1955:** Red Hungarian Church Press reports "Pastors of the Budapest Reformed Presbyteries" observed the Tenth Anniversary of the *Liberation* of the Hungarian Capitol. This was the "liberation" of Free Hungary into the hands of the Communists. The main speaker at the "liberation rally" was Communist Bishop Albert Bereczky, President of the Hungarian Reformed Church and leader of the World Council of Churches. Communist Deputy Premier of East Germany sent a congratulatory message to Bishop

ops Veto, Peter and Bereczky, on the occasion of this anniversary celebration.

● **April 1, 1955:** Red Hungarian Church Press announces addition of Dean Laszlo Pap, Communist church leader, to the Executive Committee of the World Presbyterian Alliance of which Dr. John Mackay of Princeton Seminary U.S.A. is president.

● **April 10, 1955:** Attacks by the "Red house guests of the U.S.A." on America after their return to Iron Curtain protection causes the Chicago Tribune to write a full length editorial inferring that the American Legion's opposition to admitting these Reds may have been correct and that "the World Council might ponder the question of 'how men who know not the truth can be expected to preach the Word'."

● **April 15, 1955:** The Communists, now delighted with their successful penetration of the World Council, and "the brotherly love" with which they were received by World Council leaders become bolder and bolder. Communist Hungarian Church Press reports that the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest would confer the Doctor of Divinity degree upon leaders of the ecumenical movement including Dr. John Mackay, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and the Reverend James Edgar Wagner of the United States.

● **August 1955:** Communist Bishop Janos Peter of Hungary, upon invitation of the Presbyterian Church of England, pays visit to England.

● **September 8, 1955:** American radio and press services carry announcement Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam (Methodist) will receive honorary degree from Communist-controlled Reformed Theological Academy in Budapest, Hungary, thus lending prestige and comfort to the enemies of the Hungarian people.

● **September 15-20, 1955:** Bishop and Mrs. G. Bromley Oxnam and Reverend James E. Wagner, President of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, U.S.A., attend Red controlled Budapest Theological Centenary Celebration. Oxnam and Wagner receive honorary degree. Dr. John Mackay (Presbyterian), president of Princeton Seminary, received a degree in absentia. Also attending the celebration for the Communist churchmen from Iron Curtain countries were World Council of Churches leaders from other countries, and Communist State officials including President Janos Horvath and Deputy President Jozsef Varga of the State Office for Church Affairs.

● **October 6, 1955:** General Board of the National Council of Churches announces plans for two-way exchange of religious delegations between Communist Russia and the United States. American delegation to be headed by president of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (Presbyterian.)

● **October 15, 1955:** Communist Hungarian Church Press announces Metropolitan Nicolai of Russia receives Soviet Union's Red Flag Order of Work. Hungarian Communist Bishop Bereczky sends his congratulations. Nicolai is invited to United States by Dr. Blake (Presbyterian), president of the National Council of Churches.

● **November 17, 1955:** Hungarian Church Press reveals Communist Bishop Lajos Veto is a member of the Communist Hungarian Parliament. "He paid tribute to the

fruitful effort of peace-loving humanity for the defense of peace," in behalf of the Communist World Peace Council. Hungarian Church Press also announces Reformed Church was represented at the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches meeting in Switzerland by Bishop Veto and that the next Central Committee meeting will be held in Communist Hungary in the summer of 1956. World Council Central Committee elected Bishop Peter as member of Commission on the Relation between State and Community. Communist Bishop Veto was elected to the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and Communist Dean Pap of the staff of the Reformed Academy of Budapest was elected to the World Council's Financial Committee. This all took place at the Central Committee Meeting in Switzerland attended by self-styled Protestant leaders from the United States and other countries.

- **February 1956:** National Council of Churches newsletter announces exchange of Communist church leaders with American church leaders for March and June. Russia's Metropolitan Nicolai sends "brotherly love" greetings.

- **March 1956:** Nine liberal Protestant leaders headed by Blake of National Council go to Moscow.

- **March 18, 1956:** Soviet Spy Chief Major General Georgi Karpoff, head of the so-called Religion Section in the dreaded M.V.D. Headquarters (Secret Police), entertains American church delegation at lavish dinner.

- **April 7-10, 1956:** Metropolitan Nicolai attends Communist World Peace Congress in Stockholm.

- **May 13, 1956:** Dr. Daniel A. Poling (world famous Baptist leader) denounces National Council of Churches leaders for their visit to Moscow. Declared that visit of U.S. clerics to Russia "played right into Soviet hands."

- **June 1956:** Eight Communist clergymen headed by Nicolai arrive in United States and begin tour of major American cities. Large demonstrations break out against them led by Eastern European exiles.

- **July 28, 1956:** World Council of Churches Central Committee meets in Communist Hungary. Reception Committee headed by top Red churchmen of Hungary, including Bereczky, Veto, Pap, and Peter. General Secretary Visser 't Hooft of World Council of Churches states, "Churches under differing systems must learn from one another."

- **September 1, 1956:** Presbyterian Life, official magazine of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., reveals World Council of Churches is now ready to sit down with Red church leaders from Russia in January of 1957 and discuss participation of Russia Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches. Door now open to receive Communist-controlled churches into membership. Same publication photographs American Protestant churchmen with Communist church leaders.

- **September 22, 1956:** Dr. Hans Asmussen, noted German Protestant theologian, hits Protestant leanings to U.S.S.R. Describes Russian church leaders as "political tools of the anti-Christian Communist regime." Says cooperation with Communist Church leaders only benefits the Kremlin.

● ● OCTOBER 23, 1956:

REVOLUTION BEGINS IN HUNGARY

Patriots refuse to pay salaries of Communist clergymen formerly paid by the Communist State. Specific mention made in reports from Hungary of same Communist church leaders who came to World Council's meeting in Evanston in 1954, including Bishop Veto, who was elected a member of the Central Committee of the World Council.

Bishops Veto and Deszery, Communist government puppeteers forced to resign from the Lutheran Church! Bishop Albert Bereczky, awarded the Hungarian Communists' Order of Labor, deposed from the Hungarian Reformed Church! Bishop Janos Peter deposed also and labeled "the worst kind of Stalinist"! The editor of the Communist Hungarian Church Press resigned and a new paper titled "Reformacio" was begun! The officers in the State Office for Church Affairs lost their jobs when the office was abolished!

- **November 14, 1956:** The Christian Century forced to admit that these very same Hungarian Communist church leaders, who were exposed by the American Legion in 1954, and now deposed by the Hungarian people, were "false bishops" and "foisted" on the Hungarians by the Communist Government.

- *The Hungarian church people, however, enjoyed but a few brief hours of freedom. The Russians moved into the picture by invading the country, massacring large sections of the population, destroying public buildings, including churches and hospitals. It is anyone's guess as to what has happened to the genuine Christian church leaders who were restored to their rightful positions by the people after the Communist puppet clergymen had been deposed.*

Have the Soviets restored the Communist church leaders to their positions? What has happened to the true shepherds of the flock?

No one seems to know.

EPILOGUE

National and World Council leaders frantically sent cables to Metropolitan Nicolai of Russia asking him to use his influence to stop "the bloodshed and oppression in Hungary." Nicolai sends hypocritical message back saying, "Our Government (the U.S.S.R.) is giving material aid to those who suffer in Hungary and we shall devotedly and unceasingly labor for peace." This is the same "Government" which sent its armored might into Hungary and slaughtered thousands of Hungarians. This sounds like "material aid!"

How long will it take for these "be kind to Communists" clergymen of the United States to wake up to the fact that you can't do business with the Communists?

- **December 1, 1956:** Chicago Tribune writes full length editorial entitled, "Bishop Peter's Loud Silence." The Tribune recalls the visit of the Hungarian Communist clergyman to the World Council Meeting in Evanston and that many individuals and organizations in the United States opposed their visit. The Tribune states that Bishop Peter participated in the drafting of the World Council's Report on

the Christian witness in Communist countries. It says that leaders of both the World and National Councils have long cherished *illusions* about Communism and the possibility of religious freedom in Communist countries. It declares that Dr. Blake came back from Moscow last March talking *nonsense* about the position of the churches in Russia. In the light of the Russian onslaught against Hungary the Tribune hopes for Dr. Blake's progressive enlightenment.

Judging from past experience, we wonder if this is too much to hope!

We now see the National and World Councils of Churches in the United States "getting in on the act" for Hungarian relief. These are the same men who hobnobbed with the persecutors of the people!

Strangest spectacle of all—Garfield Bromley Oxnam, who accepted a degree from these same Red Church leaders in September, 1955 in Hungary, stated on November 29, 1956 in Wilmington, Delaware, at a meeting of the Wilmington District of the Methodist Church, that these men were "puppets and he had come to know them over recent years and expected their rejection when the time was right."

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

Vol. 20, No. 2

Wheaton, Illinois

February, 1957

Spawning Ground For Communism

Three world famous institutions are adjacent to one another within a single square block of Morning-side Heights, New York City. They are: Columbia University, The Rockefeller (Riverside) Church and Union Theological Seminary. All three have exchanged speakers for many decades. Countless thousands have been educated at Columbia and Union and have gone out to assume top positions in ecclesiastical and secular fields. The influence and prestige of their graduates is said to be second to none in present day American life.

The New York State Report

● In 1919 the New York State Government appointed a committee made up of members of both houses of the State Legislature known as the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York Investigating Seditious Activities. This Committee was headed by the distinguished Senator Clayton R. Lusk and is familiarly referred to today as the Lusk Committee. This Committee produced one of the most exhaustive works on revolutionary radicalism which has ever been produced by State or Federal Government. The full report consists of four volumes numbering over 4,000 pages.

In part 1, volume 1 of this report we read as follows on pages 1,115-1,116:

"There are two dangerous centers of Revolutionary Socialist teaching of a university type in ecclesiastical institutions. One is the Union Theological Seminary of New York, where Christian Ethics are taught by Dr. Harry F. Ward. . . .

"Dr. Ward is the author of 'The New Social Order', in which he shows decided sympathy for socialist social forms and is friendly to Bolshevism in Russia. He also wrote 'The Labor Movement', which contained addresses delivered before the Boston School of Theology (where Bishop Oxnham was his secretary and pupil), when he was Professor of Social Science at that institution. He expressed in it approval of the I.W.W. It is reported in a recent issue of the National Civic Federation Review that he gave his endorsement to the new gospel of Bolshevism which he considers a spiritual movement replacing the outworn Christianity of the Russian Orthodox church. He characterized the cognate 'I.W.W. philosophy' as the most ideal and practical Christian philosophy since the days of Jesus Christ, and as expressing the

ideas of Christ much more closely than any church of the present day.

"The activities of Dr. Ward, as shown in other parts of this report are entirely consistent with this point of view. He is chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union which champions the I.W.W., and presided over the I.W.W. meeting of February 9, 1920, held at the Rand School, to raise money for the defense of the I.W.W. murderers of the four members of the American Legion at Centralia. He has also been prominent in numerous pacifist and radical societies such as the 'Fellowship of Reconciliation', the 'Emergency Peace Conference', and 'Peoples Council', the 'Liberty Defense Union'.

"The pro-Bolshevik articles which Dr. Ward contributed to 'The Social Service Bulletin' of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (known now as Social Action) were considered particularly objectionable because the Bulletin was circulated not only by the Methodist church, but by the Congregational, Northern Baptist and other organizations. They call attention to Dr. Ward's textbooks circulated by the 'Graded Sunday School Syndicate'. Dr. Ward is also connected with the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Interchurch World Movement."

H. R. No. 136

● In the government publication known as House Document No. 136 entitled "One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism", page 42, is found the following:

Question No. 82.—Do Communist propagandists ever actually get before church groups as speakers?

The Answer—Yes. For example the head of the communist party, on one occasion at least, spoke at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

Earl Browder, Guest Speaker

● In the American Mercury magazine for July 1953 is found an article entitled "Reds and our Churches" by Dr. J. B. Matthews, nationally recognized authority on subversion. Dr. Matthews has the following to say about Union Theological Seminary:

"While he was still head of the communist party in the United States, Earl Browder made a speech to the students of Union Theological Seminary in New York City in which he said: 'You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the communist party.' Although Earl Browder is hardly to be believed under oath, there is overwhelming evidence

that he spoke the truth to the seminary students on this particular point.

"Browder went on to explain to the budding clergymen of the seminary that the communist party allowed a certain ideological latitude to the Protestant ministers who joined the Kremlin's conspiracy. 'There are churches in the United States,' he said, 'where the preachers preach communism from the pulpit in a very primitive form, of course. In one particular church service described to me, the substance of the sermon . . . was that the Communists were the angels of God that had been sent like Moses to lead the people from the wilderness while the representatives of the devil were the capitalists and their agents. This, of course, is not an expression of the official communist attitude on these questions. As you will understand: but we do not expel such people from the party. The test for us is whether such people represent the social aspiration of the masses, which may take on a religious form but which are essentially social rebellion. When such is the case, we welcome them into our party.'"

Applause

● This is certainly a fine situation! The head of the communist party of the United States is a guest speaker at Union Theological Seminary and tells the students that there are communist preachers throughout the country. According to observers who attended this particular session at Union, when Mr. Browder finished his address he was given resounding applause by the student body and faculty members.

Dr. Ward Makes Communist Policies

● In recent testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities by former top policy making members of the communist party in the United States of America, the names of Union Theological Seminary and Dr. Harry F. Ward are brought into the testimony time and time again by the witnesses. In H.R. document entitled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area", page 2076, is found the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, original organizer of the communist party in the United States; its candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States in 1924; and its candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1928. Mr. Gitlow identifies the Rev. Harry F. Ward, not only as a Professor in Union Theological Seminary, but also as one high in the councils of the Methodist Episcopal church. He, and other witnesses during this hearing, tell us that Dr. Harry F. Ward was not only Professor of Christian Social Ethics at Union Seminary for twenty-five years but *was also one of the top policy making members of the communist party in the United States.* Mr. Gitlow, Manning Johnson, and Leonard Patterson reveal that Dr. Ward helped formulate the policies of the communists in this country which have weakened the American government, and that he even made a trip to Moscow in 1925 and from there went on to China and began to sow the seeds of communism in China as far back as 1926.

The Rev. Webber

● On page 2085, Mr. Gitlow is discussing, under oath, the role which the Methodist Federation for Social Action played in furthering the communist cause. He mentions that it collaborated very closely with well established communist front organizations. He declares that Dr. Ward was not only an official of the communist party but that he was also an

official of the American League against War and Facism and the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Dr. Ward was not the only one. Gitlow testifies that there were many officials of the Methodist Federation who held important posts in the American League against War and Facism. "One of them was the Rev. Charles C. Webber, *an instructor in the Union Theological Seminary* and co-secretary of the Methodist Federation with Dr. Ward."

"A Revolutionary god"

● On page 2185 Mr. Gitlow gives us further information in regard to the Rev. Charles C. Webber. In the Social Questions Bulletin of November 1946, the official publication of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, there is an article entitled Religion and Labor by the Rev. Charles C. Webber in which Mr. Webber outlined a program based upon the class struggle. Mr. Gitlow said, "Rev. Webber contends that big business is struggling for profits and power, causing poverty amidst potential plenty, while labor is struggling for security, peace, and freedom, that, of course, is the Marxist, the Communist contention. *Rev. Webber wants a revolutionary god to change our society into a planned society, into communism.*"

"Rev. Webber's Marxist, pro-Communist orientation was not a secret which he kept to himself. He played too prominent a role in Communist-front organizations. Because of his various activities, Rev. Webber became one of the most controversial figures in the Methodist Church. He left his position as executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action to become an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at a time when the Union cooperated closely with the Communist Party, and when its president, the late Sidney Hillman, collaborated with the Russian unions in perfecting an international labor federation into which to enroll the world's labor unions, thereby putting them under the hegemony of the Communists. Rev. Webber became director of the Virginia CIO-PAC, when its national organization, the CIO Political Action Committee, was honeycombed from top to bottom with Communists, Soviet spies, and fellow travelers.

Oxnam To The Rescue

● "Rev. Webber's activities aroused the indignation of many members of the Methodist Church. Their protests were responsible for Rev. Webber's case being considered by the New York East conference of the church. Rev. Webber, dealing with these protests, in the hearing given him, wrote, as follows, in the Social Questions Bulletin, of December 1946:

'After I presented my reasons for being kept in the active relationship, the Committee unanimously adopted a motion that they approve Bishop Oxnam's continuance of me in active ministerial relationship. Whereupon Bishop Oxnam appointed me as Chaplain to organized labor.'

"Bishop Oxnam was vice-president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action when he appointed Rev. Webber, in spite of the many protests against him, an official chaplain of the Methodist Church to organized labor."

Patterson's Testimony

● The next witness to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities during its investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City area was Leonard Patterson. Mr. Patterson was a former member of the Young

Communist League and of the Communist Party. He went into the Party in the Fall of 1928 and came out in 1937. He was one of the top policy-makers of the Party and one of the Party organizers in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the District of Columbia. Since Mr. Patterson left the Party he has been giving valuable testimony to Government committees, boards, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

On page 2138 Representative Gordon Scherer of Ohio, himself a Protestant churchman, is asking questions of Mr. Patterson as follows:

Mr. Scherer: "Let me ask, did you ever know in your Communist Party a Rev. Harry F. Ward?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Mr. Scherer: "Did you know him well?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes. I worked with him."

Mr. Patterson then asserted that Dr. Harry F. Ward was not only a member of the Communist Party but was assigned to *the top fraction of the Party*, or as Mr. Patterson says, "In other words a top-policy making body of the Communist Party." He affirms that in 1935 in Chicago he and Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary worked together in a top fraction meeting of the Communist Party. This was a meeting which only selected top Communist Party members could attend—a policy-making body.

● Mr. Robert Kunzig, Chief Counsel of the Committee, continued the questioning of Mr. Patterson in regard to the Chicago Communist meeting as follows:

Mr. Kunzig: "Rev. Harry F. Ward was present?"

Mr. Patterson: "He was present and an active member of that body."

Mr. Kunzig: "Therefore you know Rev. Harry F. Ward as a member of the Communist Party, as a very important member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Mr. Scherer: "As far as you know, at the time you left the Party, he was still a member of the Party?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Recruiting Party Members

● On page 2142 of this testimony there is one of the most startling pieces of information which has yet come to light in regard to the extent to which Communism had penetrated Union Theological Seminary. Mr. Robert Kunzig questioned Leonard Patterson further:

Mr. Kunzig: "I would like to ask you one question further. Did you ever see any examples of young ministers sent out to churches by the Union Theological Seminary who were Communists?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes."

Mr. Kunzig: "Would you describe that to the Committee?"

Mr. Patterson: "Yes. While I was in Baltimore, two members who had graduated from Dr. Ward's seminary came down to Baltimore for assignment to their ministerial duties. At the same time, they came for assignment for their Communist duties from the section committee of the Baltimore section of the Communist Party. *They were Party members when they got there. They explained that they were recruited as Party members by Dr. Ward while they were studying under him.*"

Ministers Identified

● At the time this particular testimony was given to the Committee on Un-American Activities the names of the two

ministers were not mentioned. This was in July 1953; however, on Thursday, March 25, 1954, the Committee conducted a hearing in Baltimore and the names of the two ministers who were recruited for the Communist Party while they were studying under Dr. Ward were revealed to the American public.

The Chicago Tribune for Friday, March 26, 1954, Part 1, Page 5, gives us the following account:

PASTOR ADMITS HE LIED ABOUT RED PARTY TIES

Tells Of Joining While In Chicago

By PHILLIP DODD

Washington, March 25—A former Chicago minister told the House Un-American Activities Committee today that he lied when he testified last December he had never been a Communist.

The Rev. Joseph S. Nowak, former pastor of the Portage Park Presbyterian Church of Chicago, said he joined the Communist Party in 1946 while working at the University of Chicago Settlement House. He said he quit the party after four months.

The Polish-born Nowak was a witness in the Committee's investigation of Communist activities in Baltimore in the mid-1930's and the part other witnesses have said he and another young minister, John A. Hutchison played in the party's drive to stir up trouble on the city's waterfront and in its industries.

The Rev. Hutchison before the committee a week ago, denied having anything to do with the Communists and communist-front organizations when he was in Baltimore. He is now a Congregationalist minister in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and an instructor in religion at Williams College.

But the Rev. Nowak and two witnesses who said they had been Communist party officials in Maryland and the District of Columbia testified the Rev. Hutchison had helped organize Communist-front activities in Baltimore, worked closely with communist officials, and had attended at least one communist meeting.

The Rev. Nowak said he had been trying to forget about his Communist Party membership for eight years, and that when he testified in November he felt it safe to ignore that affiliation. He said that when he learned of what the former Communist officials had testified, he decided to make a clean breast of it.

The Baltimore activities of the Rev. Nowak and the Rev. Hutchison were described by Earl C. Reno, Communist party organizer in Baltimore from 1936 to 1937, and Leonard Patterson, Young Communist League director in Baltimore during the same period.

Reno said the Rev. Nowak and the Rev. Hutchison came to Communist Party headquarters in 1935 and said they had just graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in New York where they had been well grounded in Marxism.

RSV Fronters

● On September 30, 1952 amid great fanfare, the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyrighted by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., was presented to the American public.

On the flap of the jacket covering the New Bible is carried the following statement: "The members of the committee since 1937, listed in order of the date of appointment with indication of their assignments to the Old Testament and New Testament sections are:" There then follows a list of 22 names. Of the twenty-two names, four are from Union Theological Seminary in New York City. They are: Julius A. Bewer, James Moffatt, Frederick C. Grant, and James Muilenburg. Of these four, Moffatt and Grant have been connected with subversive organizations in the past.

Union's Lyons

● On March 2, 1953 the Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, was conducting hearings on the State Department Information Program, particularly that phase

of the program known as the Voice of America. The committee had before it as a witness one Roger Lyons who was identified as the Director of Religious Programming of the Voice of America. Information had been given to the committee to the effect that Roger Lyons was an atheist. Mr. Lyons stated that he did not belong to any affiliated church organization. He said he did not attend any house of worship regularly. When asked by the chairman how much he had contributed to church work over the last five years Mr. Lyons said he had given ten dollars to one church in his neighborhood.

The chairman asked Mr. Lyons if he did not think that a man who was in charge of Religious Programming for the Voice of America might do a better job if he belonged to some church himself and were a regular church-goer. Mr. Lyons answered: "Not necessarily."

Senator Jackson asked the witness: "Have you had any religious education?"

Mr. Lyons: "My religious education was not of a formal kind. I am Jewish by background. I studied religion at Columbia University in connection with writing my philosophical thesis."

Senator Jackson: "Did you major in religion?"

Mr. Lyons: "No. I majored in philosophy."

Senator Jackson: "You are head of the Religious Desk of the Voice of America. What particular qualifications did you feel that you had that would be helpful in view of this important assignment?"

Mr. Lyons: "I was about to tell you."

Senator Jackson: "Will you proceed?"

Mr. Lyons: "In connection with my thesis *I studied religion in Union Theological Seminary, which is a branch of Columbia University*. There I studied mostly under a Prof. Paul Tillich, who inspired me to become very, very interested in this whole subject, and I organized of my own volition and with his approval a seminar with Professor Tillich, who is a teacher of the philosophy of religion and systematic theology in Union, a seminar on religion at which he gave a weekly lecture at various times with some regularity over a period of 3 years."

Senator Jackson: "Is this in connection with your master's degree?"

Mr. Lyons: "This was entirely on my own initiative. It happens to be that Professor Tillich was one of my advisers in connection with my thesis, but this further work was because of my own spontaneous interest in the spiritual factors."

Senator McCarthy: "Could you tell us something about that thesis, in that you indicated that you believed in a Divine Being, or did you indicate that you did not?"

Mr. Lyons: "I did not indicate either that I believed in a Divine Being or that I did not, because the thesis had to do with an attempt to discuss the meaning of certain words, and the clarification of certain statements, in order that a principle of moral value might be stated, which might or might not be acceptable. It was not a question of belief."

One-man School(?)

● This product of Union Seminary then told the Congressional Committee that he went to Switzerland and studied psychology and religion under Prof. Karl Jung from 1946 to 1948. He said, "It was the School of Analytical Psychology, if you want to have a name for it."

The Chairman: "How many students attended?"

Mr. Lyons: "I was one of the first. At the time I came over after the war, there was no formal study at that time, but later."

The Chairman: "You were the first student?"

Mr. Lyons: "I was one of the first students to come over from America."

The Chairman: "You were the only student for a while?"

Mr. Lyons: "There wasn't any formal curriculum."

The Chairman: "Were you the only student in this field?"

Mr. Lyons: "There may have been others, but I don't know them."

The Chairman: "That is rather an unusual school with only one student."

Mr. Lyons: "That increased with the time, because the war prevented a great many students."

The Chairman: "What is his religious background?"

Mr. Lyons: "His religious background, he is the son of a clergyman, and he has never professed himself as to any particular religious belief, but he has a great interest in the spiritual factors that are involved in analytical psychology or depth psychology, as it is sometimes called."

The Chairman: "This professor under whom you studied, as far as you know, does not go to any church or synagogue?"

Mr. Lyons: "I don't know."

The Chairman: "Well, now, if you studied with him, you are studying religion, I assume you would know."

Mr. Lyons: "I studied religion but not in connection with his churchgoing activities."

The Chairman: "If you were a one-man school, a one-man professor was teaching, studying religion, would you not be interested in knowing whether this man was affiliated with any church?"

Mr. Lyons: "As a matter of fact, I didn't study with him directly, because he was too busy to see me. . . ."

Our Tax Money Again!

● This information concerning the Director of Religious Programming of the Voice of America is startling, to say the least! Here is a man who studied for three years in Union Theological Seminary and wrote a thesis in which he said it was not necessary to express a belief in God. He came out of this seminary and went over to Europe to study in a so-called school in which he didn't meet any other students nor did he even see the professor! As one reads through this testimony it becomes more and more incredible as to how a man of this character could obtain such a high position in the State Department's Voice of America program and be paid by the American taxpayers!

"Very Confused"

● Following the testimony of this product of Union Seminary Mrs. Alice Patricia Shephard, an employee of the Voice of America, testified under oath that she had had discussions with Mr. Lyons concerning his religious philosophy. While they were both employed by the Voice of America and going together, Mrs. Shephard said: "I don't believe that he believed in God then. He was going through a very difficult period. *He was going to an analyst, and he was very confused at the time.*" This was while he was head of the Religious Programming of the Voice of America! Evidently, Union Theological Seminary taught

nothing concerning God or Christ to this man who was to become the head of Religious Programming of the Voice of America and represent to the people in Iron Curtain Countries what we believe in the United States! Incredible!

Professorial Pinkos

● There appeared in American Mercury magazine for November 1953 an article entitled, "Red Infiltration of Theological Seminaries" by Dr. J. B. Matthews. Dr. Matthews is an honor graduate of Union Theological Seminary of some years ago and knows the school and its faculty intimately. In his article one will find the name of Union Theological Seminary cropping up very frequently, with such names as George A. Coe, Harry F. Ward, Paul Scherer, Robert Hastings Nichols, and Arthur L. Swift, Jr., all members of Union's faculty at one time or another, involved in various Commie-front activities.

A Toast to Ward

● The Daily Worker for May 7, 1953, official mouthpiece of the Communist Party in the United States, devoted much space on page seven to a testimonial dinner given in honor of Union's Professor Emeritus of Christian Social Ethics, Dr. Harry F. Ward. Dr. Ward was described by the Daily Worker as "one of America's noblemen." Other press accounts of his testimonial banquet at the Hotel McAlpin listed a long array of notorious communists and fellow travellers who attended the gala affair and toasted Dr. Ward.

One Red's Influence

● The influence which one Communist-infiltrated theological seminary such as Union could have on the churches of America is best described by Manning Johnson, Government witness before the Committee On Un-American Activities investigating Communism in the New York City area in July 1953. Mr. Johnson was formerly a top policy-maker of the Communist Party of the United States. He broke with the Party and has since testified before important Government boards, commissions and committees, as well as before the FBI.

On page 2278 Mr. Johnson testifies as follows:

"The communist leadership in the United States realized that the infiltration tactic in this country would have to adapt itself to American conditions and the religious makeup peculiar to this country. In the earliest stages it was determined that with only small forces available it would be necessary to concentrate communist agents in the seminaries and divinity schools. The practical conclusion, drawn by the Red leaders was that *these institutions would make it possible for a small communist minority to influence the ideology of future clergymen in the paths most conducive to Communist purposes.*

"In general, the idea was to divert the emphasis from the spiritual to the material and political—by political, of course, is meant politics based on the communist doctrine of conquest of power. Instead of emphasis toward the spiritual and matters of the soul, the new and heavy emphasis was to deal with those matters which, in the main, led toward the communist program of 'immediate demands'. These social demands, of course, were of such a nature that to fight for them would tend to weaken our present society and prepare it for final conquest by communist forces.

"The Communists had some small forces in the semi-

naries under the leadership of Harry F. Ward. These were quickly augmented by additional recruits siphoned into the divinity institutions by manipulations of Communist cells in the seminaries. This infiltration into seminaries was expedited by the use of considerable forces the communists had in educational institutions which were eligible for hire by divinity organizations.

"The plan was to make the seminaries the neck of a funnel through which thousands of potential clergymen would issue forth, carrying with them, in varying degrees, an ideology and slant which would aid them in neutralizing the anti-communist character of the church and also to use the clergy to spearhead important communist projects.

"Outright Treason"

● ● "This policy was successful beyond even Communist expectations. The combination of Communist clergyman, clergyman with a pro-Communist ideology, plus thousands of clergymen who were sold the principle of considering communist causes as progressive, within twenty years, furnished the Soviet apparatus with a machine which was used as a religious cover for the overall Communist operation ranging from immediate demands to actually furnishing aid in espionage and outright treason.

"Thus, one professor of divinity, lecturing to future clergymen, who in turn will preach to thousands of churchgoers, is, in the long run, more dangerous than 20 Red preachers singing the praises of Communism from the pulpit."

Capitalist Subsidies

● The Rockefeller Foundation, enriched by millions of dollars earned under America's Free Enterprise system, in 1954 gave Union Theological Seminary over a half million dollars, their largest grant of the year. Was this to aid in carrying out the program outlined by the Kremlin and which Mr. Johnson testified to under oath above?

In High Places

● How have so many of these Union Seminary graduates gotten into so many high places in the theological world and even into U. S. Government positions? The present Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, is a trustee of Union Seminary. Dulles was present at Amsterdam when the World Council of Churches was founded. Dulles was Chairman of the Federal Council's Just and Durable Peace Commission. Dulles was the chairman of the infamous Delaware Conference held at Ohio Wesleyan University in March of 1942 which called for World Government and which stated that "a new order of economic life is both imminent and imperative, either through voluntary cooperation within the framework of democracy or through explosive political revolution." This is the same Dulles who put Alger Hiss at the head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace!

Smear Artist

● It might be well to keep in mind that the young man, Ralph Lord Roy, who recently authored the book, "Apostles of Discord," published by the Unitarian Publishing firm known as the Beacon Press in Boston, in which book he attempted to smear outstanding fundamentalist Christian leaders in the United States who object to the program of the National and World Councils of Churches, has been a student at Union Theological Seminary in New York for some

time, and his personal stationary has carried the address of Union Theological Seminary as his year-round headquarters. Within the past several years he has been in the employ of the notorious Fund for the Republic!

Ecumenicity

● Recently a news release from Boston stated that the National Council of Churches will build its permanent head-

quarters in New York City, and probably alongside of Union, Columbia and Rockefeller Church.

The old saying is still true: "Birds of a feather love to be ecumenical!" (1957 Revised Version).

★ ★ ★

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Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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PART ONE

Pacifism, Socialism, Communism, and the National Council of Churches

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

To Readers of NEWS AND VIEWS who have never met him before The Church League of America proudly presents our guest writer for this and subsequent issues the distinguished and famous Dr. J. B. Matthews, one of the greatest minds of our generation.

The current resurgence of militant pacifism in the churches is reminiscent of the anti-war agitation which followed the First World War in the 1920's and the 1930's.

The leadership of the National Council of Churches is deeply, if not officially, involved in the present-day agitation just as the leadership of the Federal Council of Churches was involved in the earlier phenomenon.

Today's militant pacifism dramatizes its appeals of urgency on the supposition that nuclear war will mean the total destruction of life on the planet.

The militant pacifists in the churches cannot be dismissed as a crackpot fringe. On the contrary, they constitute a respectable and highly influential group, as will be evident when their names are called. Their numerical strength, too, is significant.

In 1934, Kirby Page was probably the best known spokesman of the pacifists in the churches. Writing that year in the pages of *The World Tomorrow*, Page said: "Nearly 13,000 American clergymen have declared their determination not to sanction or participate in any future war, and more than 18,000 have repudiated capitalism, or rugged individualism as it prevailed in 1929. These facts are revealed by the 20,870 replies to a questionnaire sent out recently by representatives of 12 religious bodies." The pacifists among these clergymen represented 62 percent of the total, while those who went on record as advocates of socialism represented 28 percent.

With respect to the advocacy of socialism by clergymen, Kirby Page made the following statement which he italicized in his pacifist-socialist magazine: "Among all the trades, occupations, and professions in this country, few can produce as high a percentage of Socialists as can the ministry."

It has long been obvious that there is a close connection between the avowal of pacifism on the one hand and the advocacy of socialism on the other hand. *The World Tomorrow's* 1934 poll of students in theological seminaries revealed that 73 percent were pacifists and 49 percent were socialists.

It is not of record that newspaper editors or politicians considered that Kirby Page's findings with respect to the pacifist-socialist views of active clergymen and theological students constituted an attack upon the churches. Nineteen years later, however, when I wrote, on the basis of extensive research, that "at least 7,000 clergymen" had been supporters in one way or another of the Communist-front apparatus, there was a loud outcry from both newspaper editors and politicians. I propose to show in this present study that pacifism, socialism, and support of the Communist fronts go hand in hand, and that the leadership of the Federal and National Council of Churches has been deeply involved with all three. Despite Communism's central doctrine of violence, pacifists have not displayed any reluctance in supporting the objectives and organizations of the Communist conspiracy. And despite the frequent claims that socialism is a "third force" which serves as a bulwark against Communism, the religious advocates of socialism have supported the Communist apparatus in large numbers.

In reporting the results of its poll in 1934, *The World Tomorrow* listed the names of 120 clergymen who declared that they were socialists, i.e., advocates of "Socialism as represented by the Socialist Party of America, or by a new and more inclusive alignment, in which the present Socialist Party would be included"—which was the precise language of the questionnaire. Exactly 5,879 of the replying clergymen stated that as their position. The names of only 120 were published, apparently as examples.

A check of the records of these 120 avowed socialists shows that 65 of them had affiliations with Communist fronts in the years which followed.

In the list of 120, there were 20 who took their theological training at Union Theological Seminary, an institution noted for radicalism in both theology and politics. Kirby Page found that, of the Union Theological Seminary students who filled out his questionnaire, 92 percent were avowed pacifists and 55 percent were socialists.

Highly significant is the fact that 45 of the 120 avowed socialists listed by *The World Tomorrow* have been officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches. These 45 included the following: Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell, president of the Federal Council of Churches (1928-1932); Methodist Bishop William C. Martin, president of the National Council of Churches (1952-1954);

Methodist Bishop James C. Baker; Methodist Bishop Hazen G. Werner; Evangelical United Brethren Bishop A. R. Clippinger; and Cameron P. Hall, currently the executive director of the Department of the Church and Economic Life (National Council of Churches). Other noted clergymen in this same category included John C. Bennett, E. Stanley Jones, and Reinhold Niebuhr.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

The role of the magazine, *The World Tomorrow*, can hardly be exaggerated when it comes to enumerating the propaganda media of pacifism and socialism in the Protestant churches.

For some 17 years, *The World Tomorrow* carried the propaganda torch of pacifism and socialism at the head of the leftwing procession of Protestant clergymen. It was second to none as the recognized and respected spokesman of socialism within the churches.

On its masthead, *The World Tomorrow* named Norman Thomas as its "founder." Throughout the 17 years of its publication, Norman Thomas was connected officially with the magazine.

Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell, president of the Federal Council of Churches, was one of the contributing editors of *The World Tomorrow*.

The Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, who was general secretary of the National Council of Churches, was one of contributing editors of *The World Tomorrow* at the peak of its influence.

Cavert's reign in the Federal-National Council of Churches lasted for a whole generation. More than any other single individual in the entire history of the Federal-National Council, Cavert is entitled to be known as its organizing genius. When he retired from the general secretaryship of the National Council of Churches on February 1, 1954, at the age of 65, he became executive secretary, for the United States, of the World Council of Churches. He holds the latter position today.

Reinhold Niebuhr, the eminent theologian, was one of the triumvirate of editors of *The World Tomorrow*.

PACIFISM IN THE PROTESTANT CHURCH

Pacifism flourishes during the interludes of peace, between wars, and insofar as it tends to disarm the nation physically and morally it imperils the national security. In the interludes of war, between periods of peace, pacifist sentiment declines sharply. It is, therefore, a peace-time rather than a wartime phenomenon and danger. When the nation goes from peace to war or from war to peace, the large majority of pacifists execute a switch in the values to which they give priority. In the exigencies of peace, they give preservation of life top billing on the list of values; while in the exigencies of war, they assign the preservation of liberty to the position of ethical priority. In both peace and war, sentiment rather than reason is the controlling force among pacifists.

It is a phenomenon worthy of note that pacifists look upon war rather than Communism as the mass killer of the 20th Century, although it is Communism rather than war which has been, on a strictly statistical basis, the more destructive of human life in this era of human history. Wholly illogical as it is, pacifists have never exhibited the capacity for incisive moral judgment which would lead them to any clear-cut or extensive anti-Communist activity. On the contrary, the record shows that pacifists by and large are anti-anti-Communist or pro-Communist. This is amply demonstrated by the large number of militant pacifists who have aided and abetted the Communist-front apparatus.

The same pacifism which salves the social conscience of the sentimental American clergyman serves a wholly different purpose for the Kremlin conspirators. Pacifism on the part of Americans is enthusiastically encouraged by the Communists for the simple reason that it becomes a Fifth Column to aid in the Soviet conquest of the United States. Pacifism on the part of Russians is punishable by death or at least by exile to an Arctic slave-labor camp.

SOCIALISM IN THE CHURCHES

All values and virtues have their opposites. Hate is the antonym of love. Falshood is the antonym of truth. And socialism is the antonym of charity.

Charity, said by the Apostle Paul to be the greatest of all virtues, is in essence a voluntary redistribution of wealth. If that be true, then socialism is the preeminent vice, for socialism is in essence the forcible seizure of one man's goods or services for the purpose of giving them to another whose claim to them is valid only because the predatory state has the necessary police power to enforce an involuntary redistribution of wealth. Under whatever name the transaction is carried out, whether it be social security or the general welfare, the forcible redistribution of wealth by a plundering government is legalized larceny.

Charity is the noblest of human impulses; while socialism, regardless of the motives of its individual supporters, is wholesale robbery of the few for the alleged benefit of the many.

The Christian pulpit, dedicated presumably to instill the better impulses in men, has in thousands of instances been perverted to encourage the meanest of vices.

The movement toward complete collectivism which has been the chief characteristic of the American scene for the past 25 years has not been accidental. We have moved toward socialism as the direct result of purposeful activity. The United States has not stumbled into the socialist morass as a blind man stumbles into the path of a motor vehicle when his seeing-eye dog deserts him.

A major force in the advance of socialism in the United States has been the Protestant pulpit. The Federal Council of Churches (1906-1950) and its successor, the National Council of Churches (1950-1958), have contributed more to the extension of socialism than the the Socialist Party itself. As the Protestant clergy has taken over, the Socialist Party has dwindled into total insignificance.

TODAY'S PACIFIST-SOCIALIST SPUTNIKS

It has been necessary to deal at some length with the historical and theoretical aspects of the pacifist-socialist agitation in the Protestant churches in order to provide a background for the present-day activity of the ecclesiastical pacifists, socialists, and Communist frontiers.

The mere listing of the names of currently active organizations engaged in this agitation will indicate something of the extent and variety of the phenomenon. Propaganda outfits in this field of radicalism include the following: Methodist Federation for Social Action, Episcopal League for Social Action, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, Walk for Peace Committee, Committee for Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, American Friends Service Committee, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Church Peace Mission, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, Brethren Service Commission, Disciples Peace Fellowship, Congregational-Christian Pacifist Fellowship, Evangelical and Reformed Peace Fellowship, Lutheran Peace Fellowship, Friends Peace Committee, Friends General Conference, Mennonite Central Committee, New Church Pacifist Fellowship, Fellowship of Methodist Pacifists, Unitarian

Pacifists Fellowship, Southern Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, and Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians (USA).

The striking similarity in the names of these pacifist organizations can hardly be explained on the basis of sheer coincidence. The recurrence of certain words in their titles strongly suggests a large measure of central planning. The interlocking and overlapping of their personnel and objectives is further evidence that these numerous denominational units of the pacifist movement are not operating in complete independence of each other. We know the name of at least one man whose activity and influence are pervasive. When we examine his long career, we have an instructive commentary on the pacifist, socialist, and Communist-fronting activity of Liberal Protestantism. Such an examination is now in order.

ABRAHAM JOHANNES MUSTE

The key figure in all of this pacifist-socialist activity in the Churches is A. J. Muste, ordained clergyman of the United Presbyterian Church, USA.

A. J. Muste's titles indicate his importance in the movement which aims to strip the United States of its defenses. He is secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, officially retired but as active as ever in this largest of pacifist groups. He is editor of the magazine *Liberation*, secretary of the Church Peace Mission, chairman of the American Forum for Socialist Education, member of the advisory committee of the Congress of Racial Equality, national chairman of the Walk for Peace Committee, sponsor of the Greater New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and member of the Committee for Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons.

Muste was a member of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches. His official connection with the FCC is recorded in the *Biennial Report* of 1948 (page 190). The date is significant because A. J. Muste already had behind him a long career of extreme radicalism.

Abraham Johannes Muste was born in January, 1885, in a small town in the Province of Zeeland in the Netherlands. When he was a small boy, his parents migrated to Grand Rapids, Michigan. He graduated from Hope College. In 1913, he received a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary, the institution which holds the all-time record for sending leftist radicals into the leadership of the Protestant churches.

In order to understand the leftist character of the present-day pacifist agitation in the churches, a sketch of A. J. Muste's career will be illuminating.

In the late 1920's and early 1930's, A. J. Muste was head of Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York. This institution was repudiated by the American Federation of Labor on the grounds of its Communist leanings.

While head of Brookwood Labor College, Muste founded the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. At the top of its letterhead, the CPLA carried the following as its purpose:

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is an organization of militants which roots itself in American soil and seeks to face the realities of American life. It helps the workers in their daily struggles for bread and justice, against injunctions, Yellow-Dog contracts and official brutality. It seeks to stimulate in the existing and potential labor organizations a progressive, realistic, militant labor spirit and activity. It aims to inspire the workers to take control of industry and government, abolish the present capitalist system and build a workers' republic, and an economic system operated for the benefit of the masses and not of the few.

A. J. Muste was a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War, a gathering which was held in 1933 and which launched the American League Against War and Fascism.

According to the *Daily Worker*, May 3, 1933, A. J. Muste was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Scottsboro Action Committee.

In 1934, the Communist Party set up an auxiliary of the Party which was known as the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism. A. J. Muste was National Chairman of this Communist organization.

In 1934, A. J. Muste was national chairman of the Workers Party of the U.S., a Communist party formed by the merger of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

The Declaration of Principles made it crystal clear that the merged party was a real Communist party.

With respect to the ideological foundation of the new party, the Declaration of Principles said:

The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917 (the "October Revolution"). The Workers Party conceives as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at home — the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States — the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U. S. and its allies that the application of the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the sole means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests.

Under the heading of "Conquest of Power," A. J. Muste and his fellow Communists adopted a program for "taking power" which was a malodorous regurgitation of Lenin's Workers' Councils. But the Workers Party of the U. S. was undiluted Leninism *without* a Lenin, although Tovarish Muste cast himself in the role of the American Bolshevik saint. Here's what they said:

The fundamental mass instrument of this struggle for power . . . will be the Workers' Councils (Soviets). The Workers' Councils . . . are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization form of state power after the victory. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, which represents the interest only of capitalist minority, that the workers will overthrow the capitalist class and take power . . . The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing a new social order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state, based on the Workers' Councils. The workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies.

In 1937, A. J. Muste was a sponsor of the Communist-originated and Communist-dominated organization known as the Consumers National Federation. In his testimony before the Dies Committee in 1939, Earl Browder testified that the Consumers National Federation was a "transmission belt."

In 1940, A. J. Muste was a speaker for the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, an organization which has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

A. J. Muste was a signer of the brief *amici curiae* presented to the U.S. Supreme Court on January 11, 1951, on behalf of the Communist Protestant Episcopal clergyman, William Howard Melish.

According to the New York Times, December 21, 1955, A. J. Muste initiated a Christmas amnesty plea for the Communists who had been convicted under the Smith Act. The plea was addressed to Eisenhower, urging commutation of all previous sentences and postponement of pending trials.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1956 report entitled *Trial by Treason*, listed the name of A. J. Muste as a supporter of clemency for the atom spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

A. J. Muste headed a delegation of observers who were invited to attend the sessions of the Communist Party's 16th National Convention, February 9-12, 1957.

In a statement prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover had the following to say about the "observers" who covered the Communist Party convention and about A. J. Muste in particular:

The Communists boasted of having "impartial observers" cover the convention. However, most of these so-called impartial observers were hand-picked before the convention started and were reportedly headed by A. J. Muste, who has long fronted for Communists and who recently circulated an amnesty petition calling for the release of Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act. Muste's report on the convention was biased, as could be expected.

The report of A. J. Muste and his fellow observers, to which Mr. J. Edgar Hoover referred, contains the following:

Since reference has been made to these matters in the press and elsewhere, we wish to state that the sessions of the convention were democratically conducted with vigorous discussion of all matters brought to the floor. There were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention.

Of even greater significance is the statement of Muste and his fellow observers concerning the alleged "ferment in the Communist movement here and abroad." Their report says:

However, in view of the upheavals in Poland and Hungary, the open airing in the Daily Worker in recent months of wide divergences among CP leaders and members, and the conduct of the recent convention as we observed it, to suppose, as some apparently do, that the ferment in the Communist movement here and abroad is merely an elaborate stage effect and that nothing is really happening seems to us to fly in the face of the evidence.

Muste has described his present activity in the following words:

Thus in this summer of 1957 I am occupied with problems relating to the attitude of the churches toward nuclear war as that attitude may find expression in meetings of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at New Haven; with plans for Gandhian action at the nuclear testing in Nevada when the Hiro-

shima anniversary rolls around, with hot discussion as to what the ferment in the Communist movement throughout the world may mean for peace and the possibility of a free society on earth, if maintenance of peace makes such a society at least a possibility. (Liberation, July-August, 1957, p.20)

Concerning Muste's "hot discussion as to what the ferment in the Communist movement throughout the world may mean for peace," the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* has devoted much favorable publicity. Most of this "hot discussion," predicated upon Muste's hot belief that the Communists have changed, or are about to change, their spots has taken place under the auspices of a new organization known as the American Forum for Socialist Education.

Favorable publicity for Muste has appeared in the following 1957 issues of the *Daily Worker*: January 7, 13, and 18; February 17 and 25; March 3 and 8; April 18, 25, 29, and 30; May 9, 12, and 13; and August 23.

A. J. Muste is national chairman of the American Forum for Socialist Education. Within a matter of hours after the launching of the AFSE, the *Daily Worker* hailed its appearance as "especially welcome" and observed that it "also includes two leading Communists." The editorial in this Communist Party newspaper pointed out that the formation of the AFSE was in line with the resolutions adopted at the national convention of the Communist Party in February, 1957.

The statement that the AFSE "also includes two leading Communists" was undoubtedly a reference to Albert Blumberg and Doxey A. Wilkerson. But, the AFSE included others who, if not dues-paying members of the Communist Party, are at least veteran supporters of the CPUSA, such as James Aronson, Derk Bodde, W. E. B. DuBois, Oliver Loud, Clifford T. McAvoy, John T. McManus, Russell Nixon, Harvey O'Connor, and H. H. Wilson.

In a letter to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, George Meany said:

American labor will shun like a plague this self-styled "American Forum for Socialist Education" which obviously was conceived and created in line with a decision adopted by the last convention of the Kremlin-controlled Communist Party in the United States.

A. J. Muste's Communist views, as expressed in the Workers Party of the U.S. and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action many years ago, might well be overlooked if in the meantime he had become a bona fide anti-Communist. But, his record as chairman of the American Forum for Socialist Education, his appeals on behalf of the Rosenbergs and the Smith Act defendants, and his attempts to whitewash the Communist Party as it is now constituted make it clear that his present-day views and interests are thoroughly in line with Communist Party objectives.

What are A. J. Muste's present-day views on the Soviet Union? If he looks upon the Kremlin's current boss as the world's greatest criminal conspirator against humanity, he carefully avoids saying so. On the other hand, we find that A. J. Muste clearly expressed his views on the Soviet Union in a series of five lectures delivered before the annual conference of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship in August, 1957. In these lectures, Muste enumerated five recent alleged changes in Soviet policy and conditions, and then concluded, "These give hope." Hope for what? And hope to whom? The only hope of any significance would be the total destruction of the Soviet regime and the emancipation of its slaves, but Muste is not interested in any such hope.

CHURCH PEACE MISSION

In one of the dingiest and most untidy office rooms in the whole of Manhattan, an investigator may find one of the most important headquarters of present-day militant pacifism in this country. The Manhattan telephone book lists this room as the regional office of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and also as the headquarters of the Church Peace Mission.

From this room at 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y., A. J. Muste released a document on April 21, 1958, which called for a halt to the Pacific nuclear weapons tests by the United States this summer. At the top of this press release, A. J. Muste was described as "secretary" for the 137 individuals whose names were listed as signers. Most of the signers are prominent Protestant clergymen.

Standing out among the signers of this Muste press release is the name of the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches.

Thirty-seven other names which have been recorded as officers of the Federal-National Council of Churches were listed as signers of the Muste press release issued under the auspices of the Church Peace Mission.

The following bishops of the Methodist Church are among the backers of A. J. Muste's "call" to halt nuclear weapons tests: Charles W. Brashares, Chicago; Dr. Stanley Coors, St. Paul; Eugene M. Frank, St. Louis; A. Raymond Grant, Portland, Oregon; John Wesley Lord, Boston; Edgar A. Love, Baltimore; and Glenn R. Phillips, Denver. Other noted backers included the following clergymen: Harry Emerson Fosdick, Ralph W. Sockman, Martin Luther King, and Albert Buckner Coe who has recently retired as Moderator of the Congregational Christian Churches.

Perhaps the most important thing about the Muste press release of April 21, 1958, was the extraordinarily large number of signers who are administrative heads of, or professors in, the leading theological seminaries of Liberal Protestantism. In the tabulation which follows, the name of the theological seminary will be given first. The name of the institution will be followed by the denominational auspices of the institution in parenthesis. Then will follow the name of the professors and administrative heads of the theological seminary who signed the Muste press release.

Andover Newton Theological School (American Baptist Convention and United Church of Christ) — — Herbert Gezork, president, and Nels F. S. Ferre'.

Bethany Biblical Seminary (Church of the Brethren) — — William H. Beahm, dean.

Boston University School of Theology (Methodist Church) — — Walter G. Muelder, dean, Richard M. Cameron, Allan Knight Chalmers, Paul Deats, Jr., L. Harold DeWolf, and William Clifton Moore.

Butler University School of Religion (Disciples of Christ) — — Walter W. Sikes.

Drew University Theological Seminary (Methodist Church) — — William George Chanter, David M. Graybeal, and Franz Hildebrandt.

Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary (American Baptist Convention) — — Culbert G. Rutenber.

Eden Theological Seminary (United Church of Christ) — — Allen O. Miller.

Garrett Biblical Institute (Methodist Church) — — John C. Irwin, Murray H. Leiffer, A. W. Nagler, Ernest W. Saunders, Rockwell C. Smith, Harris Franklin Rall, and Tyler Thompson.

Harvard University Divinity School (Undenominational) — — Paul Lehmann.

Howard University School of Religion (Undenominational) — — William Stuart Nelson, dean.

McCormick Theological Seminary (Presbyterian Church, USA) — — George M. Gibson.

Oberlin College Graduate School of Theology (Undenominational) — — Walter Marshall Horton and George Michaelides.

Pacific School of Religion (Interdenominational) — — Georgia Harkness.

Perkins School of Theology of Southern Methodist University (Methodist Church) — — Schubert M. Ogden.

Princeton Theological Seminary (Presbyterian Church, USA) — — John Alexander Mackay, president, William Brower, Arlan Paul Dohrenburg, Richard Shaull, and D. Campbell Wyckoff.

Southern California School of Theology (Methodist Church) — — Earl Cranston, dean.

Union Theological Seminary (Undenominational) — — John C. Bennett, dean, Robert F. Beach, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Paul W. Hoon, Ralph Douglas Hyslop, Mary Ely Lyman, Paul E. Scherer, Ralph W. Sockman, and Arthur L. Swift, Jr.

Vanderbilt University Divinity School (Interdenominational) — — James Phillip Hyatt and C. Everett Tilson.

Wesley Theological Seminary of American University (Methodist Church) — — Albert E. Day.

Yale University Divinity School (Undenominational) — — Roland H. Bainton, Kenneth Latourette, and John Oliver Nelson.

From the foregoing tabulation, it is apparent that leftwing pacifism has established an important beachhead in the leading theological seminaries.

Fifty of the 137 signers of the Muste press release are from the seminaries. Thirty-four of the 50 administrators and teachers from theological seminaries have been affiliated with Communist-front organizations and enterprises.

Out of the total of 137 signers, 75 have records of affiliation with Communist enterprises. In this fact, we have further evidence of the interlocking and overlapping of personnel among pacifists, on the one hand, and Communist frontiers, on the other hand. And both groups are overlapping with the officialdom of the Federal-National Council of Churches.

—(to be continued)—

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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Treason or Dupery?

By KARL BAARSLAG

The World Council of Churches, to which all American denominations adhere which are affiliated with the National Council of Churches of Christ, met this last August in Nyborg, Denmark. An official press release dated Aug. 22nd, which seems to have attracted little attention or comment, mentions that delegates from three Communist countries not only participated in the WCC's deliberations but held seats on its highest policy making body, the Central Committee.

The Constitution of the ecumenical WCC holds the gate wide open for the admission of "religious delegates" from the USSR, and other Communist-cursed countries. With three Communist land representatives already safely inside the Central Committee of the WCC, the formal entry of Soviet religious leaders is not far away. Recent exchange delegations of Soviet and American clergy are obviously the forecasting shadows of events to come.

This naturally raises the whole question of Soviet official policy on religion. Nearly every week American clergymen return from the USSR enthusiastically reporting that they found "packed churches", "an inspiring re-birth of religion," and "absolute freedom of worship" in the land of Khrushchev and the secret police. Just what are the facts?

Everyone knows the history of Bolshevik persecution of all religions in Russia since 1917. In 1918 the Bolsheviks confiscated all churches and synagogues including their sacred religious objects and priceless libraries. This was fully three years before the Bolsheviks suppressed all other political parties and opposition elements. In other words the church was the first point of Communist attack.

All real estate, buildings, hospitals, homes for the aged, and poor, orphanages, convents, monasteries, seminaries, etc., became state property. Congregations were referred to as "cults" or "sects" and those which had managed to save some money were permitted to rent "prayer buildings" from the Soviet state.

Thousands of churches, mosques, and synagogues were converted into military barracks, stables, warehouses, granaries, or museums. Others were torn down to make way for roads, squares, or other buildings. Priests, ministers, rabbis, and mullahs were murdered by the thousands on trumped up charges or deported to a living death in Siberia. Many were driven into beggary and want or were forced to flee the country. The teaching of religion was forbidden. All church and religious publications were suppressed. No book, newspaper or periodical could be purchased without state approval and "books" naturally included the Bible. The open avowed aim of the Bolsheviks, never since repudiated, was to "drive capitalists from the earth and God from the sky."

Article 122 of the Criminal Code made the teaching of religion to children a crime punishable with one year of penal labor.

All Soviet schools (no others were permitted) taught atheism. For twenty years under Lenin, and later Stalin, the full weight of Communist terror was exerted through every media of repression to crush and extirpate all forms of religion and belief.

All religious bodies were compelled to register with the secret police which included delivering a list of all church members. Religious organizations and groups were forbidden to give any material support to their members or to organize any special meetings or religious instruction for children. Even medical aid to the sick, care of the poor, maintenance of church supported hospitals was prohibited. The all embracing Soviet state jealously assumed the sole prerogative of caring for its subjects. Priests and rabbis ministering to the sick or infirm could be and were sent to prison for usurping the functions of the state.

Indeed, from the very inception of Lenin's Soviet state, priests, ministers and rabbis were disenfranchised and denied all civil and elective rights. This pariah stigma was attached to the children of clergymen. They were generally denied access to education and most state jobs except the most menial and degrading. (Russian orthodox clergy were permitted to marry.)

With the death of Lenin in 1924 and the assumption of power by Stalin a new and highly ingenious tactic was devised by Stalin himself for the destruction of the church. Stalin had been a divinity student in his youth and knew the Orthodox church and its weaknesses from the inside.

STALIN'S "LIVING CHURCH"

The Soviet dictator hit upon a truly diabolic scheme of persuading pliant clergymen to "re-interpret" the Bible. Did not Jesus chase the money-changers from the temple? This could only mean that Christ was against capitalism and by His example had shown his disciples how to destroy it. Was not Jesus also on the side of the poor and lowly? This meant that He took the side of the proletariat against property and wealth. Did not He also teach brotherhood and sharing in everything? Obviously, Jesus was the first Communist.

Cowardly and venal priests eager to advance their own futures under the Soviet terror formed a cabal against Patriarch Tikhon, supreme head of the Russian Orthodox Church. They called their schismatic conspiracy "The Living Church." They also labelled themselves "progressives"

just like the turn-coat G.I.s thirty years later in Korea. As many church leaders had already been murdered, deported to living deaths in Siberia, were starving in the streets, or disappearing every night into the cellars of the G.P.U., priests with no stomach for martyrdom decided that discretion was the better part of valor and joined Stalin's "Living Church."

Patriarch Tikhon and his supporters were elbowed aside by the "progressives" in a swift coup in 1922. A number of hierarchs who persisted in defending the integrity of their ancient church were arrested, deported or executed. The progressive usurpers of the "Living Church" who testified falsely against their own church leaders in the '20's and helped railroad them to death or Siberia are today the top hierarchy of the Communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church with whom some of our American clergy hob-nob and meet as moral and Christian equals!

Despite the new turn and apparent relaxation of total suppression and terror against clergymen, the pariah stigma against men of God was not lifted. The Central Executive Committee of the USSR in 1928 reminded all election supervisors to check their registration lists to make certain that the following categories were permanently barred from all elective rights:

"Monks, lay brothers and sisters, priests, deacons, psalmists, mullahs, muezzins, rabbis, kazis, cantors, shamans, Roman Catholic clergy, pastors, readers, and any others who carry on religious activity regardless of whether they receive pay or not."

While so-called "voting rights in Soviet Russia are an empty joke anyway, this regulation nevertheless relegated all religious workers to the same category as the insane, criminal, and mentally incompetent.

No media of communication was overlooked in the Soviet war on religion. Speakers, the radio, stage, films, the printed word, museums, exhibits, billboards and posters were all mobilized to deride and attack religious belief. Even playing cards were decorated so that hearts showed a Catholic priest lusting for a woman, diamonds ridiculed Jewish rites, spades showed the Orthodox church in a despicable light, and clubs ridiculed Buddhism and eastern religions. Foreign artists who appeared in Russia were admonished against singing or playing any numbers which had any religious connotation. Libraries, needless to add, were thoroughly and ruthlessly purged of every last book and pamphlet having the slightest religious content. Instead they were packed with a flood of atheistic literature.

Not content with direct open assault, the Communists went even further and set up special training schools or fake seminaries where secret police agents and trusted party members received training in church rituals and procedures so they could pose as clergymen and successfully infiltrate denominations which already had gone or might go underground. U.S. Naval Intelligence officers, on duty in Russia during the war, reported hob-nobbing with Orthodox priests in full regalia who, in their cups, gleefully boasted that they were secret police graduates of regular seminaries and were having a wonderful time bamboozling the "credulous and superstitious." So it might be observed that American clergymen presently hob-nobbing with what they fondly believe to be bona fide Russian Orthodox priests are not the first to be victimized by the Soviet Secret Police.

Yet, despite twenty years of severest repression, religion persisted in the hearts of the Russian people. A census in 1937 disclosed that more than half of the people still had the moral courage to state that they believed in God. Because many more millions undoubtedly were smart enough

to dissimulate or hide their true feelings the percentage of believers was probably much higher. The poll shocked and outraged the Communists. Persecution in every form was intensified and religion was practically driven back to the catacombs by the outbreak of World War II.

Then in April, 1939, religious persecution stopped suddenly and mysteriously. No laws were rescinded nor were any restrictive and punitive decrees revoked. Stalin had become apprehensive of imminent war on Soviet soil and possible revolt against his regime. He realized that faith in God and love of one's own country were two of the strongest human emotions. Patriotism was revived and anti-religious propaganda laid aside. Grossly vulgar and sacrilegious periodicals attacking religion were discontinued "because of shortage of paper." Anti-religious museums were quietly closed.

"PACKED CHURCHES"

An unofficial and secret concordat was hastily cooked up with Orthodox church leaders. The Orthodox Church was given permission to resume full religious services in such few churches as were still left standing and not otherwise used in exchange for the church's full support and endorsement of the Communist regime. Visiting American clergymen, whose own churches in this country are usually half or even a quarter filled, express great amazement and happiness to find Moscow churches "packed to the doors." The answer is quite simple as any child could reason out for himself. Eighty to ninety percent of all of Moscow's religious edifices were destroyed during the past forty years. No new churches were permitted to be built. With a population close to six million, "packing" and "jamming" of such few churches as are left hardly seems "miraculous."

MEET M.V.D. GENERAL KARPOV

An extremely valuable source of documented information on Soviet Secret police control of all religions in Russia is "The Soviet Secret Police" by Wolin and Slusser (Praeger, New York, 1957.) On page 23 will be found:

"A major phase of intellectual and social control assigned to the secret police during and after the war was the supervision of religion. This was a field in which the secret police had extensive experience, dating back to the days of the Cheka. For many years the official Soviet policy had been to eradicate religion entirely, as a harmful superstition alien to Marxism. Realizing during the war, however, that the long campaign to destroy religion had been a failure, and feeling the need to enlist the religious convictions of the population in the struggle against the German invaders, the Council of People's Commissars on September 14, 1943, established a Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church to maintain liaison between the Church and the government. To head the new body the Soviet government named G. G. Karpov, a secret police official who had specialized in the study of Orthodox theology and ritual. As of mid-1956 Karpov continued to head the council, and has proved himself indefatigable in helping the government and Party to keep a wary eye on the Church leaders. No important ceremony or interview involving high Church dignitaries is complete without Karpov's presence.

In May 1944 a parallel Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults was established to deal with religious bodies in the Soviet Union other than the Russian Orthodox Church. Its chairman, I. V. Polyanski has been

identified as a member of the Church Section of the OGPU in 1927.

As far back as 1928—30 years ago—a known GPU agent named Kletchian had already advanced as far as Archbishop in the Russian Orthodox Church (Agabekoff —“The OGPU—Reminiscences of a Chekist.”)

Vladimir Petrov, a top-ranking Soviet intelligence officer who defected to freedom a few years ago in Australia, has the following to say about alleged “religious freedom” and Karpov in his book “Empire of Fear” (Praeger, N.Y. 1957) page 97:

“The over-riding need for national unity in those desperate and critical days induced Stalin to bid for the positive support of even the religious leaders. With curious and characteristic cynicism he arranged a conference in the Kremlin, to which he invited the robed and bearded patriarchs and all the important dignitaries of the Russian Orthodox Church. At the conference there was also a certain Karpov. Now Karpov was a permanent career officer of the N.K.V.D. who, over a long period, had made an assiduous and exhaustive study of Russian Orthodox ceremonies, ordinances, and theological teaching, and was able to converse earnestly and learnedly with the church dignitaries on their own ground. At this conference Stalin suggested that the character and erudition of Karpov made him an ideal man to represent the Church on the Soviet Council of Ministers. His suggestion was applauded, and Karpov was appointed.

“I have seen Karpov. In 1951 he was Minister for Cults and Religious Affairs and may still hold that office. His N.K.V.D. training would be a valuable preparation for the post. After all, Stalin studied in a theological seminary.”

On April 12, 1956, another high-ranking Soviet intelligence officer, Yuri Rastvorov, testified before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee in Washington. Rastvorov had fled to freedom in Japan bringing with him a vast store of secret information on the internal operations of the M.V.D. or Soviet secret police which is really a state of itself within the Soviet state apparatus.

Rastvorov testified that Major General Karpov headed the so-called Religion section in the M.V.D. as well as chairmanship of the Religion Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. The former M.V.D. officer then stated under oath:

“As you know, the church in the Soviet Union is not independent, as, at the present time, the Soviet government is trying to prove. It is completely dependent on the state, and the state conducts all activities of the church in the Soviet Union.”

Mr. Rastvorov then revealed that the Orthodox church had been penetrated by secret MVD agents who had attended a special seminary posing as religious students. “These fake seminarians,” Rastvorov testified, “later became bishops in many churches in Russia.” *In other words, gullible American clergymen so eagerly fellow-shipping with Soviet hierarchs and bringing them to this country, in all probability are playing footsy with hardened and cynical Communist criminals responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent Christian priests and ministers—to say nothing of millions of other Russians who perished during the past forty years from mass starvation, the purges, mass deportations to Siberia, and secret executions.*

Stalin’s cunning and cynicism paid off handsomely after Hitler’s invasion of Russia in June, 1941. One of Hitler’s first pronouncements was that Germany would restore full religious freedom in Russia. Metropolitan Sergius struck back the same day with a bull of excommunication against any Russian who aided the enemy. The Metropolitan also announced: “The Church of Christ blesses all Orthodox who are defending the frontiers of our Fatherland.”

FLIM-FLAMMING THE GULLIBLE WEST

The pseudo restoration of religious freedom in Russia also was calculated to win friends and influence western governments to have greater confidence in and respect for the Soviets. Like the fake dissolution of the Communist International in 1943, the entire maneuver was simply one to flim-flam the West. Stalin and his ruling clique fully realized the weakness of the whole rotten Soviet structure rapidly falling apart under the massive assault of the Reichswehr. Without Western military and economic aid, the Soviets were doomed. Soviet persecution of all religions had deeply outraged the Christian world. A fake restoration of at least some “religious freedom” was therefore deemed a cheap price for billions of dollars of Lend-Lease supplies magnanimously promised by the United States.

With the end of the war and the Soviets no longer in danger, all wartime relaxations and temporary expedients to mollify and impress western Allies were quickly withdrawn. Komsomol members (young Communist youth) were sternly warned:

“The Komsomol has never regarded religion from a neutral angle. Anti-religious propaganda forms an integral part of Communist education. . . . Komsomol members not only must be convinced atheists and opponents of all superstitions but must actively combat the spread of superstitions and prejudices among youth.” (*Komsomolski Rabotnik* (Young Communist Worker) No. 11, June 1947, page 27.

Within the Communist Party itself, rigorous measures were taken to purge all religious believers from party ranks, first by direct, overt pressure and if that failed, by expulsion. As expulsion meant not only loss of possible work but also housing, rations, and other prerogatives, expulsion meant virtual beggary and starvation. In 1949 the Georgian Communist Party, for example, expelled 49 members for “manifestations of religiousness.” (Zarya Vostoka (Dawn of the East) Jan. 28, 1949.)

The Bolshevik thirty year war on religion was ferociously revived in the schools. Teachers were warned to step up the tempo of inculcating “scientific Marxism” in order to counteract religious prejudices. The official organ of the Ministry of Education stated:

“The basic work in Communist education and the overcoming of religious survivals must be carried out by the school teachers in the process of teaching the foundations of the sciences. . . . The basic task of Communist education and overcoming survivals of religiousness in our present condition is to prove to the pupils the complete contrast and complete irreconcilability between science—the real and correct reflection of the objectively existing world in the consciousness of the people—and religion as a fantastic, distorted, and consequently harmful reflection of the world.” *Narodnoye Obrazovaniye* (Popular Edition), April 1949.

The same official Soviet publication also warned parents against giving their children any religious instruction at home, even though the home remained the only place where Soviet law had not already prohibited the teaching of religion. The law of 1929 and Article 122 of the Soviet Criminal code was quoted: "Instruction of any religious faith whatsoever is not allowed in state, public, or private educational institutions and schools. Such action is punishable by corrective labor for a period of one year."

The conversion of the Russian Orthodox Church into a pliable puppet has proven of inestimable value to the red gangsters in the Kremlin. Communists, above all else, are cold-blooded, cynical realists. When Stalin realized that the total extirpation of all religious belief in Russia would be a long, costly and perhaps even futile task he turned, as we have already explained, to another tactic which has paid off fabulous dividends.

Soviet church leaders, apparently enjoying complete freedom, acted as a bridge to, and strong connecting link with, the West. Their very existence was used by pro-Soviet apologists as "proof" that allegations of religious persecution in Russia were "vile anti-Soviet lies and slanders." Visitors to Moscow were free to inspect such few churches as still existed and here they naturally found "packed congregations." Orthodox clergy in full vestments and free control of their churches "proved" that there was full religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. The fact that some of these were really secret police agents graduated from seminaries and the rest brain-washed and terrorized captives of the Soviet state would hardly be inscribed on their vestments or the church's bulletin board. Nor would such visitors be familiar with the story of Prince Potemkin who gulled his empress on an inspection tour of a starvation area by setting up and overnight moving ahead of her fake villages of fat, happy and prosperous villagers. An American vice president was similarly flim-flammed during World War II when he reported finding "sturdy independent colonists" in Eastern Siberia when he was conducted through a slave labor area.

PRESENT STATUS OF RELIGION IN RUSSIA

One of our most dependable sources on the present structure and laws of the U.S.S.R. is Kulski's monumental "The Soviet Regime—Communism in Practice" (University of Syracuse, 1954) On the alleged "freedom of religion in Russia" we find the following:

"Believers are permitted to worship according to the rites of their denomination but are forbidden to convert publicly atheists or members of other denominations. Soviet practice indicates that worship is barely tolerated by the State; even so, this toleration extends, truly, only to national churches like the Greek-Orthodox, which have no official and necessary connections with foreign communities and whose activities may, therefore, be kept restricted within the national boundaries of the Soviet Union. This toleration does not extend to other churches like the Catholic church. The national churches continue to exist on sufferance of the State whose controlling organization—the Party—is committed entirely to atheism. Article 13 of the Party program contains this statement: "The All-Union Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realization of planned development and awareness in all the social-economic activities of the masses will bring to pass the complete withering away of religious prejudices." The Soviet State is not agnostic but militantly atheistic. A. Ya. Vyshinsky writes that the triumphant Soviet proletariat, guided by the Communist Party, "has a negative attitude toward religion, carries high the banner of militant athe-

ism, has initiated from the very earliest days a planned and decisive struggle with religion, and aspires, in the words of Marx, 'to liberate conscience from religious superstitions.' . . . This being so, a believer cannot be considered a non-Party Bolshevik and is IPSO FACTO excluded from public offices and posts of trust . . .

Party hostility must continue, because "religious superstitions like other survivals of capitalism hinder in our Soviet country progress towards Communism . . . This is why the overcoming of religious superstitions is the indispensable condition of our successful march towards Communism."

The true reason is deeper, namely the ambition of the party to control completely the minds of Soviet citizens. The author of the pamphlet says frankly that the Party cannot remain neutral: "The church is separated from the State in our country. Religion of the Soviet man is his private affair. But it is not a private matter for the Bolshevik Party which educates the toilers in the spirit of the only scientific, the materialistic outlook." The Party relies now on anti-religious education rather than on administrative measures directed against religious communities. The author does not deny that open persecution has the opposite result of fortifying churches: "To forbid religious services would be very easy, but this would not accelerate elimination of religious superstitions; on the contrary, those superstitions would be notably revived." Having a monopoly of the means of public information and having forbidden religious propaganda, the Party has assured its anti-religious propagandists a privileged position in their atheist struggle against religion. The future will tell how successful this first attempt in history to impose atheism on a formerly deeply religious population will be . . .

Religious communities are the only associations which are refused juristic personality, and they may not, consequently, own property, act before courts, or conclude valid contracts:

The legal situation of religious communities is determined in detail by the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of April 8, 1929 (with the subsequent modifications) concerning religious communities and by analogous decrees in the other Republics. According to those decrees, believers are allowed, for the satisfaction of their religious needs, to unite into religious communities (more than 20 members) or groups (less than 20 members). Buildings especially designated for worship and liturgical objects are gratuitously placed at the disposal of such communities for their use. Religious communities and groups have the right to hold meetings with the permission of local soviets. They elect from their membership organs in charge of the management of the liturgical property and of their external representation . . . Religious communities which are allowed to exist only for religious worship are not juristic persons and are not included among the associations of the toilers mentioned in Article 126 of the Constitution . . . Control over the activities of religious communities is exercised by local soviets. A church may be closed only by a decision of the toilers."

This description gives a good idea of the precarious situation of religious communities. The decree of January 23, 1918 nationalized all property of the churches. As they cannot acquire property, being deprived of the character of a juristic person, they do not own temples or usual objects of a cult. They are allowed only to use them while the title of ownership continues in the State. For the same reason they cannot build new churches. Furthermore, building materials are State property, and churches could not acquire them unless the atheistic State had some reason for allocating them the materials. Pre-revolutionary religious buildings are placed at the disposal of religious communities at the discretion of each local soviet, which may close a church at any time "in deference to the wishes of the toilers" whose "deputies" form the soviet. Religious communities are not included among public organizations mentioned in Article 126 of the Constitution, and they are deprived thereby of the right

to nominate candidates for public office. Religious services may be held only with permission of the local soviet. The religious communities are also deprived of court protection, because they cannot defend their rights by judicial action, a prerogative of juristic persons."

In the titanic world struggle known as the "Cold War," that side which can identify itself with the defense of world peace obviously enjoys a tremendous psychological and propaganda advantage. Church leaders are, by their very calling, always in the forefront for international peace. Soviet churchmen naturally could work closely with and win the confidence of Western churchmen, a task which was clearly beyond the capacity of the atheistic commissars and Soviet officials. So the Soviet and Communistic satellite clergy are ideally suited to act as Judas goats leading the sheep of the West to the red abattoirs of Communism.

SUMMATION. The history of the attempted destruction of all forms of religion and the persecution of Christianity in Russia is voluminous and irrefutable. The history of the infiltration and divisive tactic of the Living Church is well documented and established history. The evidence that such few "religious leaders" who are still permitted to function in Soviet Russia and its captive satellites are either theologically trained secret police agents or brainwashed and cowed tools of the Communist state is ample and convincing.

The record of blatant anti-American slanders and activity of Communist clergymen is a long and open one. Metropolitan Nicolai of the U.S.S.R., for example, added the prestige of his high office to the vicious germ warfare charges made against this country by Russia during the Korean conflict. For American clergymen to attempt to argue that Iron Curtain clergymen are still free agents is to argue a patent falsehood. If there is one irrefutable and long established fact about Communism it is that Communists, when they take over control, eradicate all opposition. For a clergyman to argue that Communist totalitarianism is not totalitarianism, in that it indulgently excepts clergymen and gives them a modicum of freedom, is obviously arguing nonsense.

Then why do so many American ministers still do it? American clergymen fronting for Soviet fake "church leaders," welcoming Hromadkas and Red Deans of Canterbury to this country, joining in every bogus "World Peace Movement" set up by Soviet confidence men, and in brief falling for every manner of Communist swindle and booby trap, break down into five general categories:

1. **Truly sincere idealists** and men of such purity and nobility that they are incapable of understanding or accepting the cold, hard, and ugly facts of Communist depravity, deception, and villainy. Numerically they naturally form a very small percentage of the total. But they unwittingly give the whole Communist conspiracy a wonderful protective cover and aura because their altruism, like gold leaf, can be hammered out thin enough to cover many thousands of far less worthy people than themselves.

2. **Intellectual illiterates** who have never read and do not want to be bothered or take the time to examine the record of world Communism in all of its aspects and manifestations. They are not interested in facts or the truth but only in such information as will bolster and support their own misconceptions, notions, and opinions. It is to this type of clergymen that the American Bar Association's Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives addressed its recent recommendation that:

"For those who want to understand Communism prescribe not a 15-day tour to Russia but 15

days in a library studying the Communist conspiracy."

3. **Moral cowards and weaklings.** These clergymen fully understand the nature and objectives of Communism and want no part of it. However, they consider themselves liberals or progressives and have no stomach for being singled out and vilified as "witch-hunters," "reactionaries," "McCarthyites," etc., etc., ad nauseam, so they run with the pack motivated by nothing nobler than a herd instinct of fear and the urge to remain unmarked and unblemished. This type can usually preach some very stirring and eloquent sermons on the dangers of "conformity" and "running with the herd."

4. **Secret fellow travelers and pro-Soviet sympathizers** who are "too smart" to be openly identified with Communist activities and fronts. A minority may be under loose and invisible Communist Party control; most of them are not. They form one of the Communist conspiracy's most important and valuable auxiliary corps. Their cloak of religion gives the man ideal immunity against criticism because they can always falsely claim that their particular religion is being attacked. As pastors they also wield a far greater influence over their flocks than a layman would, no matter how prominent and respected he might otherwise be.

These cryptos will even occasionally deliver anti-Communist sermons and speeches of a harmless, slap-on-the-wrist type in order to establish "anti-Communist" records. Some of them will go so far as to infiltrate or attempt to influence anti-Communist organizations and activities, something which known fellow travellers and communist fronters obviously could not do. However, they usually give themselves away by trying to prove that "fascism," "reactionaries," "McCarthyism," "racial discrimination," the Catholic Church, or some other bugaboo "is a far greater menace to America than Communism."

The Communists call this *diversion*. Diverting attention and concern away from their own nefarious activities and getting people to run around chasing all sorts of other problems (and there always are other problems besides Communism) is one of the oldest and most successful tactics of the Communists. People who unwittingly lend themselves to such diversionary work render a service of highest importance to the Communist conspiracy.

5. **The last category of clergymen aiding the Communists on their march to world conquest are the open fellow travelers, fronters, and pro-Soviet apologists.** These are the expendables of the Communist army and their role and activities hardly require further explanation.

CONCLUSION. A simple syllogism which so many people still fail to understand is that Soviet Russia, heading the world conspiracy of Communism, is the implacable and sworn enemy of the United States. Every Communist leader, from Lenin to Khrushchev and Mao Tse Tung, has frankly and repeatedly boasted of plans to destroy our government, social, and economic systems. Russian clergymen are the bound slaves of the Soviet slave state and hence also of the world Communist conspiracy. Therefore, American clergymen who consort and collaborate with sworn enemies of this country and Christianity are obviously traitors to both. That some are fools, without the foggiest notion of what they are doing, does not detract from the fact that others know exactly what they are doing and, hence, can be classified only as traitors.

Treason is an ugly word. It is the only crime defined in the Constitution. Article III, Section 3 reads:

"Treason against the United States, shall consist only of levying war against them, or in **adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort.** No person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court."

Note that the authors of the Constitution did not limit treason merely to the "levying of war against the United States" but also to **"adhering and giving aid and comfort to enemies"** of this country. Because of narrow construction of this clause the courts, since Aaron Burr's trial in 1807, have handed down very few treason convictions.

The Constitution of the United States, an Analysis and Interpretation by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress (1953), observes that "The vacillation of Chief Justice Marshall, between the Bollman and Burr cases (1807), and the vacillation of the Court, in Cramer (1945) and Haupt (1947) cases, leaves the law of treason in a somewhat doubtful condition." Active Communist traitors and their allies in this country seem to be all too familiar with this wide breach in our laws. But whether legally guilty or not, those who knowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of this country are, nevertheless, by Constitutional definition, traitors.

Every American clergyman who aids, abets, or connives at extending aid and comfort to the enemies of this country as well as his own religion must therefore stand self-branded as either a dupe or a traitor to God and Country.

Don't permit your church to be used for subversive purposes.

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Soviet Total War	House Comm. Un-Amer. Activities	Govt. Printing Office	
Scope of Soviet Activity (Part 14)	Senate Internal Security Sub-Comm.	Govt. Printing Office New York	
Current Digest of Soviet Press			

SECONDARY SOURCES

In addition there is considerable collateral information on the mistreatment, sufferings, heroism, and deaths of countless priests, ministers, and rabbis in Soviet slave labor camps reported by eye witnesses in the following:

Tell the West	Gliksmann	Gresham Press	1948
I Speak for the Silent	Tchernavin	Hale & Cushman	1935
Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps	Lipper	Regnery	
Soviet Gold	Petrov	Farrar Straus	1949
I Chose Freedom	Kravchenko	Garden City Pub.	
Black Book of Deeds of Kremlin	Ukrainian Assoc. of Victims of Communist Terror	Toronto	1953

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Here is a Bulletin which is of vital interest to every American. This should be distributed in large quantities to church members, ministers, and especially to businessmen who make contributions to churches.

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News & Views

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The purpose of this Bulletin and all of our other editions is to inform the American people concerning those subversive forces which are methodically penetrating every major phase of our society. Once the American people are informed, they will do something to stop this infiltration. You can help inform them.

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

Vol. 22, Special Edition

Wheaton, Illinois

April, 1959

Nikolai Dorofeyevich Yarushevich

"Mordre wol out, that we see day by day".

—Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*.

Although written nearly six hundred years ago Chaucer's observation that "murder will out" still holds good today. The N.Y. Times for June 9, 1956 carried a news photo showing the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the National Council of Churches, escorting Metropolitan Nikolai of Russia to visit Independence Hall in Philadelphia. The picture shows a solid line of police holding back angry demonstrators shouting epithets at the Soviet clergyman. Some of them probably shouted "murderer" at the holy man from Russia. Millions of Americans no doubt were shocked at such rudeness and incivility.

Page 114 of LIFE for March 23, 1959 again shows Metropolitan Nikolai this time officially branded as a Soviet secret agent by a high ranking Soviet Secret Police official, Peter Deriabin, who recently defected to the West. Between these two pictures hangs a tale—a tale of consummate villainy and cynical fraud beyond all historical parallel.

In March, 1956, nine prominent leaders of the N.C.C.C. headed by Eugene Carson Blake journeyed to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet government through Metropolitan Nikolai, second ranking Orthodox hierarch in all of the U.S.S.R. The N.C.C.C. leaders came back bursting with enthusiasm and praise for Metropolitan Nikolai. They did not have much to say on just who this Soviet clergyman was and what his background was. Soviet Russia is a land of mystery and secrecy and it is often very hard to dig out even the most elementary facts readily available to anyone in a non-Communist country.

NEWS AND VIEWS has been doing a little research on the venerable Nikolai now that a former Soviet Secret Police official has identified him as a former colleague of his in the same sinister, murderous organization.

Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitski and Kolomna, to give his full title, was born Boris Dorofeyevich Yarushevich, in Kovno in 1891. His father was an arch-priest in the old Russian Orthodox Church. Young Yarushevich became a monk in 1914. He was graduated from a theological seminary a year later.

On November 7, 1917, Lenin's Bolsheviks stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd and overthrew the liberal democratic government of Kerensky. Within three months the Bolsheviks began the destruction of all religion in Russia. It is highly significant that the victorious Bolsheviks struck at religion long before they began their expropriation of all property and other assaults on human freedom and dignity. Mark well the date because this is highly important in our study of the rise of Metropolitan Nikolai.

Shuster in his very important and scholarly "Religion Behind the Iron Curtain" states:

"The Communists attacked with blind fury. Church property was taken away, priests were

left without any means of subsistence. Houses of worship were profaned. A few excerpts from the pastoral letter issued by Patriarch Tikhon on January 18, 1918, summarize the situation at that time:

'Daily we are in receipt of letters reporting the horrible, bestial murders of quite innocent and bed-ridden people . . . There are no hearings, all rights and laws have been abrogated. The holy edifices are targets for gunfire, or are subjected to looting, ridicule and degradation. Venerable persons residing in monasteries and honored by the faithful are seized by the dark, ungodly powers of this age. Schools supported by the Orthodox Church for the education of priests are turned into institutions of nonbelievers or are made into houses of prostitution.'

The Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, the Metropolitan of Kiev, and the chief representative of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia were tried and executed. How many others suffered a like fate, no one knows."

We now know that thousands of priests, monks, and other religious leaders were horribly murdered or exiled to slow death in Siberia. Churches were despoiled, robbed of their valuable ikons and other wealth and converted into granaries, barracks or even stables.

And while all this was going on how fared our "dearly beloved brother" Metropolitan Nikolai, bosom pal of Eugene Carson Blake and other American modernist, ecumenical, left-wing clergymen?

In 1918 Boris Yarushevich, while churches were being closed and desecrated all over Russia, became head of the Peter and Paul Cathedral in Peterhof. The next year he became Archimandrite and head of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery of Petrograd. In 1922 he became Bishop of Peterhof and Petrograd diocese. That same year a priest named Vvedensky started the "Living Church" movement which enjoyed the official protection and approval of the Bolshevik regime. (See News and Views, May 1957, Page 4.)

The supreme head of the Orthodox Church, Patriarch Tikhon was arrested in July 1922. He died three years later. From 1925 to 1943 no election of a new Patriarch was permitted by the Soviets. Indeed, the very title disappeared from all official documents and the press. It was forbidden to use any religious title in any publication. The death of Patriarch Tikhon was merely announced as that of "Citizen" Belavin.

Before his death Tikhon had designated Metropolitan Cyril as keeper of his office. Orthodox canon law empowered only a Sobor or general council of top hierarchs as guarding the ecclesiastical succession. The Soviet government immediately arrested Cyril. Tikhon's second choice had been Metropolitan Agaphangel but he was already in exile. Patriarch Tikhon's third choice was Metropolitan Peter but he was arrested as soon as he assumed office and transported to Siberia where he died in 1936.

With the death of Metropolitan Peter the legitimate succession of ecclesiastical authority was wiped out forever. Out of eleven hierarchs appointed to act as keeper or deputy ten died in exile or in prison. The present Patriarch, like Metropolitan Nikolai, is nothing more than a Secret Police appointee and hence devoid of any bona fide ecclesiastical authority.

In 1936 Nikolai had advanced under the Soviet Secret Police to Archbishop of Peterhof and Novgorod diocese. In 1939 he was Exarch of the Ukraine. While Khrushchev was busy purging the Communist Party of the Ukraine his henchman Nikolai directed a merciless campaign of persecution against the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church as well as against the Greek Catholics and Ukrainian Roman Catholics. Hundreds of priests and thousands of laymen were deported to slave labor camps and a speedy death.

In 1942 Nikolai made the news in Russia by being the first religious leader since the 1917 Revolution to be officially recognized by title in an official Soviet document. He was appointed a member of a Commission to Investigate German atrocities. As this was fully a year before Stalin deigned to take official notice of Nikolai's superior, Patriarch Sergius, it must be quite obvious who was the favorite boy of the Bolsheviks. Sergius was also restored to some limited degree of authority and prestige as part of the Communists' use of religion to bolster sagging Soviet morale under the hammer blows of Hitler's onswearing *Reichswehr*.

With the end of World War II Metropolitan Nikolai's real role in Soviet foreign policy began to unfold itself—that of an international Judas goat leading the innocent faithful into the Red abbatoir of nations and peoples. In 1945 he was the directing genius of the Moscow Sobor which arbitrarily brought the Orthodox churches of newly conquered satellites under the Moscow Patriarchate. Metropolitan Nikolai began to travel extensively and frequently in western Europe building up contacts with various Protestant denominations. In 1948 he was busy in Stockholm with the phony Stockholm Peace Appeal.

On February 23, 1951 the Communist World Council of Peace met in East Berlin, Germany. A featured speaker at the Red gathering was Metropolitan Nikolai of Moscow. This agent of KGB (Soviet Secret Police) launched a vitriolic attack against the United States. Here are some of the vicious charges made by the so-called "Christian" leader of the Soviet Orthodox Church who fraternizes with leaders of the National and World Councils of Churches, and who has been invited to join them in the World Council:

"We all know how on June 25, 1950, the hordes of the Korean American marionette—Li Sun Man, villainously fell upon the Peoples Democratic Korean Republic, at the direction of their American masters. The pains-taking elaboration of this, horrible in its baseness, act, is known.

It is known how the freedom-loving Korean people answered the bloody attack in one out-

burst. It is known how President Truman gave the order to the American armed forces in the Far East to come to the aid of his true ally—Li Sun Man.

It is known by what methods the United States of America influenced and [what methods it] uses to put through the UN resolutions it desires.

The demagogic wails of American propagandists are known, with which they try to cover up the bestial grin of imperialism revealed to the whole world.

The march of military actions on the fronts of this long-suffering land is known. The boundless courage and heroism, with which an ancient people defends its independence and life before the hordes of contemporary savages, is known. What sympathy and condolence are called forth by the sufferings of the Korean people from all freedom-loving humanity, are known.

And there is also known one circumstance of the Korean events, and it is to this circumstance that I want to draw your attention. I have in mind the conduct of the war in Korea by the American aggressors.

When we turn to the official statements of the governmental workers of the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic; when we listen to the evidence of war correspondents, journalists, up to now not known for the progressiveness of their opinions; when living people speak, who by some miracle have survived after the retreat of the army of occupation, or those who managed to escape from the leprous regions of the "new Americanized order" — we feel that which no document can transmit: we feel that depth of boundless, unassuageable grief into which modernized American monsters have plunged a noble people with its ancient culture.

And so we become convinced that the spirit and substance of fascism have not disappeared, that the delirious dreams of the fanatic Hitler have found their continuers, now trying to realize them.

Their followers do not lag behind their teachers.

From the first day of the lawless aggression the American neofascists began a systematic cannibalistic destruction of the "lower" Korean race.

What do we see?

Cynically violated standards not only of international rights, but of human morals. Executions without trial and inquisitions, secret and public. Dreadful tortures of victims: the cutting off of ears and noses, breasts, the putting out of eyes, the breaking of arms and legs, the crucifixion of patriots, the burial alive in communal graves of women with children at their breasts, etc. The rebirth of the customs of savages—the scalping of Korean patriots for "souvenirs."

For the purposes of annihilating the population, the American criminals first of all fanatically killed the political prisoners (from 200,000 to 400,000 persons), forcing them first to dig their own graves; they threw the bodies of patriots [who had been] hung, shot or who died from typhus into a precipice and, to conceal the traces, blew up a cliff above it.

COMRADE NIKOLAI AND FRIENDS

(Photographically reproduced from the *Daily Worker*, New York, March 8, 1956)

PROTESTANT CHURCH LEADERS MAP PLANS FOR TRIP TO MOSCOW



NINE PROTESTANT LEADERS who met here to discuss final plans for 11-day visit with Christian leaders in Moscow. President were (l. to r.): Bishop D. Ward Nichols, African Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, United Lutheran Church; Paul B. Anderson, International Committee of YWCA; Rev. Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, National Council of Churches; Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches; Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Protestant Episcopal Church; Charles Coolidge Parlin, Methodist layman; Rev. Dr. Herbert Gezork of Andover Newton Theological Seminary, and Rev. Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, National Council of Churches. Russian churchmen plan to visit the U.S. in June.



PRELATE. Orthodox Metropolitan Nikolai is agent in secret police.

SOVIET AGENTS IN THE WEST

STALE Security agents are planted in almost all Soviet agencies abroad. Most Soviet consuls and vice consuls are members of the Russian secret police; among other things their job is to prepare dossiers on visa applicants and try to force Russian émigrés in their areas to return to the homeland or enlist as spies. Other State Security officers are to be found in Soviet embassies and traveling delegations, where they keep an eye on touring Russians.

Since coming to the U.S. Deriabin has amused himself by spotting former colleagues among visiting Russians. When he saw the Moiseyev dancers perform in New York he spotted his old friend Lieut. Colonel Kudriavtsev sharing in the curtain calls as a member of the production staff. In 1957 a Soviet trade delegation to the U.S. included another State Security acquaintance of Deriabin's, Major Sergei Zagorsky. The major, listed as a "construction engineer," had once worked at the unconstructive job of amassing incriminating evidence for the Moscow dossiers of East German officials. A delegation sent to the U.S. in 1956 by the Russian Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow was headed by Metropolitan Nikolai Dorofeyevich Yarushevich, who is both second-ranking prelate of the Russian Orthodox Church and a State Security agent of long standing whom Deriabin once met in Vienna. During the Brussels Fair Deriabin saw a news picture of a group of visitors at the U.S. exhibit. One of them was a State Security man from his old office in Moscow.

(Photographed from *Life*, March 23, 1959)

(Associated Press Story, Aug. 11, 1958)

Soviet Orthodox Church May Join World Council

UTRECHT, Netherlands, Aug. 11 (AP) — Moscow Metropolitan Nikolai said Saturday he would recommend that the Russian Orthodox Church join the World Council of Churches.

The church refused to join the council in 1948.

The Russian churchman's statement was issued at the end of a two-day East-West church conference here.

He said the Russian Orthodox is expected to send observers to future meetings of the central committee of the World Council of Churches but that membership would have to be decided by church dignitaries in the Soviet Union.

Metropolitan Nikolai's statement revealed some disagreements with Western church leaders over nuclear bomb tests and ways to world peace.

The Russian church leader said the Russian Ortho-

dox Church wants nuclear tests stopped without conditions.

He said that if the Western church leaders want to include conditions, then there could be no agreement on this point by the Russian church.

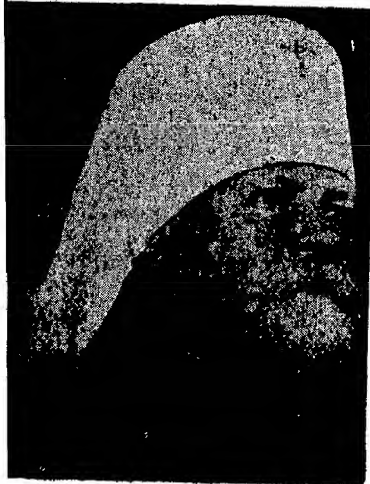
The Metropolitan said in an interview later that his church could not express a firm decision that it would become a member of the council.

"I can only say that the next stage is one of consultation with all Soviet church signatories," he said.

"There is no doubt, however, that this first meeting has been a good basis for future contacts and meetings."

He said there are 22,000 churches in Russia with 35,000 priests.

He said there are no figures on the number of church members there.



U.S.S.R.

**"We must
reach out
friendly hands"**

**METROPOLITAN NICHOLAI, Deputy
Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox
Church and Metropolitan of Moscow,**

SOVIET SECRET POLICE AGENT NIKOLAI

(Photographed from Philadelphia Inquirer, June 9, 1956)



Metropolitan Nicholas, head of an eight-member deputation of Christian leaders from the Soviet Union, inspects the Liberty Bell at Independence Hall, as part of a 10-day visit in this country. Other Russian clergyman is not identified.



PROTEST VISIT OF RUSSIAN CLERGY: Police restrain demonstrators in Philadelphia as Metropolitan Nikolai, chairman of the Russian group, is escorted to Independence Hall by the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, the president of the National Council of Churches.

THE KREMLIN'S ESPIONAGE AND TERROR ORGANIZATIONS

TESTIMONY OF PETR S. DERIABIN

Former Officer of the USSR's Committee of State Security (KGB)

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

RELEASED MARCH 17, 1959

Mr. ARENS. What are the methods used by the MGB?

Mr. DERIABIN. Soviet intelligence most of the time is using methods like blackmail, bribery, and they include prisoners of war who spend some time inside the Soviet Union. They are using immigrants. Sometimes they send as immigrants to another country their own citizens to make some kind of spy network. Actually, they are working in two ways. They use legal channels and illegal channels and foreign missions and exchange groups, too.

For instance, when the Soviet delegation is going abroad, it always includes some intelligence or counterintelligence officers.

For instance, in 1957 there was a Soviet delegation, a construction delegation in the United States, which includes one Soviet intelligence officer whose name is Major Zagorsky, who was a member of that Soviet delegation. When the Moiseyev dancers were here, Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kudriavtsev was a member of the Moiseyev dancers who is working for Soviet intelligence for many years, and he is a colonel. Both of them were working with me in Moscow while I was there.

Another example was in 1956, when the Soviet religious delegation was here, the Soviet Orthodox Church. The chief of that was Archbishop Nikolai. He is not a member of KGB, but he is an agent of KGB since World War II, who gives information to KGB. KGB is asking him and he is giving information. He is actually an agent.

The barbaric bombings of peaceful cities and centers of population were directed exclusively toward the annihilation of the civil population.

In the committees of inquiry of the American troops we see the reborn "technique" of Hitler, inhuman tortures of Korean patriots; hanging by the hands, binding [them] behind the back, which is impudently called "aeroplane"; welding handcuffs on the hands behind the back for 2-3 months; torture by electricity, including the electric bed, on which death follows the transmission of a strong current; a wet leather jacket which crushes the breast of the victim on drying; placing those ill of an epidemic sickness in cells filled to overflowing with prisoners.

These civilized savages arranged shooting matches with living targets, binding peasants to posts with barbed wire and shooting each of them over the heart of the target. Reviving the customs of the young-fascists, young-yankees photographed these scenes for their family albums and sent them home to their fiancées and wives.

These representatives of the "higher" race practised and practise mass rape of the women and young girls of Korea, rounding them up from surrounding towns, making them drunk on gin and raping them. Not limited to outrages, the miserable victims were driven, in places, into tunnels, shot by machine-guns and buried under the debris of blown up cliffs.

Often one can see on the roads of Korea the still warm corpse of a mother and a crying child at her breast. Cases are known when children, born in prison, were trampled by the soldiers' boots in front of the mother, and then the mother was killed.

On retreating, this "flower of culture" destroyed or drove off with it all living things on the evacuated lands.

On attacking, their fury was also vented first of all on the peaceful people.

Thus, on landing on September 15 in the Bay of Inchon everything breathing in the region was annihilated by insane forty-eight hour fire. Upon attacking Seoul in September of 1950 the same tactics of general destruction were continued.

In September of 1950, the French journalist Charles Farvel visited the camp of death, located in the "valley of horror" in Southern Korea. More than 300,000 Koreans are doomed to death in that camp. At that time there were 10 such camps. The camps are surrounded by barbed wire, along which run high voltage electric currents. The people live on the ground, they have neither clothing nor shoes. They are not fed, they eat grass and the bark of trees and bushes. American scientists and doctors, under the guise of giving medical assistance, test the newest vaccines and chemical preparations on the prisoners. Every night there are executions in the ravines surrounding the camps. To be destroyed in the first order are the intelligentsia of the Korean people: doctors, teachers, engineers, technicians, agriculturists.

"I accuse!"—declared the Korean artist [a woman] Zoe Sin Hee—"The blood of thousands of infants, destroyed by the Americans, the tens of thousands tortured in the camps of death, the hundreds of thousands killed at the front, call

for justice. The American military criminals must be severely punished for their evil deeds. I accuse them. I believe that the hour of retribution will soon arrive."

In retreating in January of 1951, the occupation forcibly chased more than two million peaceful inhabitants to the south of Korea, who died in thousands on the road and the roadside ditches from hunger and cold, from the bullets of aggressors.

Those of the peaceful population of Northern Korea who remained alive or were dispersed among the camps expected hunger and epidemics. Even the notorious "UN Commission on the Unification and Re-establishment of Korea" in its letter to the UN of February 1, 1951, notes that 3,628 Koreans have been left without a roof in penury.

The Korean children are everywhere subject to the fury of the occupation. Everywhere, where the foot of the intervenors has stepped—in the province of Southern Penngyan, Northern Kengke, Southern Kengke, Kanko, Chang-Bong—the American bandits have destroyed the children.

And again one cannot dismiss the thought that the ideologists guiding the dreadful events in Korea consider themselves to be Christians, and not only Christians, but even leaders of Christian organizations! They know the Bible and often state so in the hearing of all!

And reason refuses to give an explanation of this nightmare, and the heart does not cease to tremble from feelings of holy hatred toward the cannibals, and the conscience of all simple people cries out against the evil deeds of the American aggressor!

Waves of protest and indignation against the American aggressor in Korea and the evil deeds of the occupation; against the attempts to loosen a new world war by means of blocs, pacts, the remilitarization of Germany and Japan; against the exploitation of the UN by the United States of America as a weapon of aggression—roll over the entire world. This indignation against the rulers who have lost their reason and will, dragging people towards the precipice, can be heard in numberless petitions, sent to parliaments and ministries. It is heard in the appearances of women and young people, going on in all the countries of the world. Protest and indignation is expressed by the many-thousand-strong crowds gathering in the town squares of Europe and demanding that the overseas world bandits and world colonizers in dress-coats and generals' tunics return home. . . .

And our holy duty, dear friends is to tighten our ranks in the fight for peace, for the cessation of the bloody aggression in Korea, in the fight against the remilitarization of Western Germany and Japan, as a step towards a new war, against weapons for the mass annihilation of people, for the progressive curtailing of armament."

Nikolai's atrocity story varies a bit from the official North Korean version which charged that American soldiers buried young Korean children alive with only their heads sticking above the ground and then used these live baby heads as targets for routine rifle practice.

In December that same year Nikolai charged that:

"American aggressors continue to wage a war of extermination in Korea . . . The Ideas

of hatred of humanity are inoculated in children and young people on a broad scale in the U.S.A. . . . It is thus that the American kindlers of war try to raise murderers from their tender years."

In 1952 Metropolitan Nikolai charged that U.S. airmen in Korea were waging germ warfare:

"Infected insects are being dropped from American aircraft on populated points, not only in Korea but in China . . . The church cannot pass over in silence the sufferings of the Korean people, which is perishing from the brigandlike attack and demoniac malice of these human monsters . . . We shall hope that the Lord will put to shame the modern bloodthirsty Baal attempting to catch the entire world in his net, that the dread hand of Providence will restore the truth that has been defiled."

Nikolai did not think much better of Pope Pius XII whom he regarded as a mere "agent of American imperialism."

These are but a few brief excerpts from pages of similar slanders by Metropolitan Nikolai which have appeared in the Soviet press and journals.

At this point the sceptic will probably ask: "Why should the atheist Soviet regime build up religion when its own history and all its official pronouncements decree the death of all religions under the sickle and hammer?" NEWS AND VIEWS for last November carried a long article "Treason or Dupery?" which fully explained the new line laid down by Stalin in and during the last war for exploiting the captive Orthodox Church of Russia to advance the interests of the Soviet regime. With a cynicism without parallel in history, the Communists use the Russian Orthodox Church as a weapon for world domination and the ultimate extinction of all religious belief.

By re-establishing and granting quasi-recognition to the church, atheist and cynical Communists accomplished the following:

1. It enabled them to assimilate and bring under their control the Orthodox churches of the conquered satellites of East Europe.
2. It helped toward an old Russian objective—to make Moscow the "Third Rome".
3. It hampered the spread of the underground or catacomb church.
4. It gave the Soviets enormous world-wide prestige as many religious people, impressed by the apparent restoration of the Orthodox Church, lessened their suspicion of and animosity towards the Soviet Union. An apparently free functioning hierarchy and "packed churches" were witness to the liberality and tolerance of the Soviets towards organized religion.
5. With secret police agents posing as priests and listening to confessions, as well as penetrating every strata of the hierarchy, it gave the Soviet police state another secret observation post inside the minds of the Russian enslaved people.
6. It enabled venal and treacherous Soviet clergymen to build bridges of contact and confidence with western clergymen and in turn rope them in on all manner of Soviet propaganda

enterprises; viz. Stockholm Peace Appeal, World Congresses for Peace, etc., etc.,

7. It enabled the Soviet government through its religious stooges to by-pass the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and the Roman Catholic Church and deal directly with other Christian denominations throughout the non-Communist world.

For example, in July, 1948, the Moscow Conference of the heads and representatives of the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches announced that universal Christianity was not identified with western civilization; that most western Christian sects no longer followed the precepts of Christ and the True Faith and were sunken in materialism, greed, vice, and corruption. Only the Orthodox Church represented the True Faith and Communism was nothing more than the Kingdom of God on this earth. Nine months later the First World Congress of Peace Partisans meeting in Paris issued a manifesto embracing much the same general line that the West had abandoned Christianity in its mad search for ever greater nuclear bombs and mass destruction weapons.

The Soviet hierarchy therefore have become an extremely valuable and important weapon in the arsenal of world Communism as directed from Moscow. And, Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitski and Kolomna is one of the most important front men in this international confidence game to bamboozle gullible western clergymen into acting as dupes for all sorts of Communist propaganda swindles and confidence games!

If your church adheres to the National Council of Churches of Christ and the World Council you officially are associated with Boris Dorofeyevich Yarushevich, alias "Metropolitan Nikolai" in this most colossal and cynical hoax of all history. Take another look at page 114 of March 23rd LIFE and read Mr. Deriabin's sensational article.

The N.C.C.C.'s OUTLOOK for May, 1956, in defending the Moscow visit of nine of its top leaders commented, "Only a few seem to think it wrong for American Christians to talk with Russian Christians." The testimony of Soviet defector Deriabin can now leave no doubt that the Rev. Blake and his associates were not talking to "Russian Christians" at all but to murderous Soviet secret police agents and their stooges masquerading in clergymen's clothes.

Thus, official Soviet sources leave no doubt that Nikolai rose steadily to the second top ecclesiastical post in all of Russia while the Bolsheviks were exterminating the rest of the Orthodox clergy and extirpating all religions. As priests were murdered or deported to slow deaths in Siberia Nikolai stepped from one sacerdotal preference to the next. When Khrushchev went to the Ukraine to wipe out all anti-Soviets in blood purges, Metropolitan Nikolai was on hand to handle the purges of the clergy.

Metropolitan Nikolai's blood-strewn trail is a matter of open record in official Soviet documents. This record was available to the Rev. Eugene Carson Blake and his National Council of Churches' associates when they went to Russia in 1956 and invited Nikolai to this country. The Deriabin disclosure merely confirms and clinches the record. Blake now has little choice but to get down on his knees and ask God for forgiveness. Then he owes the American People a confession of grave error and an apology for having misled so many other clergymen into playing the fool in advancing communist aims and objectives. END

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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May, 1959

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

By KARL BAARSLAG

The Church League of America has received a number of requests from its subscribers for information on the American Friends Service Committee. Is it an officially recognized auxiliary of the Quaker faith or is it an embarrassing stepchild like the Methodist Federation for Social Action is to the Methodist Church? Is it actually a communist front although never officially cited by any competent government agency or is it merely a once respected welfare division of a fine religion which has been allowed to fall into the wrong hands and deviated to nonreligious purposes? The following evaluation is based largely on the A.F.S.C.'s own publications plus dependable research and reference sources in Washington which have extensive files on this organization.

In 1922 the American Friends Service Committee was feeding and caring for starving Russian and East European children. In 1949 the same Quaker "service" organization proudly used Alger Hiss as a lecturer at one of their summer seminars on international affairs. It was also busy all over the United States attacking and denouncing those patriotic Americans who had expressed some mild misgivings about the value of the United Nations or who had been critical of UNESCO. A brief twenty-two years had seen the deplorable retrogression of a once respected relief organization into just another political action operation with heavy leftwing bias and orientation.

In order to appraise and understand the present activities of the A.F.S.C. with objective and impartial evaluation one must first understand the history of the Society of Friends. An A.F.S.C. booklet, *"Twenty-five Years Under the Red and Black Star"* (1942) states: "The American Friends Service represents the Society of Friends in fields of social action."

From their very founding in the 17th Century the Quakers have been opposed to war and violence in any form and under all conditions. The Quaker position is quite simple: Christianity and war are incompatible. From their earliest days in this country the Quakers have worked for peace, for the abolition of slavery, for prison reform, for justice to the American Indian and other aborigines regardless of their cultural level. As a natural consequence Quakers since the time of George Fox, their founder, have either stubbornly refused or sought to block military service by all means at their disposal. Therefore to accuse the Friends of being pacifists is as silly as to accuse a Marxist of advocating Socialism.

Their anti-militarist and unpopular attitudes naturally subjected them to persecution in England — persecution which often bordered on the merciless and inhumane. Those

who fled to Colonial America often suffered degradation and persecution at the hands of other religious refugees who had settled here earlier. Pennsylvania finally became a haven for the early Society of Friends in this country under William Penn. Most of their concentrated population even today can be found in the state named after Penn, although there are also many Quakers in Ohio and Indiana. There are about 120,000 Quakers in the U.S.

Remembering their long history of religious persecution, the Quakers naturally turned to the relief of human suffering and the protection of the humble and lowly as their bounden religious duty. They have seldom shied away from what they deemed their God-directed tasks merely because of public opprobrium or disapproval.

However, in selecting areas of work the Quakers preferred to work in those areas where human suffering and distress was caused by human agencies as distinguished from those caused by natural disasters. The same work quoted above states:

"When true to its heritage, Quaker Service goes further than charitable relief. There is a more fundamental objective than passing kindness. Quaker Service tries to strike at the cause of social ill rather than to cover up its effects. . . . It is irrevocably opposed to violence or coercion even though the ends in view seem good."

This irrevocable opposition to violence and coercion, however, for some inexplicable reason, seems to stop dead short at the borders of the Communist world empire. The Soviet empire is one of fear and terror as well as violence and coercion as even the Quakers themselves must admit.

The American Friends Service Committee was organized by fourteen Quakers in Philadelphia in 1917. It was reorganized in 1929. It functions independently through its own Board of Directors and executive staff. In 1954 it had 437 officers and employees on its staff and enjoyed an annual budget of over three million dollars — most of which was contributed by non-Quakers according to its annual report of that year.

QUESTIONABLE SPEAKERS

Granting that the A.F.S.C. has done a great deal of good work, let us now briefly examine a few of the more controversial activities of this organization in recent years which have brought so much criticism against a once praiseworthy organization. In addition to forsaking social welfare work to a large degree and boldly entering the arena of political controversy, the A.F.S.C. has been most careless or indifferent in its selection of speakers and lecturers. Alger Hiss as an authority on foreign affairs was not an isolated accident.

In 1948 the A.F.S.C. sponsored and sent around the country one, "Martin Hall." Hall addressed high school groups on peace. In speech after speech he defended the Soviet position in the Cold war and attacked and abused this country. The Janesville, Wisconsin *Gazette* for October 8, 1948, reported that even Quakers "who listened got up and left the hall in disgust." They complained that he "sounded more like a Communist than a Quaker." The National Headquarters of the American Legion received several protests about "Hall" and queries as to who he was. *Mr. Hall was not a Quaker.*

Shortly after his Wisconsin tour Hall turned up in Southern California. He spoke before the Hollywood chapter of a notorious Communist front, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. As far back as 1937 Hall's name appeared as a contributor of articles to the admittedly Communist publication, *New Masses*. The name of Martin Hall also appeared frequently as a contributor to the official organ of the Communist International, *Inprecorr*, between 1935 and 1937. All of which naturally raises the question, "just who is this Martin Hall, American Friends Service Committee lecturer?"

Hall is not Hall at all. He is German refugee born Herman Jacobs who fled to the United States shortly after Hitler took over. He had been a delegate to a Communist press conference in Moscow in 1930. He had been the editor of a left-wing labor paper in Germany for fifteen years before the Nazis began chasing the Commies out of Germany. When Hall's record and anti-American speeches were given to the A.F.S.C. they expressed great regret over having sponsored him and hastily dropped Jacobs, alias Hall from their speakers' list.

That was in 1948. The following July, 1949, the American Friends Service Committee conducted an international service seminar at Plymouth, New Hampshire, on the United Nations and international relations. One of the featured speakers was Alger Hiss. Widespread unfavorable comment and adverse publicity apparently compelled the A.F.S.C. to issue a statement which appeared in the N. Y. Times of July 26, 1949:

"The Committee decided to reaffirm its earlier decision to continue to use Alger Hiss as a visiting faculty member on two main grounds of equal importance.

A. The Committee firmly believes in the basic principle of our democracy that a man is and should be considered innocent until his guilt has been proven.

B. Mr Hiss has made valuable contributions to two previous seminars and in his relationships with our committee has demonstrated himself to be a person on whose discretion and integrity we can depend.

In the light of these facts and despite the fact that Alger Hiss offered to withdraw, we have found no reason for not continuing our long-standing relationship with him in a common effort to assist into being a world of peace and justice."

This was before Hiss's second trial and conviction but after he had been indicted and his first trial.

In 1951 the American Friends Service Committee made another unhappy and ill-advised choice in a speaker. Bayard Rustin, advertised as a "specialist in human understanding," was sent around the country under the joint sponsorship of the A.F.S.C. and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a well-known pacifist organization. Unlike Hall who was not a Quaker, Rustin was a member of the Religious Society of Friends. The Eleventh Report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education of the California Legislature issued in 1953 has the following on page 40:

"The AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE sponsored a lecturer, a member of the Religious Society of Friends, to address their group in Pasadena on January 22, 1953. The *Pasadena Independent* of January 23, 1953, carried the following article:

"Bayard Rustin, world famed Negro lecturer and authority on community relations, was arrested yesterday in Pasadena on a morals charge ... Rustin was jailed less than six hours after he had addressed a dinner meeting of the local chapter of the AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN. He was scheduled to speak at UCLA yesterday and at a church (First Methodist, Pasadena) here tonight ... Rustin recently returned from Africa where he consulted with national leaders on the subject of non-violence as an approach to political and racial differences ...

He is college secretary of the FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION and a member of the Religious Society of Friends ... His talk tonight was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the World Friendship and Peace Committee.

A three man delegation from the FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE showed up at the hearing. "We still think Mr. Rustin is a wonderful gentleman," said the spokesman. He declined to identify himself.

BAYARD RUSTIN and his two male companions were jailed. RUSTIN was sentenced to 60 days in the county jail."

The *Los Angeles Mirror* of January 23, 1953, contained the following news item:

"MISSIONARY GETS 60 DAY TERM IN MORALS CASE

Bayard Rustin, 40-year-old missionary whose sparkling lectures on world peace charmed a Pasadena women's club has been sentenced to 60 days in jail for lewd vagrancy.

He pleaded guilty to the charge and was sentenced yesterday by Pasadena Municipal Judge H. Burton Noble who ignored a plea that Rustin be allowed to leave the state and return to New York. 'I'm not inclined to extend any leniency,' the judge said.

Similar sentences were also handed to two 23 year old men who were arrested in the car with Rustin early Wednesday morning a few hours after the missionary addressed the American Society of University Women.

Rustin recently returned from Africa where he did missionary work for the American Friends Service Society. A delegation of three members of the society appeared in court but did not testify in Rustin's behalf.

Rustin had been convicted in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, May 20, 1947, for violating a state law requiring segregated seating on intrastate buses. He was a member of sixteen teams sent into border states by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress for Racial Equality to test out a Supreme Court decision. He was fined \$8 trial costs.

In 1948 the Peacemakers, a pacifist civil disobedience group, released a "Call to American Christians of Draft Age" which advised young men not to register for the draft, a clear invitation to violate the law. Rustin was a signer of this "Call" as well as a member of the Executive Committee. That same year he was listed as Executive co-secretary of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

In 1952 Rustin attended the Friends World Conference at Oxford before going on to Africa to confer with African nationalist leaders on the use of non-violent resistance to gain political ends.

The same California Legislative Committee report carries numerous citations on the A.F.S.C.'s activities in California opposing state loyalty oaths, distributing copies of Soviet apologist Jerome Davis' "Behind Soviet Power," and protesting anti-Communist legislation on the grounds that "An atmosphere of suspicion and intimidation created by anti-Communist legislation from the Board of Education lowers the quality of instruction."

No one apparently raised any question as to why a welfare and relief organization was concerning itself with the "quality of instruction" in the public schools and with anti-Subversive legislation.

The same report contains numerous anti-American statements by Dr. J. Stewart Innerst, "Chairman, Adult Peace Committee of the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE." On page 95 we find:

"Dr. Innerst's letter was written on the official letterhead of the American Friends Service Committee, Pasadena, and stated in part as follows:

'A man's political affiliation is no longer considered a matter of privacy, but a matter of public information that may be forcibly extracted under pain of being cited for contempt. While we decry thought control in Russia, we pursue a policy in the said investigations that inevitably leads to it in free America.

He then explains that the opinions he has expressed are his own and should not be construed as those of the organization which employs him.'

Further on in this same California Legislative report Innerst is quoted as having told a current events class that Russia was the aggrieved and injured party in the current world crisis and that there was no concrete evidence of Russian intervention in either China or Korea. He is quoted as saying:

"In fact, I have been in China and never have seen a Russian soldier or any Russian equipment but I have been forced to take shelter when American bombers flew overhead"

Dr. Innerst presumably was in Red China at the time that country was waging war against the United States and hordes of Communists were killing American boys during the Korean war. The report does not disclose just what Dr. Innerst was doing in Red China at the time that U.S. armed forces were engaged in protecting South Korea against a Communist invasion.

Martin Hall, Alger Hiss, and Bayard Rustin do not exhaust the roster of off-color speakers used by the American Friends Service Committee at its seminars on International Relations. In November of 1950 the A.F.S.C. advertised that it was bringing Bayard Rustin, Derk Bodde, and Louis Dolivet to Uniontown Pa., to speak at the Institute of International Relations being held in the Great Bethel Baptist Church of that city. Because Dolivet had a far more colorful and fascinating background than either Rustin or Derk Bodde and also to conserve space we dismiss Bodde with the observation that he had an extensive front record going back at least to 1950.

The A.F.S.C. publicity note advertised Dolivet as an "author, editor, lecturer." He was also editor of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD and "an international roving correspondent for the NEW YORK POST. Has followed the work of the League of Nations and later the United Nations since 1932." All of this is undoubtedly true but there was a great deal of additional information in the public domain available on Mr. Dolivet. The Congressional Record for May 25, 1950, pages 7806-08 carried a great deal more on Mr. Dolivet who is not Dolivet at all but really Ludwig Brecher of probable Rumanian extraction.

Congressman Jenison of Illinois charged that Brecher, alias Dolivet was, according to the State Department, "a very dangerous Stalinist agent and a member of the International Communist apparatus." Dolivet's activities in behalf of the Soviets was set forth in some detail in a French magazine, LA REVUE PARLEMENTAIRE for Dec. 15, 1949. The French secret police knew Dolivet as Ludwig Udeanu a close associate of the notorious Soviet agent Willy Muenzenberg. Muenzenberg was known as the "Henry Ford" of

the Communist Front" because he conceived and set up a worldwide network of fronts on a mass production basis. His corpse was found dangling from a tree in Nazi occupied France at the time of the liberation of France. He had either committed suicide, been executed as a traitor by the Communist underground, or strung up by the retreating Nazis.

Under the Comintern name of Udeanu, Dolivet had written for INPRECORR, the journal of the Communist International. He was the brains of a Communist operation which infiltrated and took over a French paper, LE MONDE. In 1932 he was in Amsterdam helping organize one of the Soviet's first world congresses for peace. He was behind the scenes pulling wires for the Comintern at the 1933 World Committee for Struggle Against War and Fascism and in 1935 in Paris for another Soviet-instigated Universal Rally for Peace.

In 1934 Dolivet was in Russia and about this time he made contact with the Swedish banker Olaf Ashberg, who later in his memoirs admitted that he had been a very active financial agent for the Soviets for many years. In 1937-38 Dolivet was accused of alleged embezzlement of funds raised in France in behalf of the Spanish Loyalists. He was a French citizen by this time and a protege of Pierre Cot, Communist and later a government minister. Cot and Ashberg allegedly financed and helped him get control of the FREE WORLD, a magazine which later became the UNITED NATIONS WORLD. There is no information as to when he first came to this country except that he came on a visitor's visa. He was turned down for U.S. citizenship in 1946 after serving 25 days in the U.S. Army in 1943.

Brecher—alias Udeanu—alias Dolivet went abroad in 1950 just before a Congressional Committee could serve him with a subpoena. The U.S. Immigration Service thereupon served notice that he would not be re-admitted to the United States presumably because of his role as an international Communist agent. The American Friends Service Committee in advertising him as one of their speakers in November of 1950 possibly had not read the Congressional Record exposé of this Comintern agent only five months before, or if it did, blithely decided to ignore the information and to circulate him around the country anyway. And to close the case of Mr. Dolivet, he had lived for a time in the small French village of D'Olivet from which he derived the name he used in this country.

THE A.F.S.C. CHANGES COURSE

Some time in the late '20's or early '30's the Quaker service organization put down a hard left rudder and altered course from one devoted to the relief of human suffering and distress to that of political agitation. In 1933 William Dennis of Earlham College, Indiana, (a Quaker institution) charged that the Friends Commission on Economic Life and Relationships while critical of war and Fascism was curiously silent when it came to any criticism of Communism.

For many years a guiding genius of the A.F.S.C. was one Ray Newton. In responding to a poll of ministers in 1934 on the question of Socialism Newton said he favored Socialism as a system of government for the United States. A letterhead of the U.S. Congress Against War, set up by the American Committee For Struggle Against War (a Communist front), dated Nov. 1, 1933, carried the name of Ray Newton as a member of the Arrangements Committee. The American Committee for Struggle Against War was formed in this country in response to directives laid down by the Communist International in 1932 according to a re-

port by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.

Newton was also affiliated with the War Resisters League, another pacifist-Socialist outfit. The former A.F.S.C. official was also a vice-chairman of the National Council Against Conscription cited as a Communist front by the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948. The report states: "Out of a total of 137 listed sponsors and supporters of the National Council Against Conscription there are 47 individuals with a known record of supporting Communist front organizations and causes. (page 320)."

In 1947 the A.F.S.C. sent a delegate to the Communist-instigated World Youth Festival at Prague. The delegate was Kenneth Southard of Philadelphia. Socialists and other non-Communist radicals ridiculed and denounced this Communist propaganda stunt and there were ample warnings as to its inspiration and guiding direction in the public press. Nevertheless, the A.F.S.C. sent a delegate.

In 1948 the American Friends Service Committee sent a spokesman, Julian Cornell, to register the Committee's opposition to the pending anti-Communist Mundt-Nixon Bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Protesting legislation designed to protect this country from Communist infiltration and subversion seemed a long way from the Committee's earlier efforts at relieving want and human suffering. At the same time that it was seeking to protect the Communists from any legal restraint or annoyance, spokesmen from the A.F.S.C. strongly opposed any and all forms of military conscription. A statement signed by Henry J. Cadbury as Chairman and Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the A.F.S.C., read as follows:

"We stand ready to offer our ministry of aid and counsel to all who for religious or conscientious reasons stand opposed to conscription and war. We recognize that their opposition might take such forms as non-compliance with the law, choosing non-combatative or alternative civilian service, insisting on using their technical knowledge for constructive rather than destructive purposes."

In 1943 a lobbying office of the Quakers was set up in Washington and registered with Congress as the Friends Committee on National Legislation. It favors universal disarmament, relaxation of immigration laws, opposes all counter-subversive legislation and advocates "an unrelenting search for a political settlement between the United States and the Soviet Union."

While the A.F.S.C. and Legislative Committee maintain separate offices they work closely together and the latter was probably set up to protect the tax exemption of the former.

In November, 1949, Yale University Press published "The United States and the Soviet Union," a report prepared for the A.F.S.C. with suggestions for improving relations between the two countries "whose rivalry is disturbing the world." In July of that year a "working party" of the Executive Board of the A.F.S.C. had prepared a 28 page report on American-Russian Relations. It would be difficult to find a more dishonest and one-sided presentation of the basic issues dividing the free world from the Soviet slave labor empire.

The whole dissertation reads like something straight out of Vera Micheles Dean's Foreign Policy Association studies, with the detached philosophical overtones of George Kennan. Indeed, one of Kennan's fallacies that Communism is merely another unpleasant historical development akin to the eruption of Islam in the 7th century which will settle

down and be no problem a thousand years from now is actually used in this A.F.S.C. foreign relations report:

"History offers examples of mortal conflicts between other great movements which in later generations, with the cooling of passions and the tempering of fanaticism, have found it possible to live in peace with each other. In certain respects Islam is a striking example. It is worth noting that the conflict between the Moslem and Christian worlds was finally resolved by the destruction of neither."

The entirely specious argument is next advanced that while Protestants and Catholics sought to exterminate each other in the 16th century, peace between them finally triumphed and greater tolerance finally permitted them to settle down in peaceful co-existence. The glaring dishonesty of this report lies in the fact that its writers, by their quotations from Marxist-Leninist documents, betray the fact that they made a most thorough study of basic Communist documents and were under no illusions as to the true nature of world Communism. That the differences between Communists and the Free World were analogous to those between two main branches of Christianity is, needless to say, sheer sophistry.

In their Basic Considerations of this report, the A.F.S.C. writers recognize the basic elements of the Soviet system to be:

"the authoritarian police state, thought control, banishment of political dissenters to Siberia, secrecy, suspicion of foreigners, and semi-militarization of the government bureaucracy. . ."

and that these elements should not bind us as being a sign of Soviet instability.

All through the rest of this report the A.F.S.C. equates this totalitarian, secret police state as the moral equal of the United States and with truly Olympian impartiality weighs both sides on the balance scales of its judgment. This is not fuzzy or "confused liberal" thinking at all but patent and calculated dishonesty on the part of people piously quoting and constantly referring to the "moral insights" fundamental to the faith they claim to support while at the same time condoning murderous atheistic Communism, the sworn enemy of all religions including Quakerism.

Throughout the report there is a total moral anaesthesia as far as Communism is concerned on the part of people who can show acute moral sensitivity as far as minor imperfections are concerned in the social, economic, and political structure of the West. As it would require at least twenty-eight pages to expose or rebut all the fallacies and dishonest semantic trickery in this 28 page A.F.S.C. Report, sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph, it is obviously beyond the limits of this study. Suffice to say that this A.F.S.C. Report on American-Russian Relations is an insult to the intelligence and a blatant piece of special pleading that was no doubt lavishly praised and quoted in the Soviet press at the time.

The degree of left rudder under which the American Friends Service Committee has been sailing was strikingly revealed in January, 1950, when its Executive Board wrote a letter to Pres. Truman on what our foreign policy should be with respect to Red China. The welfare division of the Quakers, set up to relieve human degradation and misery, came to the defense of the Chinese Communists, the greatest mass murderers and creators of human suffering and degradation in all history, with the following gratuitous and unsolicited advice:

"Further intervention will result in the hardening of Chinese resentment against America and strengthening of Sino-Russian ties. By treating Communist China as an enemy and by refusing to recognize her, we are not isolating China, we are isolating ourselves."

These sentiments must have appealed to the Ford Foundation because its annual report for 1951, listing some \$22,331,736 grants, allotted one million dollars to the American Friends Service Committee "for programs to reduce world tensions and to improve international understanding."

The Communist DAILY WORKER for Feb. 14, 1952 commended the A.F.S.C. for its opposition to the Smith Act. The A.F.S.C. had called a conference on "Liberty and Loyalty" at San Francisco which was attended by over 400 participants. The Communist paper happily reported that the audience "condemned the growing fear and hysteria in the United States today, and stressed the need for firm personal action in bringing others the courage to oppose these measures."

In 1953 the House Committee on Un-American Activities began hearings in Philadelphia on Communism in the public schools. The Friends Service Committee lost no time rushing into print with a release expressing deep concern over the investigation. Lewis M. Hoskins, executive secretary of the organization was quoted as saying: "The Service Committee has been disturbed for some time by trends towards restricting the freedom of the individual. Recent events on a national level, in Philadelphia, and in many of the other communities in which we work, have focussed our attention on the issue . . . Fear is too often our response to uncertainty. Loyalty oaths, legislative abuses of investigatory power, assumption of guilt until innocence is proven, implications of guilt through association and denials of the free platform are some of the products of this fear." (New York Times, Nov. 16, 1953).

Lewis M. Hoskins was listed as a speaker for the Methodist Federation for Social Action according to the DAILY WORKER for September 10, 1951, page 8. The M.F.S.A. had been cited in 1948 by the Washington State Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front. The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee's HANDBOOK FOR AMERICANS published in 1956 on page 91 states: "With an eye to religious groups, Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action."

Hoskins was also signer of a statement opposing the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law. The statement appeared in a booklet "The Walter-McCarran Law" published by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a Communist front and cited as subversive and Communist by the U.S. Attorney General in 1948.

THE DAILY WORKER for June 15, 1954, page 4, carried a statement released by the A.F.S.C. opposing U.S. intervention in Indo-China to save the northern half of that country from Communism. Mr. Hoskins, as executive secretary, issued the release. The N.Y. TIMES of May, 1956 carried a paid advertisement of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom urging Pres. Eisenhower to ban further H-bomb tests. Mr. Hoskins was a signer of this appeal.

In June 1955, six Quakers toured Soviet Russia. Three of them, Clarence E. Pickett (about whom more later) and two staff members represented the American Friends Service Committee. Upon their return to the United States they made a report which was published in a handsome, slick paper, 94 page brochure. Eugene Lyons, an acknowledged authority on the U.S.S.R., had this to say about the report in the September 22nd, 1956 issue of the NATIONAL REVIEW:

"The pamphlet is as cold-blooded and cynical a document as has come to my attention in many a year, and I am something of a connoisseur of the literature of pro-Soviet apologetics. I searched its 94 pages for a word of compassion for the victims of the brutal totalitarian state; a soupcon of sympathy for the millions steeped (as is evident even in this account of conditions) in wretchedness and subjected to routinized injustice; a syllable of sharp criticism of the Communist despots. In vain.

These Quakers blandly record that their appraisal . . . 'of the forces operating in Soviet society' they ruled out 'emotionalism' in favor of 'realism.'

Evidently they decided that any hint of fellow-feeling for the oppressed or censure for their masters would be contrary to the dictates of 'reason'. To make it more nauseous, the report is utterly self-righteous, invoking religion, peace, and other noble values on every page. The collective authors identify themselves as 'persons of goodwill who disagree fundamentally with Marxism but at the same time are concerned about creating genuine peace and mutual understanding between the Communist and non-Communist worlds.' They deny in effect that there are any decisive differences, except in degree, between the two. . .

At the end of nearly every chapter they offer gratuitous advice to the Communists . . . But this helpful disposition finds no reflection in the moral area. They simply forgot to recommend the abolition of slave labor and confessions by torture, the restoration of some of the elementary human rights that did exist before the Revolution, or most amazing for a religious group—the elimination of the social and economic discriminations to which believing Christians are subjected."

Mr. Lyons' criticism is far too mild and perfunctory. The report is a dishonest fraud on the uninformed and uncritical reader. No fair-minded scholar or observer, no matter how naive could possibly concoct so many distortions, sly innuendoes, adroitly disguised half-truths, and fairy tales without deliberate act of will.

"Meeting the Russians" starts with the incredible proposition that the Soviets in effect are fighting a war and that even Christians in time of war drop all moral principles for the sake of victory. Consider the following *not* lifted out of context:

"Virtually everything in Communist conduct that shocks the moral principles of non-Communists can thus be explained in terms that are familiar and even acceptable to most non-Communists when demanded by military necessity in time of international war. The list would include systematic spying, censorship, assassinations, mass killings, the taking and killing of hostages, imprisonment without trial, the spreading of false propaganda, the deception of the enemy (whether a class or a nation) by an effective means, mass starvation, sabotage, bribery, and the use of informers and provocateurs. We need look back no further than World War II and the Korean War to find examples of all of these acts committed at one time or another by both sides—not because either side willfully preferred to engage in such acts but because both sides were forced by the logic of war to choose between engaging in these acts and risking defeat."

The above is an exact literal quotation from page 6 of this incredible A.F.S.C. brochure. This sort of logic by men laying special claim to high moral insights would exonerate every criminal since the beginning of time on the simple grounds that he was at war with society and in war everything goes. By the same "logic" all the crimes of the Nazis can be justified on the grounds that they were at war and were merely trying to win.

Even hardened cynical Communists must have lifted their eyebrows a bit in amazement at such utterly amoral and super-cynical defense of their long history of crimes against humanity. As with other A. F. S. C. brochures it would require at least as many pages to expose, refute, and dissect such rank and blatant pro-Soviet propaganda as the 94 page booklet in question because there is falsification, utter non sequitur, sly distortion, or outrageous conclusion in nearly every paragraph.

Chapter VIII on Religion in an Anti-Religious State would require at least a hundred pages of documented refutation. Even such professional pro-Soviet apologists as Corliss Lamont, Frederick Schuman, or their dean, Jerome Davis, himself, must have turned green with envy after reading "Meeting the Russians." We have space for just a few typical examples. "The various Christian churches in the Soviet Union have a dramatic history since the 1917 Revolution." The murder of thousands of priests, ministers, rabbis and mullahs, the wholesale destruction of religious edifices and the confiscation of their heirlooms and precious objects of veneration, the desecration of altars and the vicious campaign of terror against true believers is merely "dramatic" to these men of great moral insight. The alleged persecution of non-Orthodox sects under the Czars gets a nice play but the diabolic persecution and tortures of the Bolsheviks is neatly glossed over in the single word "dramatic." In fact, they even have the unparalleled gall to assert that the Revolution "benefitted" the non-conformist sects by destroying the power of the Orthodox Church. "For the first time they enjoyed a legal status", needless to say, is a flat and unequivocal falsehood in view of the anti-Church decrees of January 1918 and subsequent Soviet suppressive actions. (See NEWS & VIEWS, April 1959, Special Edition).

The report then goes on to state that in 1943 "an agreement was entered into which granted all religious groups in the Soviet Union a measure of freedom in purely religious matters in return for their pledge not to interfere in the spheres of activity that the state reserved to itself." This in the face of a wealth of documentary evidence since 1920, some of it official Soviet material attesting to the long and deadly war of extermination waged by the Bolsheviks against all forms of religion in the U.S.S.R.

And as even a poorly informed person on the Soviets knows the 1943 "agreement" was no agreement at all. It was never published in any official Soviet gazette or register of state laws. It was purely a Stalinist deceptive trick

to bamboozle the United States into believing that religious freedom had been restored in the land of the Soviets in order to keep eleven billion dollars of vital Lend-Lease supplies moving to Russia. And, as any amateur student of Soviet affairs knows, the alleged "relaxation" of persecution of religion and official recognition of the Orthodox church—not any other Protestant or Catholic faiths—was dictated also by considerations of urgent military necessity, that of bolstering collapsing Russian morale under the hammer blows of the onrushing and unstoppable Reichswehr.

The reports contains two paragraphs on "Training for Priests" which would be hilariously funny if it were dealing with something else besides the cynical Communist exploitation of religion as an important arm of the police state. Ample documentation that Russian Orthodox seminaries were infiltrated by secret police agents as far back as 1927 is blithely ignored in this A.F.S.C. brochure. The figures quoted on total church membership and attendance by various denominations are equally fantastic and absurd.

The six touring Quakers at least admitted that they were not permitted to visit either the Soviet-occupied Baltic states or forced labor camps. Several hundred thousand Baltic people have been brutally murdered by the Soviets or uprooted and deported to certain death in Siberia. It would seem that an organization claiming to be deeply concerned over human suffering and degradation *due to man-made causes* would concentrate its welfare efforts precisely in that area where human distress was greatest, i.e., Soviet Russia, the prison house of nations, as well as Red China.

Neither the martyred Balts nor fifteen million inhabitants of Soviet slave labor camps are ever mentioned again in the 94 page A.F.S.C. booklet. Instead the reader is regaled with pages of trivia about living conditions in the few unimportant Soviet towns which the Quaker delegation was allowed to visit.

Indeed, in order apparently to help discredit what the Soviets assert are "capitalist slanders" about forced labor camps, "Meeting the Russians" glowingly reports new communities and colonies in Russia being built by "labor not quite forced."

The Quaker group visited seven Baptist congregations, several Orthodox churches and church leaders, a theological seminary, a church of the Old Believers, and two Jewish synagogues. They also had the great honor of conferring with Metropolitan Nikolai in Moscow, not, of course, realizing then that this old scoundrel was really nothing more than a Secret Police agent. A defecting Soviet Secret Police Officer, Deriabin, recently confirmed in LIFE magazine what NEWS AND VIEWS and others had charged years ago—that Metropolitan Nikolai was no bona fide leader at all but actually a secret police spy planted inside the Russian Orthodox Church.

(TO BE CONTINUED IN JUNE 1959 NEWS AND VIEWS)

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

By KARL BAARSLAG

(Continued from May 1959 News & Views)

The whole chapter "Religion in an Anti-Religious State" could be transposed into a book on Russia by Sydney and Beatrice Webb or into the writing of Jerome Davis or Corliss Lamont without any noticeable ideological break of continuity whatever.

The concluding chapter of "Meeting the Russians" is a specious plea for tolerance and understanding for the Soviets, i.e., for peaceful co-existence. National rivalries, mutual fears and suspicions, and lack of understanding must be eliminated and replaced with love. After conceding the monolithic totalitarian nature of the Soviet system the six Quakers nevertheless feel certain that "forces are at work that will certainly make the future very different from the past." They also noted "some relaxation of internal controls."

There is nothing in the report to suggest that the six A.F.S.C. tourists interceded with the Communists for greater tolerance and understanding on their part towards religious belief in Russia. There is nothing in the report to indicate that these men of "deep moral insights" raised any protest or even mild question about the degradation and inhumanity practiced on Soviet political prisoners running into the millions. Soviet leadership is accepted passively as immutable and beyond criticism—all the change of heart and ideological position must be done by the West in order to lessen tensions and bring about greater understanding.

In 1955 the American Friends Service Committee published a 71 page booklet entitled "Speak Truth To Power—A Quaker search for an alternative to Violence." The brochure is advertised as a "study of international conflicts" and makes no pretense whatever of being concerned with relief or welfare. True to the traditional Quaker position on violence and war, "Speak Truth to Power" rejects all military power either as a deterrent to Soviet military expansionism or even as a defense of this country in case of actual invasion.

In the preface or "A Note To The Reader" we are advised that:

"For more than thirty-five years the American Friends Service Committee has worked among those who suffer, recognizing no enemies, and seeking only to give expression to the love of God in service. Out of this experience, gained under all kinds of governments and amidst all kinds of people, has come some appreciation of the problems of peacemaking in the modern world."

The note then goes on to say as a result of this valuable experience the Committee had issued over a period of the past five years a series of studies on possible ways to ease tensions and move toward international peace.

We are then advised that these studies on foreign affairs and admonitions as to just what U.S. foreign policy should be towards Soviet Russia and Red China "are not official pronouncements but in the interest of stimulating public discussion of the issues raised and in the hope that such discussion will contribute to the formation of policies that will bring peace." We leave to the individual reader the question as to the honesty of this device to influence public opinion on a vital issue and yet disclaim any responsibility for it as the official position of the A.F.S.C.

Space considerations prohibit an extended analysis of this really astounding document distributed merely to "stimulate public discussion."

"Speak Truth To Power" first conjures up the stereotyped bugaboo of all the lefties and liberals—the grisly spectre of a world atomized in one gigantic nuclear holocaust. This has also been fairly well worked over by every Communist propaganda media for the past ten years; so, here the Quakers not only present nothing new but merely another warmed over dish of the same Communist nuclear blackmail calculated to frighten the West into ever more concessions, retreats and appeasement.

Next comes the characteristic equation so dear to the hearts of all pseudo-liberals and secret pro-Soviet sympathizers—that the United States and the USSR are both equally and jointly guilty of "mutual suspicions and fears". The Soviets "emerged from the war still distrustful of the West, still confident of its world mission and now vested with new power and new prestige." The booklet's authors do not explain why the Soviets should remain distrustful of their allies after receiving eleven billion dollars worth of lend-lease, a second front in France, and victory over Germany whom they never could have defeated alone. The Quakers however, gloss over the whole business neatly by saying that the USSR merely exploited "every possible means to secure its national interest and safety" just as the West was doing!

The North Korean Communist invasion of South Korea is dishonestly described as "the cold war first erupted into bloody violence." The United Nations' indictment of North Korea as the aggressor is craftily twisted into a spontaneous "eruption" for which no one apparently was responsible. In perfect vocal agreement with the Communists who sing the same song, the Quaker report finds that since 1945 we have suffered from:

"a steady erosion of the values that were formerly considered the very foundation stones of American democracy. Spying on fellow citizens, anonymous denunciations, restrictions on free-

dom of movement, speech, and press, prosecution for beliefs rather than acts, the reversal of the traditional presumption of innocence until proof of guilt, the gradual militarization of our minds and our society. . .

"Anti-Communism", according to this booklet has brought on this dreadful "erosion of values".

It might be added that only the Communists, pseudo-liberals, and Quakers seem to be aware of this "erosion". Socialists, radicals, non-conformists, and the bulk of our population seem to be totally ignorant of any such alleged restrictions on freedom of speech, press, and movement.

The rest of the pamphlet is full of similar equivocations, sophistries, non-sequiturs deceptively tagged out as inelectable conclusions, and half-truths masquerading as moral pronouncements and final judgments.

Indeed, "Speak Truth To Power" goes a bit further and counsels civil disobedience to achieve what may be considered supremely desirable moral objectives. The example of a Delaware Quaker abolitionist who suffered financial ruin a hundred years ago when he persisted in running an underground station for fugitive slaves is cited as a sterling example for conscientious pacifists to follow today. "Conscientious refusal to take loyalty oaths, to do military service, to inform against others, or to suppress opinion" should be made the basis of civil disobedience. (page 57).

The A.F.S.C. pamphlet naturally supports the cause of colonial independence all over the world but carefully and studiously refrains from advocating freedom for the dozen or more nations forcibly enslaved by Communism. The whole booklet is a long and most thorough criticism of western lack of moral insights but the Soviet slave empire is let off easily with a few mild slap on the wrist observations. *More significant* and revealing is the fact that while "Speak Truth To Power" is full of prescriptions, moral homilies, and pronouncements of what we must do in America to be saved there is nary a word as to what Soviet leaders should do to reduce world tensions and insure peace. True to the creed of all fraudulent "liberals" all the advice and criticism is directed at America—none, or at least nothing more than a few empty words, are ever directed at the Soviets. Nor do these pretendedly pious and devoted men, who are willing to "suffer" for their ideas and faith in this country, indicate the slightest desire to settle behind the Iron Curtain where there are unlimited opportunities for real suffering. A few years in a Soviet slave labor camp deep in the Arctic regions mining coal or cutting timber under the brutal conditions suffered by millions might give these pious lecturers on moral duties some real first hand moral insights that they so demonstrably lack today in the soft comforts and easy-going tolerance of this country.

Suggested Plan of Action for these Pious Pacifists:

A free ticket to a Soviet slave labor camp is the easiest thing in the world to obtain. Just sneak into Soviet Russia without a passport and get yourself ten years at hard labor for "espionage." Then come out and give us some real moral preachments, and the practicability of "non-violent resistance" against totally amoral Communists.

The A.F.S.C. answer to dynamic Communism, a fa-nactical new pseudo-religion, as well as a threat to Western civilization and Christianity in all other spheres, is really quite elementary—"non-violent insight".

As a pre-condition, however, *we must first strengthen and improve our own democracy*—a favorite and well

worn cliché of the phony liberal. We must eliminate racial discrimination, "religious intolerance" (where?), "we must be more sensitive to the deadening impact of our industrial life", improve our housing, medical care, prisons and at the same time insist on maximum freedom of thought and expression lest we lapse unwittingly into a "police state". We should give our support to the great social revolutions going on all over the world. (So do the Soviets).

We should share our material blessings with all of the rest of the world even though "our own standard of living might be seriously affected but the dividends also would be large":

"We should get rid of our military establishment. Various avenues might be taken to achieve this result. Many suggest that the most probable and most practical approach would be through the simple transfer of the security function to a world organization. The U.N. would assume the responsibility for defense and might well be converted in the process into a federal instrument in much the same manner as the thirteen American colonies substituted a federal government for the unsatisfactory Articles of Confederation." (page 62).

You Go First!

The A.F.S.C. pamphlet cheerfully admits that it might be considered madness for a nation to disarm alone in an armed world, but that it is "quite possible that the Soviet Union, confronted with such a change in American behaviour, might startle us with a new response". This is followed by way of argument by one of the most thoroughly dishonest and warped pieces of reasoning it would be possible to conceive. If the United States "had not been so preoccupied with power concepts" and if "we had been free from the involvement of re-arming West Germany" we would not have had to stand by helplessly while the heroic East Germany uprising of June 1953 was crushed by the Soviets.

The real explanation, as any child who can read fully knows, was that our government, headed by an ailing president, was too pusillanimous to file even a mild protest or to lend the slightest degree of military or moral aid to the embattled German freedom fighters lest we provoke the Soviets to war.

If the United States practiced A.F.S.C. non-violence it "would so change the climate of world opinion that no power on earth could oppose it effectively." We would not, of course, let the Soviet and Red Chinese invaders overrun and enslave us. "Non-violent resistance, as has been demonstrated:

on a large scale in India and on a smaller scale in many other places, offers greater promise of confounding and overcoming an enemy without destroying our values or our world."

The A.F.S.C. people do not tell us what to do if the Communists destroy us as they have entire populations in the Baltic states, the Ingush, Volga Germans, and other races. Here is what we should do:

"The first necessity is non-cooperation. The population must resolutely refuse to carry out the orders of the invader. They would not operate factories to provide the invader with military supplies. They would not unload his ships. They would perform no services of any kind for him. At the same time they would try through their words and their lives to show the meaning of a free and democratic society. Second, the population must maintain *good will* toward the individual soldier of the invading forces. However difficult this is in practice, it is clear that the effective use of non-violent resistance has always demanded that a clear distinction be drawn between hatred of an evil policy and respect for the human instrument who is caught up in its execution. Good will is the spiritual weapon of non-violence, just as civil disobedience is its physical weapon. Finally, the population must

be well enough disciplined to refrain from individual acts of violence no matter what the provocation. The whole success of the resistance depends on meeting the enemy on a level and in a manner against which he cannot retaliate effectively. He understands violence, and he is prepared to cope with it ruthlessly and drastically. He must be given no excuse to do so."

The answer to all this patently dishonest and dangerous nonsense, of course, is that it has been tried and it has always failed to work against brutalitarians. The fact that Indians were able to make things unpleasant for civilized, Christian and humanitarian Britishers in India is speciously offered as an example of how to confound and beat the Soviets. Hollanders tried this prescription against the Nazis during World War II. They refused to unload ships or run trains for the German occupiers. The Nazis merely began shooting railroad workers in batches of ten and the trains started running again because in the last analysis after they had killed all Dutch railroad workers they would have brought in German workers to run the trains and replace them in Germany with slave labor from elsewhere.

The irrefutable lesson of history, as even the Quaker authors of this dishonest pamphlet must fully well know, is that while love and non-violent resistance on occasions may work wonders against humane Christians it is totally and fatally useless against ruthless determined Communists, barbarians, and other totalitarians. Where and when in forty years of Soviet massacres, mass starvation campaigns to liquidate the Kulaks, slave labor camps, deportations of entire nations and peoples and horror upon horror, has one single instance of non-violent resistance ever been recorded? It may have been tried but unfortunately those who did, did not live to tell the tale.

The pamphlet writers in their summary conclusion admit that their advice may not work and that it may conceivably cause great suffering. The fact that people might be killed does not disturb them. "We have tried to make it clear that readiness to accept suffering—rather than to inflict it on others—is the essence of the non-violent life, and that we must be prepared, if called upon, to pay the ultimate price." Here again the answer to all of this vicious and dishonest nonsense would seem to be "Inasmuch as you counsel us to accept suffering and even death to carry out your ideas why don't you demonstrate the sincerity of your belief by setting the rest of us an example and departing for Russia or Red China and accepting suffering, and possibly even death, while preaching your ideas of non-violent resistance?" *Why not test your ideas in the crucible of actual practice?*

From the above brief analyses of various A.F.S.C. publications having no relationship whatever to that organization's original objectives, it must be obvious to the average American that any propaganda, no matter how peacefully disguised, which disarms, divides, confuses and demoralizes the free world while at the same time exerts not the slightest impact or influence on the leadership of world Communism is certainly not helping defend this country and must therefore stand self-indicted as only aiding world Communism.

The Biblical injunction "By their fruits ye shall know them" is particularly applicable to the American Friends Service Committee. Let us examine a few of their fruits since 1950.

In May, 1952, the executive committee of the Pacific Southwest Regional Office of the A.F.S.C. at Pasadena, California issued a "Quaker Statement on EDUCATION FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING." The service organization set up to relieve human suffering and misery, was now "concerned

about the growing antagonism toward education for world understanding in our public school." The leaflet then goes on to disparage the fears and apprehensions in our local communities over the growing tensions between the United States and the U.S.S.R. It also deplores all suspicion of and opposition to the use of UNESCO materials in public schools.

The Philadelphia EVENING BULLETIN of June 2, 1955 carried a news item that "Quaker Group Calls Violence More Evil than Communism." The opening sentence stated: "It is an unsound premise that Communism is the greatest evil of the day, the American Friends Service Committee said today." The release was in connection with the publication of "Speak Truth To Power."

Later that same year in August, twenty so-called "conscientious objectors" staged a demonstration in New York during an air raid drill and refused to take shelter. They were promptly arrested. The American Friends Service Committee immediately assigned counsel and allocated funds to the defense of the twenty demonstrators. (N.Y. Times, August 26, 1955). The news account went on: "The Quaker group is also setting up a grant-and-loan fund in its Chicago office to aid Illinois state employees ousted for refusing to sign a non-communist oath."

Bayard Rustin, who acted as secretary of the defense group, and Abraham J. Muste were among the demonstrators. The Rev. Muste's long front record has been previously documented in *News and Views* for June, 1958.

In 1954 the A.F.S.C. held its usual summer "Institutes on International Relations." This year they did not use Alger Hiss or Louis Dolivet—Hiss was still in prison for lying about his espionage activities and Dolivet, alias Udeanu, alias Brecher, was barred from ever re-entering this country. So as pinch-hitters the A.F.S.C. used Roger Baldwin, A. J. Muste, Milton Mayer, and Otto Nathan—among others. Baldwin hardly requires any further descriptive comment; Mayer made history years ago at Syracuse when he let his one world enthusiasm get the best of his delivery by happily advising his audience that in order to wipe out nationalism and patriotism as a prerequisite to one world government it might be necessary "to haul down the flag, trample on it and yes, spit on it." He later amended this and swore he was misunderstood or misquoted. Nathan was Einstein's executor who was convicted of contempt of Congress but luckily escaped a prison sentence by judicial reversal.

In 1956 Henry J. Cadbury, signing himself merely "Chairman," wrote a letter to the *Philadelphia Bulletin* which appeared in the July 19th issue defining the A.F.S.C. position on civil defense. After "serious thought to the complicated problem of civil defense" the relief and welfare organization had decided that civil defense was not "linked to work for peace." As they were opposed to all war—hot, cold, or psychological, they must of necessity also oppose civil defense, Cadbury's letter stated. The best and only defense Cadbury advised was to "show friendliness towards those who suspect us, improve the welfare of the most needy through international co-operation," etc.

In March, 1957, an A.F.S.C. committee member Lyle Tatum, chaired a forum in Philadelphia where representatives from five ultra radical groups debated "What's Ahead for the American Left." The Independent Socialist League (Trotskyite and since defunct), The Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite Communist), The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, and The Communist Party, U.S.A., were represented. The *Daily*

Worker for March 25 considered the symposium of sufficient importance to give it two full columns of highly rationed space.

In the Dec. 15, 1957, issue of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* the American Friends Service Committee reiterated its 6-point program to reduce international tensions and promote peace. The program was: "1. Cancel our nuclear weapons tests. 2. Start disarmament by gradual steps. 3. Share our resources more fully. 4. Consider the problems of men more important than the promotion of alliances. 5. Strengthen the United Nations as an inclusive and responsible agency for peace. And 6. Seek ways to bring men together across the Iron and Bamboo curtains." The statement conceded that there might be some risk in this new approach but that these risks were not as great as continuing to balance on the knife edge of terror.

That same year the service organization, set up to succor human suffering, criticized the State Department for its travel restrictions on U. S. passports. A statement issued by the A.F.S.C. board of directors said:

"There are those travelers whose business it is to interpret, to inform, and to educate, and there are those, among them Friends, who have felt a religious call to engage in reconciling efforts across the world as the spirit moves them."

The statement admitted that some members of the Society of Friends had enjoyed exception so that the protest apparently was made in behalf of non-Quakers who desired to travel to Red China or other countries on the State Department's restricted list. (*N.Y. Times* March 24, 1957.)

Through the years the leftward, ultra-liberal policies and activities of the American Friends Service Committee have brought disquiet and deep concern to many conservative Quakers devoted to maintaining the purity of their ancient faith. The Quaker witness, however, suffers from one serious disability—Friends traditionally reject all criticism of their own members. All decisions in meetings must be unanimous otherwise no action is taken. Those who disapprove of the activities of the A.F.S.C., therefore, have no recourse except to silent prayer for reformation and enlightenment for those they believe to be in grave error.

A Texas Meeting, however, did reach unanimity in 1956 and it utterly rejected and disowned the A.F.S.C. The Friendswood Quarterly Meeting of Houston, Texas and part of the Kansas Yearly Meeting, embracing five southwestern states petitioned the parent body to stop all further support of the American Friends Service Committee. The Friendswood Quarterly Meeting numbers about a thousand members.

Pastor Harold Selleck of the Bayshore Friends Church, where the meeting disowning the A.F.S.C. was held, stated to the press that:

"There has been an increasing dissatisfaction through the past several years with the committee because it has passed out of the control of the church and has adopted political and religious standards incompatible with the Texas Quakers."

He added the charge that:

"the committee fosters liberal unitarian religious doctrines, furthers communistic propaganda, that the Institutes for International Relations are schools for communistic propaganda and liberal religion, and that no member of Texas Quakers is a member of the American Friends Service Committee."

Mr. Selleck has been recording clerk for the Kansas Yearly Meeting for thirty years. He had also served as a member of the national board of the A.F.S.C. as representative of the Kansas Yearly Meeting, so he was speaking from intimate first hand knowledge of the Committee's activities.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT—GUIDING GENIUS

Previously in this report we stated that the American Friends Service Committee was reorganized in 1929 and shortly thereafter took a decided turn to the left. By coincidence Clarence E. Pickett also joined this Quaker service committee in 1929, according to "Who's Who in America." The same source states that Mr. Pickett was born in Illinois in 1884 and was graduated from the Hartford Theological Seminary in 1913. He was ordained to the ministry of the Society of Friends that same year. After serving in several pastorates in this country and Canada and teaching at Earlham College, Indiana, he became executive secretary of the A.F.S.C. in 1929.

A news item in the *Norristown Pa. Times-Herald* for April 2, 1959, evidently based on a press release adds the following:

"In 1950 he was made honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and worked to improve East-West relationships as a Quaker representative at the United Nations. Since 1955 he has been executive secretary emeritus of the A.F.S.C. He participated in a good will mission to Russia in 1955 and in 1956 was chairman of the Friends General Conference. In 1957, jointly with Norman Cousins, he helped organize the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He recently paid an extensive visit to the Far East and was a delegate to the Fifth World Order Conference of the World Council of Churches."

The latter statement is an obvious mistake, and should read "the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A."

Now let us briefly summarize Mr. Pickett's other activities not to be found in "Who's Who" or in A.F.S.C. press releases but nevertheless all in the public domain.

SPONSOR Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act. (A California anti-Communist law) Page 15, California Senate Investigating Committee on Education. 1953.

SIGNER Advertisement in the *N. Y. Times* for June 6, 1951 supporting Supreme Court Justices Douglas and Black in their dissents on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. See also *Daily Worker* for same date.

SPEAKER Dinner of the AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE (a Communist front) in 1948.

SIGNER Appeal to U.S. longshoremen to load relief supplies for shipment to Jugo-Slavia by the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR JUGOSLAV RELIEF, 1948. (another Communist front). Tito's planes had shot down an unarmed American plane killing five American fliers. N.Y. longshoremen thereupon refused to load Jugoslav ships.

SPONSOR Two day conference and forum Jan. 30 and 31, 1953 under auspices of EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (a Communist front). *Daily Worker* page 2, January 20, 1953.

SIGNER Appeal to cancel H bomb tests, front page *Daily Worker*, Dec. 2, 1957.

SIGNER Paid advertisement in the *N.Y. Times*, October 16, 1958, "America Needs a New Foreign Policy." (Identical with that laid down in Communist line publications, that one of appeasement of the USSR.)

SIGNER Open letter to Pres. Eisenhower asking for full executive clemency for convicted Communists Gilbert Green and Harry Winston. (*Worker* page 5, October 5, 1958.)

SIGNER Appeal by "35 notables" asking that further Smith Act prosecutions against seven indicted Denver Communists be dropped. Page 5, *Worker*, Jan. 4, 1959.

SIGNER Paid advertisement *Washington Post Times-Herald* petitioning Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities Jan. 7, 1959.

Counterattack, an anti-Communist newsletter published in New York for January 9, 1953, stated that Pickett had been associated with Communists fronts and "declined to comment on the accusation." The *Daily Worker* for January 11, 1952, reported Mr. Pickett as returning from a three months trip to Europe and "condemning U.S. Foreign policy." According to this Communist paper "Pickett told reporters it may sound strange for a pacifist to talk in terms of revolution but he felt that the due processes of social revolution would produce democratic rights and blessings to backward areas of the world where the U.S. is sitting on a number of explosive lids." It should be noted that this was during the height of the Korean War where thousands of Americans had already died in combat against Communist invaders.

In 1952 Jerome Davis, a notorious pro-Soviet apologist and supporter of Communist fronts, published a book, "Peace, War and You." Davis's book attacked U.S. action in Korea, praised the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 which led to World War II, and lavishly praised Stalin as a truly great statesman. The bibliography was loaded with titles by known Communists and fellow travelers. Clarence E. Pickett wrote the introduction to the Davis opus. (*Counterattack* January 9, 1953, page 3).

In Houston, Texas on January 30 and 31, 1959 the American Friends Service Committee arranged a so-called "Institute of International Relations" at the First Christian Church and the Jewish Community Center with the theme: "The United Nations and World Peace". Featured attraction was no less than Nicolai Bourov, First Secretary of the USSR delegation to the UN, who declared that all was peace and light within the Soviet Union and that "complete religious freedom prevails."

Some of the common folks present did not accept Bourov's statements at face value. Bourov was left quite flustered when a Hungarian refugee interrupted the forum for a five minute denunciation of the Soviet leaders. A patriotic housewife arose and asked Mr. Bourov the very pointed question "Do you believe in God?" The Soviet official thundered back: "No!"

At one point Bourov remarked: "You will have socialism in America. You will change the system yourselves."

All of this took place in buildings labeled as houses of worship in Houston. The moderator was one Stewart Meacham, director of the American Friends Service Committee's international affairs program, graduate of Union Theological Seminary, former assistant to the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and former Methodist missionary to India.

Meacham was expelled by the Indian Government. He sought to disrupt a missionary conference in Landour in August 1953 where he was accused by fellow missionaries and pastors of "following the Communist Party line". He defended the Communist thesis, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need", and further defended Communist leaders in the World Council of Churches.

The Rev. Alton J. Shirey, pastor of the Champion Hill Presbyterian Church, Cullendale, Arkansas, reported, March 10, 1954 that he knows Meacham to be a communist.

In a letter dated January 18, 1954 Rev. Shirey stated: "I have heard that you recently had a 'run in' with Stewart Meacham in India. I know him well. We were students at Louisville Presbyterian Seminary at the same time. Then

we were both Socialists. I later became converted to pre-millennialism, while he became converted to communism. He has gone to India to prepare the way for communism to take over in that vast country. Frankly, I consider Stewart Meacham one of the most dangerous men I know anything about today."

Meacham is also Executive Director of World Literacy, Inc., 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, which is under the leadership of one Frank C. Laubach. This outfit was organized in 1951 to aid the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. It is now a functional committee of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES! On January 7, 1959 Meacham's name appeared in a large ad in the Washington (D.C.) Post calling for the abolition of the Committee On Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives!

Also appearing on the program at these two houses of worship in Houston was one Ajai Kumar Mitra, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, who participated in the civil disobedience campaign against the British Government in 1942, resulting in his imprisonment for one year. Mitra glories in his imprisonment and proudly asserts that "I still have the scars on my back to show for it."

When the Hungarian refugee arose in the Houston forum and charged that Bourov was "well aware that some 20,000 Hungarians were butchered by Russians after the revolt", Mitra in a heated passion stood up, turned to the Hungarian and said: "All hatreds must be put aside in order that mutual understanding may be reached between nations—a step in the direction of peace."

Evidently, Mitra, Meacham and company do not care to discuss Soviet atrocities or reason as to why the Soviets have never become tired of butchering anybody, including non-violent resisters! Certainly, Bourov and the Kremlin leaders must have laughed up their sleeves to realize that self-styled pacifists could aid the Soviet cause in such a manner in American houses of worship!

GENERAL SUMMATION

Further comment on the American Friends Service Committee would seem superfluous. The record set forth above speaks for itself. A worthy charitable organization founded by a fine religious body, which had performed an inspiring role after World War I in binding up the wounds of war, degenerated through the years, particularly after 1929, into an outright political and social agitational operation to a point where many Quakers themselves are said to be gravely disturbed over its present activities. The problem is one which obviously the Religious Society of Friends must themselves solve and rectify.

The witness for peace and international harmony is undeniably the single most important responsibility for all true Christians. To pervert and distort this witness by the most blatant and one-sided pro-Soviet propaganda is a betrayal of all that Christ stood for and for which He died on the cross. The line of demarcation between Christianity and Communism, which is merely another word for Anti-Christ, is sharp and well-defined. A child can easily discern and understand it. Those who cannot or do not grasp the fundamental issue at stake and who work for the advance of World Communism, ignorantly and unwittingly or deliberately and knowingly, have a fearful burden on their conscience.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP 1959 SUMMER CAMP

The entire July, 1958, issue of *News and Views* was devoted to an expose of World Fellowship summer camp at Conway, New Hampshire, operated by Communist fronting Willard Uphaus. We documented the front records of some 23-no-less—of Dr. Uphaus' speakers and lecturers. The list of prospective speakers had been taken from promotional material mailed out by World Fellowship.

The Church League has just received this year's advertising material on the summer camp to be operated by Uphaus this year. We are invited to "come to World Fellowship for a Balanced Program of Fun, Fellowship and Discussion." The theme this summer will be "What Are We Doing About Our World?" The sessions run from June 22 to September 7th. This year, however, the names of the speakers are carefully omitted—"a detailed announcement about speakers" is to be made later. Only the names of Royal France, Allyn and Adele Rickett, and Charles Coe appear on the flyer. Their records were fully covered in our July, 1958 issue.

*See the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 7, 1959, Page A3885. Congressman Alvin M. Bentley read the entire April 1959 issue of *News & Views* concerning Metropolitan Nikolai into the RECORD on that day.

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The purpose of this Bulletin and all of our other editions is to inform the American people concerning those subversive forces which are methodically penetrating every major phase of our society. Once the American people are informed, they will do something to stop this infiltration. You can help inform them.

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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Who Is Ernest A. Gross? or Who Speaks For Whom?

The National Council of Churches of Christ made history, last November at Cleveland. A Fifth World Order Study Conference convened by the N.C.C.C.'s Department of International Affairs issued a report entitled "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet" which was truly a most remarkable document. Some 515 delegates were alleged to have adopted the report unanimously. It developed later that a number of delegates had voted in opposition but their votes under "group dynamics" methods of operation were not counted.

Worded in the usual double-talk of the professional left-liberals, one of the resolutions urged the recognition of Red China by the United States and its admission to the United Nations. Curiously enough, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had addressed the opening session only to have his advice thrown into the trashcan. As a staunch supporter and pillar of the old Federal Council of Churches of Christ, Dulles perhaps had hoped to have some influence on the conference. It was reported later that he had ruefully admitted privately that "It was the most devastating experience of my life."

The World Order Study Conference naturally stirred up nationwide criticism and repudiation from many of this country's top religious leaders. All this, however, has been thoroughly covered in the press. No one, it seems, raised any question as to who the chairman and directing genius of the Conference happened to be. The chairman was one Ernest A. Gross. Just who is Mr. Gross?

On September 19, 1950, the State Department issued a one page, mimeographed press release (#961) setting forth briefly some biographical data on Mr. Ernest A. Gross who was Alternate Representative of the United States to the Fifth Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Gross enjoyed ambassadorial rank. He spoke for the United States when Ambassador Warren Austin was not present.

Prior to this appointment, the press release went on, Mr. Gross had been Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Dean Acheson, of course, was Secretary of State. Mr. Gross also served as Legal Advisor to the State Department. Still quoting from the official release we note that Mr. Gross was born in New York in 1906 and had attended Harvard and Oxford universities. He had also studied at Geneva and was a member of the Middle Temple of the Inns of Court of London.

He first entered U.S. government service in 1931. In 1933 he joined the staff of the National Recovery Administration (NRA) as Division Counsel. After a brief year with private business he returned to Washington in 1938 to join the National Labor Relations Board "and subsequently became Associate General Counsel of the Board." As he was commissioned a Captain in the Army in 1943 he

presumably served in the N.L.R.B. until that year. In 1946 he joined the State Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas. So much for the State Department release.

Unfortunately the release omitted a great deal of additional material all more or less in the public domain. The *Daily Worker* for August 4, 1954, page 2, lists an Ernest Gross as the signer of an American Assembly statement opposing our "rigid policy of permanent opposition to the admission of China to the United Nations." As this was shortly after the end of the Korean War, which cost the United States some 150,000 casualties, Mr. Gross and his American Assembly co-signers were certainly a bit precipitate in urging recognition of the bloody regime of Mao Tze Tung.

More interesting, however, is the brief reference to Mr. Gross's service with the National Labor Relations Board between 1938 and 1943. This was the period when the N.L.R.B. was loaded with Communists, including a few Soviet agents. At the time Mr. Gross was hired by the N.L.R.B. one of its three Board members was Edwin S. Smith. Smith is a registered agent not only for Russia but for several other Communist countries. He has been identified in sworn testimony as a Communist and took refuge behind the Fifth Amendment when asked the \$64 question in 1953. General Counsel at the time of Mr. Gross's joining the N.L.R.B. was the rather fascinating figure, Nathan Witt.

Whittaker Chambers and Nathaniel Weyl both swore before a Congressional Investigating committee that Witt had been an important member of the first Soviet spy cell set up inside the U.S. government by Harold Ware in 1933. The history of Witt's alleged Soviet spy connections would fill a book. He has appeared before Congressional committees at least half a dozen times but has supplied little or no information other than that his answers might tend to incriminate him if he replied truthfully.

Mr. Gross, needless to say, would have no way of knowing that Mr. Smith was a secret C.P. member or that his boss, Nathan Witt, was a secret Soviet agent. On the other hand neither Edwin S. Smith or Nathan Witt could have had any serious objections to Mr. Gross or he never would have been certified for hiring by the N.L.R.B., which they dominated and controlled.

Indeed, Mr. Gross would probably not be able to recognize a Communist if one sat in his lap. He is alleged to have been a member of a three man N.L.R.B. board which studied charges that certain individuals employed by that agency were Communists. Mr. Gross's board cleared such well-known Commies as David Rein, Nathan Witt, and others.

When Ralph Bunche was called before the Loyalty Review Board in 1954 to answer certain charges his counsel

turned out to be Mr. Ernest Gross. Bunche had been identified as a former C.P. member by two former Communists, but Mr. Gross must have done an exceedingly able job because he managed to get his client cleared of all charges. The whole Bunche story is told in a 49 page report-study prepared by the Alliance, 200 East 66th Street, New York. (Price—one dollar)

On June 22, 1952 the House Committee on Un-American Activities summoned one Allan R. Rosenberg for questioning. Mr. Rosenberg had also worked for the N.L.R.B. between 1937 and 1941 when Mr. Witt was General Counsel. Mr. Rosenberg took the 5th on all questions involving Communist membership and Nathan Witt. Elizabeth Bentley had sworn that Rosenberg had been a member of the so-called Perlo group of government employees supplying stolen classified information for transmittal to the Soviets.

Asked who had been his superior in the N.L.R.B. Mr. Rosenberg replied:

"Well when I was in the Litigation division it was Mr. Ernest Gross."

Now all of these close and continuous associations with individuals who *later* were exposed as Soviet agents or secret Communists were, of course, entirely fortuitous and cast no reflections whatever on Mr. Gross of the National Council of Churches of Christ. There were probably other good Americans who also innocently worked with or for the above enumerated anti-American elements. *News and Views* draws no conclusions and makes no insinuations beyond saying that spotting secret Soviet agents and exposing secret Communists was obviously not one of Mr. Gross's claims to fame. Each reader, on the other hand, is free to draw his own conclusions and to make his own inferences—that too, is obviously beyond the control of this newsletter.

We now come to an incident in which Mr. Gross was a free and responsible agent entirely on his own without any implications of "guilt by association." Two months after Soviet tanks and Mongolian machine-gunners had crushed the Hungarian freedom uprising, the United Nations General Assembly voted into existence a "Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary." It will be recalled that the U.N. futilely and abjectly begged both Russia and Communist Hungary for permission to send some observers into that ravished and tortured country. The Communists, with characteristic contempt for "bourgeois cowards and fools", told the U.N. to go fly a kite and not bother them, as they stamped out the last remaining pockets of heroic freedom fighters.

The U.N. Special Committee made up of an Australian, a Ceylonese, a Dane, and delegates from Uruguay and Tunisia did an excellent job of investigating and reporting on the Hungarian massacre. A Dane, Povl Bang-Jensen, was appointed Deputy-Secretary of the group. In gathering evidence Bang-Jensen and other staff members of the U.N. Special Committee gave their word of honor that the identity of some of the witnesses and escapees from Communist terror would never be disclosed. This was necessary as Communists in the United Nations would naturally relay their names to the Hungarian Communist Secret Police for certain retaliation and probably death or deportation to Siberia.

The *National Review* for January 3, 1959, *The Tablet* in several issues, *U.S. News & World Report*, *USA*, and other publications have adequately and fairly treated the whole Bang-Jensen controversy. In briefest outline, Bang-Jensen, married to an American and having five American born children, was fired by Dag Hammarskjold for refusing to violate his word of honor and turn over the witness list to

other U.N. officials whom he obviously had good reason to mistrust. He was escorted from his office by U.N. guards and not even permitted to take his own files and records.

The customary Communist whispering campaign was started that Bang-Jensen was a bit queer in the head. Obviously, to a Communist and Communistically minded U.N. stooges, anyone who insists on bourgeois standards of honor and integrity must be a bit loco! Hammarskjold appointed Mr. Ernest Gross to head a three man committee to hear Bang-Jensen, study the case and decide on its merits.

The Gross committee listened to Bang-Jensen only at two hearings but *did not permit the Dane to have council and, even more scandalous, denied him access to his papers and records without which it would be impossible for any man to make any kind of a defense.* The Gross Committee issued a 35 page report, with 70 annexes, which found that Bang-Jensen was "not open to rational persuasion" but went even further and accused him of having made "false and slanderous accusations against his colleagues." Bang-Jensen was never permitted to have access to the documents which he said were necessary to answer the charges made by the Gross Committee.

Some person, or persons, connected with the United Nations, then "tipped off" the press that Bang-Jensen was insane with the result that the persecuted Dane could not even get his side of the story, and what the Gross Committee had done, into the press. Incidentally, his own government did not take the phony Gross Committee charges too seriously because it voted \$5,000 for Mr. Bang-Jensen's legal defense. *USA*, An American Magazine of Fact and Opinion, for Feb. 28, 1958 has an excellent report on Mr. Gross's not too edifying role in the scandalous Bang-Jensen kangaroo court proceedings.

In conclusion and in fairness to Mr. Gross it must be noted that he served in World War II in the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department General Staff and that while in this capacity he was Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the International Labor Organization in 1944. No combat or overseas service is indicated in the State Department release of Sept. 19, 1950. In recognition of his services Mr. Gross was awarded the Legion of Merit and the Order of the British Empire. In May 1946 Mr. Gross entered the State Department, under Dean Acheson, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas. In 1949 Mr. Gross was made Coordinator of the Foreign Assistance Programs.

Mr. Gross has also held the following positions:

U.S. Representative on the United Nations Peace Commission until 1953; legal advisor to Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the U.N.; alternate delegate to the 3rd, 5th and 6th U.N. General Assembly Sessions; president of Freedom House 1953; trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; director & vice pres., Asia Society; director of International Resources Fund, and Chairman of the Department of International Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ.

Because of the widespread unfavorable publicity which the National Council of Churches has received since the Cleveland World Order Study Conference, officials of the Council have been trying to minimize the pronouncements of that conference by saying that it was only a "study session and not the official position" of the National Council. This tricky and deceitful device has not worked. The press of the Nation gave too much evidence that the usual spokesmen and leaders of the National Council were not only pres-

ent at the Cleveland meeting, and approved what went on, but were actually participating delegates!

When the General Board of the National Council met in Hartford, Connecticut sometime later, it found itself in the untenable position of either approving the report or repudiating its own membership. It squeezed out of that tight spot by voting to "receive the report" which it promptly handed back to the same Department of the Council which wrote it, namely, Mr. Gross' section!

President Dahlberg and associates then launched into pious declamations as to how right and dutiful it was for the Cleveland World Order Study Conference to make such pronouncements in the first place. Those who have been studying the peculiar makeup of the ecumenical leaders of the National Council of Churches easily recognized the same old clichés about "the gospel being made applicable to all areas of life", which includes everything from telling Caesar how to run his government to farm co-ops. This gives them their "out" for entering into the political arena while still claiming tax exemption from the Federal Government.

Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the New Testament accounts of the message and mission of the Christian Churches knows that the National Council of Churches' edicts are as far afield from true Christianity as the secular is from the sacred.

Although the National Council leaders, gathered at Cleveland last November, gave word out to the press, radio and television correspondents that the recommendation to seat Red China in the UN and have her recognized by the United States was by "unanimous" vote of the delegates, this proved to be false. No dissenting vote was registered because "it was considered to be less than 25 percent!" Church members have written to leaders of their denominations, who were listed as delegates, and have asked them point-blank if they voted for recognition of Red China and the seating of her in the UN. They have received letters in reply saying that they did not vote for any such thing, and that, furthermore, they were not even present in the assembly when the vote was taken! The Church League has such letters on file sent to it by correspondents.

Perhaps, though, there are other who would like to write to the people who represented their respective denominations at this National Council conclave and ask them how they voted. Therefore, NEWS AND VIEWS herewith lists the names of those registered as delegates with the denominations they represented alphabetically arranged.

The Church League of America would be interested in any replies readers of NEWS AND VIEWS receive from the delegates. It is suggested that they be asked just who authorized them to speak for the people in the pews!

Please notice in this list of delegates the great percentage of officials and employees of the National Council of Churches who would naturally vote for the Council's program. Here is a typical example of a minority group, claiming to express the sentiment of millions of people when, in fact, the "millions" have never been consulted or asked for their opinion, one way or another.

This is what is called "control technique by a minority group."

So confused were some of the delegates attending the Cleveland meeting that they didn't even know how to register properly. Some registered as members of the United Church of Christ, while others registered as Congregationalists and others as Evangelical and Reformed.

Actually, the United Church of Christ is supposed to be a merger of the Congregational-Christian plus the Evangelical and Reformed. The denominational heads of both

groups have announced that the merger is a fact and that it is now the United Church of Christ. Evidently some of the communicants of both of the denominations do not know this, or do not wish to recognize it.

Whenever the National Council has been accused of having leaders which deny the deity of Christ running its program, they make firm denials of such charges and cite that they have never received the Unitarians into membership because they deny Christ's deity. However, the Cleveland Conference had identified Unitarians attending as official delegates—so registered—and working in its study sections.

Local Councils of Churches, leaders and paid employees, have been very busy around the country denying that they have any affiliation with the National Council of Churches. This is especially true whenever members of local churches request that their respective churches withdraw from membership in Local Councils because the Local Councils are carrying out the National Council's program.

The Cleveland Conference shows that not only are the Local Councils of Churches one of the most powerful arms of the National Council, but it also proves that the Local Councils are actually voting parts of the National Council.

On page 240, Article IV, Paragraph 3, of the 1957 Triennial Report, (the latest) of the National Council of the National Council of Churches, the Constitution of the National Council states that the State, County, and City Councils of Churches shall have voting representatives in the General Assembly of the National Council.

We invite our readers to take a look at the long list of Local Councils of Churches representatives who attended the Cleveland Conference, which voted for recognition of Red China and its seating in the U.N. Then, when our readers hear Local Council officers and ministers of local churches trying to deny that the Local Councils are connected with the parent organization, the National Council, they can refute such statements with documented evidence.

Note, also, the list of those who were registered as delegates from denominations and groups not affiliated with the National Council of Churches.

Were these individuals included in the so-called "unanimous" vote propaganda which was given out to the press of the country on the question of Red China?

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

Fuller, Rev. Albert L., Cleveland, Ohio
Gaston, Dr. A. G., Birmingham, Ala.
Hoggard, Rev. J. Cinton, Washington, D. C.
Kendall, Rev. George, Wadesboro, N. C.
Nichols, Bishop D. Ward, New York, N. Y.
Schulz, Rev. L. W., Montgomery, Ala.
Speaks, Rev. R. L., Durham, N. C.
Wright, Bishop R. R., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Bonnell, Rev. Harold, Nashua, N. H.
Chessman, Dr. G. Wallace, Granville, Ohio
Corbett, Miss Miriam R., New York, N. Y.
Epsy, Dr. R. H. Edwin, New York, N. Y.
Guiffreda, Mr. Matthew, New York, N. Y.
Hodge, Mrs. M. B., Portland, Oregon
Hull, Rev. Angus C., Jr., Cleveland, Ohio
Keech, Rev. William, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ketcham, Rev. John B., New York, N. Y.
Kneece, Rev. Odysse W., Trenton, N. J.
Lawson, Rev. Chris E., Providence, R. I.
Martin, Mrs. George B., Summit, N. J.
Matthews, Rev. W. R., Detroit, Mich.
Mays, Dr. Benjamin E., Atlanta, Ga.
Million, Dr. Elmer G., New York, N. Y.
Moody, Rev. Howard R., New York, N. Y.
Moseley, Mrs. Lilbura, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Owens, Rev. Bennett L., Columbus, Ohio

Roberts, Dr. Windsor Hall, Hillsdale, Mich.
 Rosenberger, Rev. H. H., Denver, Colo.
 Rowlett, Rev. C. G., South Bend, Ind.
 Rudd, Miss Violet E., New York, N. Y.
 Rutenber, Rev. Culbert C., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Stassen, The Hon. Harold E., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Stell, Mr. William, Swarthmore, Pa.
 Stuber, Mrs. Stanley I., Kansas City, Mo.
 Thomas, Dr. John W., New York, N. Y.
 Tower, Rev. R. W., Madison, Wis.
 Weems, Rev. Thompson, Cleveland, Ohio

LISTED SIMPLY AS "BAPTIST"

Graves, Rev. Ollie, Cleveland, Ohio
 Johnson, Dr. Mordecai, Washington, D. C.
 Jones, Rev. E. Theodore, Richmond, Va.

AMERICAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN

Jensen, Mr. Harry C., Des Moines, Iowa
 Mortensen, Rev. Enok, Tyler, Minn.
 Rasmussen, Mr. Gerald, Des Moines, Iowa
 Thuesen, Rev. Theodore Jr., Newark, N. J.
 Mortensen, Mrs. Enok, Tyler, Minn.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN

Bubolz, Dr. George C., Columbus, Ohio
 Reuss, Dr. Carl F., Columbus, Ohio
 Zietlow, Rev. Harold, Gilman, Ill.

ARMENIAN ORTHODOX

Bannian, Miss Rose, Cleveland, Ohio
 Gulbenkian, Mr. V. Richard, Cleveland, Ohio
 Kasparian, Rev. Aranak, Highland Park, Mich.
 Megherian, Rev. Varton, Bayside, N. Y.
 Norchad, Mr. Bedros, New York, N. Y.

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

Coles, Rev. J. C., Cleveland, Ohio
 Fitten, Rev. Emmaus, Cleveland, Ohio
 Gregg, Rev. B. S., St. Louis, Mo.
 Johnson, Helen Louise, Jackson, Tenn.
 Smith, Bishop B. Julian, Chicago, Ill.

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Bittinger, Dr. Desmond W., McPherson, Kansas
 Burke, Dr. Eldon, N. Manchester, Ind.
 Denlinger, Mr. Ardon, N. Manchester, Ind.
 Dick, Rev. Jacob T., Akron, Ohio
 Row, Dr. W. Harold, Elgin, Ill.
 Moomaw, Rev. I. W., New York, N. Y.
 Smeltzer, Rev. Ralph E., Elgin, Ill.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

Barr, Mr. William, Lexington, Ky.
 Buckner, Dr. George, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Chambers, Rev. John S., Lexington, Ky.
 Channels, Mr. Lloyd V., Flint, Mich.
 Coad, Congressman Merwin, Boone, Iowa
 Evans, Mrs. William K., Austin, Minn.
 Fangmeier, Mr. Robert A., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Green, Congresswoman Edith, Washington, D. C.
 Hunter, Dr. Barton, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Hunter, Mr. Joseph, Little Rock, Ark.
 Inman, Mr. John R., New York, N. Y.
 Inman, Dr. Samuel Guy, Bronxville, N. Y.
 Lemon, Dr. Carroll H., Lincoln, Nebr.
 Lunger, Dr. Harold L., Fort Worth, Texas
 Moffett, Rev. J. Robert, Alliance, Ohio
 Newman, Mr. William C., Mansfield, Ohio
 Roomy, Dr. David, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Schroeder, Mr. Oliver Jr., Cleveland, Ohio
 Sikes, Dr. Walter W., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Simer, Mr. T. W., Grant Park, Ill.
 Smith, Rev. Marvin E., St. Louis, Mo.
 Smythe, Dr. Lewis, S. C., Lexington, Ky.

EPISCOPAL

Day, Rev. Gardiner M., Cambridge, Mass.
 Lawwill, Mr. J. Kenton, Cincinnati, Ohio
 Lund, Dr. P. Edward, Gambler, Ohio
 Mahon, Mrs. Stephen K., New York, N. Y.
 Orvis, Rev. Robert W., Erie, Pa.
 Robertson, Dr. Ross M., Bloomington, Ind.
 Sargent, Mr. Noel, Garden City, L. I., N. Y.
 Vance, Mrs. Robert R., Worthington, Ohio
 Walmsley, Rev. Arthur E., New York, N. Y.

FIVE YEAR MEETING OF FRIENDS

Hadley, Mr. Milton H., Richmond, Ind.
 Levering, Mr. Samuel R., Ararat, Va.
 Mills, Sumner A., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Newlin, Mr. Algie I., Greensboro, N. C.
 Reece, Glenn A., Richmond, Va.
 Rees, Russell E., Richmond, Ind.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN

Jordahl, Dr. V. T., Mason City, Iowa
 Rogness, Dr. A. N., St. Paul, Minn.
 Schiotz, Dr. Fredrik A., Minneapolis, Minn.

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN

Fox, Mr. William, Connellsville, Pa.
 Kreckler, Dr. J. W., Harrisburg, Pa.
 Landwer, Rev. Donald F., New York, N. Y.
 Messmer, Dr. William K., Dayton, Ohio
 Milhouse, Rev. Paul, Harrisburg, Pa.
 Sholty, Rev. A. H., Elkhart, Ind.
 Stine, Dr. Cawley H., Dayton, Ohio
 Wolf, Dr. Wilmer H., Naperville, Ill.

GREEK ORTHODOX

Geranics, The Rev. Fr. John G., Cleveland, Ohio
 Geranlos, The Rev. Fr., Cleveland, Ohio
 Kalka, Mr. George, Cleveland, Ohio
 Lambras, Mr. Arthur P., Cleveland, Ohio
 Manes, Mr. John M., Cleveland, Ohio
 Miebaillides, Dr. George P., Oberlin, Ohio
 Papandreas, Mr. John P., Cleveland, Ohio
 Papouras, Mr. Harry, Cleveland, Ohio
 Zapis, Mr. Xenophon, Cleveland, Ohio

METHODIST

Bell, Rev. Joseph W., Nashville, Tenn.
 Bender, Mrs. Clifford A., New York, N. Y.
 Bennett, Mr. Royal, Humboldt, Iowa
 Bollinger, Dr. H. D., Nashville, Tenn.
 Boss, Dr. Charles F., New York, N. Y.
 Brawley, Dr. James P., Atlanta, Ga.
 Briggs, Dr. Edwin A., Chicago, Ill.
 Bristah, Rev. James W., Detroit, Mich.
 Brooks, Mr. D. W., Atlanta, Ga.
 Brooks, Mrs. D. W., Atlanta, Ga.
 Brumley, Dr. Ira A., Conway, Ark.
 Burnes, Mr. Harold E., New Wilmington, Pa.
 Burris, Miss Emma, New York, N. Y.
 Calame, Dr. Don L., Chicago, Ill.
 Campbell, Mr. Richard, Altoona, Pa.
 Cardwell, Rev. Paul O., Dallas, Tex.
 Chittum, Dr. John W., Wooster, Ohio
 Clair, Bishop M. W., Jr., St. Louis, Mo.
 Clark, Dr. William, Nashville, Tenn.
 Cole, Dr. T. W., Marshall, Texas
 Cook, The Rev. William, Downers Grove, Ill.
 Cook, Dr. Alva L., Akron, Ohio
 Davenport, Mr. Gene, Nashville, Tenn.
 Davis, Rev. C. Anderson, Bluefield, W. Va.
 Derby, Miss Marian L., New York, N. Y.
 Dillon, Mrs. Roy A., Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Essig, Dr. J. Fred, Youngstown, Ohio
 Ewing, The Rev. Harold, Nashville, Tenn.
 Fleming, Dr. D. F., Nashville, Tenn.
 Geier, Mr. Woodrow, Nashville, Tenn.
 Gossard, Mr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
 Griffin, Mrs. S. L., Holly Springs, Miss.
 Gross, Dr. John O., Nashville, Tenn.
 Gustafson, Dr. Lloyd A., Park Ridge, Ill.
 Harmon, Bishop Nolan B., Charlotte, N. C.
 Henderson, Mrs. J., Little Rock, Ark.
 Henry, Mrs. A. R., Menomonie, Wis.
 Hopkins, Dr. Garland E., Herndon, Va.
 Howe, Rev. Robert C., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 James, Dr. Trigg, Johnson City, Tenn.
 Jones, Mr. Jameson, Nashville, Tenn.
 Kale, Mr. Ed., Denver, Colo.
 Kearns, Dr. Francis E., Wauwatosa, Wis.
 Large, Dr. Dwight, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ladden, Bishop W. Earl, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Manton, Mr. Thomas B., Delaware, Ohio
 Martin, Bishop William C., Dallas, Texas
 Marvin, Dr. John E., Adrian, Mich.
 Mayer, Dr. Sidney A., Columbus, Ohio
 Mayer, Dr. Theodore C., Warren, Ohio

Mayfield, Dr. R. G., Chicago, Ill.
 Momberg, Mr. Paul B., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Moon, Dr. Robert, San Leandro, Calif.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur J., New York, N. Y.
 Moore, Mr. Maynard, Ashland, Va.
 Nall, Mrs. T. Otto, Evanston, Ill.
 Nichols, Mr. Ray H., Vernon, Texas
 Oliphint, Dr. Ben R., Monroe, La.
 Oxnam, Bishop G. Bromley, Washington, D. C.
 Palmer, Rev. Everett, Glendale, Calif.
 Palmquist, Dr. Theodore, Washington, D. C.
 Parlin, Mr. Charles, Englewood, N. J.
 Pearson, Mrs. John M., Newburgh, N. Y.
 Petersen, Mr. John K., New York, N. Y.
 Porter, Dr. Harold, Nashville, Tenn.
 Reed, Bishop Marshall R., Detroit, Mich.
 Rennie, Dr. Wesley, Oosterville, Mass.
 Rose, Dr. Kenneth R., Baltimore, Md.
 Ruper, Dr. Hoover, Jackson, Mich.
 Seamans, Dr. Harry W., Washington, D. C.
 Searles, Mr. Clair K., Toledo, Ohio
 Shimer, Mr. Eliot R., Cleveland, Ohio
 Smith, Mr. H. D., Orangeburg, S. C.
 Sockman, Dr. Ralph, New York, N. Y.
 Sonnenday, Mrs. J. W., Chicago, Ill.
 Soulen, Mrs. Harold L., Salina, Kansas
 Stanley, Mr. C. M., Muscatine, Iowa
 Stevens, Miss Thelma, New York, N. Y.
 Stewart, Rev. Mrs. Annalee, Washington, D. C.
 Stine, Dr. Leo C., Kalamazoo, Michigan
 Stooddy, Mr. Ralph, New York, N. Y.
 Stooker, Mr. Doyle, New Philadelphia, Ohio
 Stowe, Dr. McFevrin, Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Swomley, Rev. John M., Nyack, N. Y.
 Taylor, Rev. Daniel E., Chicago, Ill.
 Thomas, Dr. James, Nashville, Tenn.
 Tillman, Mrs. J., Lewisburg, Tenn.
 Tippet, Bishop Donald H., San Francisco, Calif.
 Waid, Mr. Robert N., Columbus, Ohio
 Ward, Dr. A. Dudley, Chicago, Ill.
 Warfield, Dr. Gaither P., Rockville, Md.
 Webber, Rev. Charles C., Washington, D. C.
 Whitt, Rev. J. Frank, Springfield, Ill.
 Wicke, Bishop Lloyd C., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Wilkins, Rev. Howell O., Wilmington, Del.
 Will, Mr. Herman, Jr., Chicago, Ill.
 Williams, Mr. Wayne D., Denver, Colo.
 Willoughby, Rev. Robert E., Big Rapids, Mich.
 Wilson, Mrs. Ralph T., Sr., Laurens, S. C.
 Wysner, Miss Gloria M., New York, N. Y.
 Young, Mrs. Barbara, Madison, Wis.
 Ziegler, Mr. G. G., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

Wallace, Mr. G. L., Madison, Wis.

NATIONAL BAPTIST

Adams, Rev. Clyde, Ft. Wayne, Ind.
 Bracken, Rev. S. Amos, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Burrell, Rev. C. A., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Cole, Rev. S. L., Cleveland, Ohio
 Colvin, Rev. Benjamin F., Cleveland, Ohio
 Craig, Rev. L. W., Detroit, Mich.
 Dixie, Rev. J., Jr., Ft. Wayne, Ind.
 Dotson, Rev. J. A., Toledo, Ohio
 Fuller, Rev. R. L., Cleveland, Ohio
 Hale, Rev. Phale D., Columbus, Ohio
 Haney, Rev. William R., Detroit, Mich.
 Harvey, Rev. William J., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Hicks, Rev. H. Beecher, Columbus, Ohio
 Hoover, Rev. O. M., Cleveland, Ohio
 Horne, Rev. H. P., Cleveland, Ohio
 Jarmann, Rev. A., Cleveland, Ohio
 Kirkland, Rev. J. E., Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mason, Rev. E. J., Toledo, Ohio
 Mason, Rev. H. O., Columbus, Ohio
 Nelson, Rev. Booker T., Cleveland, Ohio
 Page, Rev. W. A., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Parrish, Rev. James W., Columbus, Ohio
 Payden, Rev. Henry J., Cleveland, Ohio
 Phillips, Rev. Porter W., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Ross, Rev. S. D., Detroit, Mich.
 Rundless, Rev. E. A., Detroit, Mich.
 Sharpe, Rev. J. H., Cincinnati, Ohio

Stallworth, Rev. James, Cleveland, Ohio
Wesdes, Rev. J. T., Cleveland, Ohio
Winbush, Rev. John C., Cleveland, Ohio

PRESBYTERIAN U.S.A.

Anderson, Mr. LeRoy, Conrad, Mont.
Bald, Dr. John M., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blanchard, Mrs. W. J., Dayton, Ohio
Brasel, Mr. James, Carter, Ill.
Buckler, Miss Helen, New York, N. Y.
Cadigan, Mr. Robert, Philadelphia, Pa.
Calhoun, Dr. Malcolm P., Richmond, Va.
Collins, Mr. Lloyd M., Lakeville, Mich.
Colston, Pres. James A., Knoxville, Tenn.
Earle, Dr. Clifford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Elder, Mrs. Albert L., LaGrange, Ill.
Flory, Miss Margaret, New York, N. Y.
Gill, Dr. Theodore, Winnetka, Ill.
Graham, Dr. Frank P., New York, N. Y.
Hoeldtke, Mrs. Ernest H., Buffalo, N. Y.
Hopkins, Dr. Garland E., Harndon, Va.
Kirkland, Dr. William, Chicago, Ill.
Layman, Dr. Allen B., Monmouth, Ill.
Lehmann, Rev. Paul L., Cambridge, Mass.
Lineweaver, Miss Helen, Washington, D. C.
Lowrie, Dr. Donald A., Baltimore, Md.
Mackay, Dr. John A., Princeton, N. J.
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A GREAT STATESMAN'S VIEW

Edmund Burke, the great English statesman and author, in describing the relations that should exist between the state and church, said:

"Politics and the pulpit have little agreement. No sound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character to assume what does not belong to them are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world, in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

—from REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

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March, 1960

WORLD ORDER STUDY CONFERENCE- MOSCOW'S MOUTHPIECE

by HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

PART TWO

The following issue of News & Views is a continuation of the article by Counter-Spy Herbert A. Philbrick which began in the February 1960 Special Edition of NEWS & VIEWS. Mr. Philbrick began his expose of the so-called "Nation-wide Program of Education and Action for Peace" being promoted by the National Council of Churches in cooperation with various state and local councils of churches, and augmented by other groups discussed in these two editions.

In this issue Mr. Philbrick goes into the so-called "study material", largely written by leftist John C. Bennett, and he exposes the brain-washing techniques used on the unsuspecting students.

The "Nationwide Program of Education and Action For Peace" (NPOE & AFP) was developed by the World Order Study Conference, which was sponsored by the Department of International Affairs, which is part of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. The fifteen basic manuals being used were prepared, we are told, "to stimulate questions, study and discussion on crucial international issues." The manuals are sold by the Department of Publication and Distribution, 120 East 23rd Street, New York 10, New York.

However, everybody denies responsibility for the manuals. Each booklet contains a carefully written disclaimer, contending that "no commission member is to be held responsible for or necessarily is in accord with the views expressed in it. It is not to be considered an official representation of the views of the Department of International Affairs or of the National Council of Churches."

On the other hand, while seeking to avoid responsibility for the "views", the Council seeks to retain tight control over them. They state, "It (the manual) is not to be quoted in publications in whole or in part without permission of the Department of International Affairs." If any one pays attention to this nonsense, it means that the only quotes from the manuals will be quoted with specific authorization. How they can authorize the quotation of views they are not responsible for — or vice versa — is, of course, beyond understanding.

Thus, in the very beginning, we are plunged into a never-never-land of contradictory confusion. The booklets never quite emerge from this atmosphere of schizophrenic unreality.

This is, of course, a sharp departure from the traditional Protestant ethic which holds that although all things belong to God and are given by God — including our freedom of speech — at the same time we have a responsibility to God. This is commonly called Christian Stewardship,

which means that we are personally held accountable for every word, as well as every deed. Most Protestant Churches are still teaching that to fail or shirk such responsibility is at least delinquent, and at worst, sinful.

As a nation, we have been shocked to discover such delinquency in the field of entertainment, in motion pictures and in television. On every hand we are admonished that this is because of a moral and spiritual decline, and because our culture has been infected with materialism and Marxism.

The philosophy of irresponsibility is, in fact, part of the philosophy of Communism, which seeks to center all authority in a centralized dictatorship, with equivalent loss of individual responsibility by every citizen, and the substitution of "responsibility to the group" or the commune.

However, this is not the only segment of the Nationwide Program of Education and Action For Peace which adheres more to the Communist than to the Christian point of view. As pointed out in Part I of this article, published by News and Views last month, the National Council booklets are so permeated with pro-Soviet propaganda that many volumes would be required to expose or uncover even a part of it. Indeed, I submit that the NPOE & AFP booklets may well become a classic for the study of the various kinds and styles of propaganda techniques. Let us examine a few samples.

FEAR AS A PROPAGANDA WEAPON

The use of fear as a weapon in communist aggression has been well documented by many writers besides the author of this article. As we have already pointed out, however, the National Council at no time refers to any of the texts or the authorities in this field . . . such as, for example, Joost Meerloo, who wrote the excellent book, "Rape of The Mind"; Nikolai Khokhlov, whose testi-

mony on "Communist Control of the Arts" has been praised for its outstanding lucidity; or others.

Recently, Stewart Alsop, writing in the January 30, 1960 Saturday Evening Post, described his findings based on a 3000-mile trip behind the iron curtain, digging deep beneath the surface of communism. The article is entitled "I Saw What Makes Communism Work". The answer? It is "fear, which is everywhere, for it is what makes Communism Work." . . . and Mr. Alsop backs up his findings with example after example.

The "Nationwide Program" material is permeated with an atmosphere of fear and terror . . . there are few pages without it. Over and over again we are fed such phrases as: "history so dangerously today . . . the whole range of terrors . . . evil intrudes itself on men in new magnitudes of urgency and terror . . . all the promises tremble now over one peril . . . the capacity for destruction possible in war today exceeds the most ominous forebodings of yesterday . . . mutual destruction . . . great cities would lie in ruins . . . whole populations would be annihilated . . . a radioactive plague would settle on the earth . . . we find ourselves always on the brink of annihilation . . . devastation and destruction . . ." and so on, ad infinitum.

In addition to the atmosphere of fear and terror, the "Nationwide Program" material also contains an atmosphere of hopelessness; the idea that there is nothing at all that we can do about it . . . and that certainly we cannot expect or hope that "old fashioned" ideas of right and wrong will be of any value or effect.

The very best we can hope for, then, is to "end" the cold war . . . but never, of course to WIN the cold war. That the free world should ever defeat, conquer, overcome, or win the struggle against communist aggression . . . such an idea is, to the National Council experts, absolutely unthinkable.

Hence we learn the following: that "The power to win a war has lost its significance . . . the policy of deterrence (poses) the threat . . . of mutual suicide . . . we must face new realities . . . we must accept the fact that in Russia and China, Communism is a reality that will not be overcome by outside pressure. Deterrence? "A real danger". Limited wars? "A danger of utmost gravity". Moral judgment (often mentioned by President Eisenhower)? "We should abandon the black and white moralistic approach". The threat of massive retaliation? "Does not make sense". Containment? "Our adventures in containment could be our own isolation in an embittered Fortress America".

The end conclusion? We had just better resign ourselves to accepting the inevitable. We can't possibly win the struggle against communist tyranny. We are told emphatically, "The overriding consideration in coming to accept the necessity of living with the communist nations is that there is no alternative except one that would be likely to destroy both the communist world and our own".

And that is that. But—of course—"it is not our purpose to indoctrinate churches and their members with particularized views or dogmas"! — so emphatically states the National Councilites!

BUT . . .

Those who criticize this article . . . and I am sure they will be noisy and bitter . . . will be able to quote a great number of statements from the National Program manuals which are decidedly unfavorable to communism;

BUT when you examine these statements carefully, you will find virtually every time this is done, that within the same sentence or within a few sentences, there is a "but", a "yet", a "however", "still", or some other qualifying preposition followed by a white-wash excuse of the communist crime or misdeed.

There is, of course, a reason for this. For a long time the Communists were quite successful in hiding their crimes against the enslaved peoples from the outside world. The iron curtain was very successful. But as time went on (42 years of time, to be exact) the truth began to leak out. The stench of communism became embarrassingly apparent. No longer are the fellow-travelers able to quote the Red Dean of Canterbury, as they once did, that "Stalin is no oriental despot".

It was necessary for Khrushchev to deliver his "downgrading" "secret" speech, manufactured for dispatch to the outside world, as an attempt to separate the crimes of communism from the perpetrators of communist crimes.

Hence, it is no longer possible to conceal completely the evils of communism. Hence the tactic is to "deodorize" them by excuses—*any* excuse, no matter how far fetched . . . so long as you can get gullible people to swallow them.

Hence, in the National Program indoctrination manuals, what do we find? Let's take a look at only a few of the many examples.

"If the non-communist world were to shrink beyond a certain point, no nation would be likely to maintain its freedom. **BUT —**"

"It is true that there are important interactions between communist military power and other forms of communist power. **BUT—**"

"There are forms of oppression, of the denial of the basic rights of the person of which we should not be tolerant. **BUT—**"

"We must oppose communism as an evil system which denies God and defiles man, **BUT—**"

"The Communist goal of world domination must be squarely faced and constantly kept in mind. **YET IT DOES NOT FOLLOW—**"

"It is idle to expect that at any time in the foreseeable future the communists will formally renounce their dream of world revolution. **BUT IF—**"

"It is true that they are atheists in principle **BUT—**"

"Aggressive totalitarianism or communist imperialism should be resisted. **BUT—**"

By the time the reader completes the 15 textbooks in the series, he has been given an apology for most of the crimes committed by the communists. Of course, many serious crimes committed against the enslaved peoples are not mentioned at all.

STACKING THE CARDS

A device sometimes used by the less ethical in gambling circles is known as "stacking the deck" or "stacking the cards". The deck is "loaded" in your favor and puts your opponent in a most unfortunate position. Of course, in gambling circles this is considered to be cheating. But, in propaganda warfare waged against the free world by the communist criminal conspiracy, "stacking" the propaganda deck is one of the standard practices.

It is therefore interesting to note that the World Order Study Conference has "stacked" its material very decidedly in favor of the communists, and to the detriment of the free world and particularly the United States.

In addition to the favorable words used in connection with the communists, balanced against the unfavorable words used in discussion of the United States, we also find that very harsh words are used to describe matters, peoples or movements other than communist, but that softer words are used in talking about the very same crime committed by the communists.

For example: In the book on "Changing Dimensions", the persecution of people in Poland and Germany is referred to as the "shocking massacre". There is nothing inaccurate about that statement. But, in the very same sentence, persecution of people in the Soviet Union is referred to as simply "suppression" . . . a much softer, less damning term.

On page 4 of the same manual, reference is made to "the persecution of Jews in Germany"; but there is *no* reference made to the much more insidious persecution of the Jews under communism, despite a terrific amount of available evidence. Can the National Council of Churches expect us to believe that it is entirely accidental that they should condemn the persecution of the Jewish people 20 years ago in Germany, but say *nothing* about the persecution of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union NOW?

Over and over again, we are fed such words as "Communist nations as nations have their own legitimate interests and their own reasonable fears"; "there is real hope that new generations within the communist countries will be less fanatical". Or, if there have been "failings" on the part of the communists, it's *all our fault*!

Hence, we read that *"the intransigence and aggressive tactics of the communist powers are caused, in part, by fear of their own security"*. Whose fault is it? Why, *"American nuclear stockpiles . . . arouse apprehension"*! There is no mention, of course, as to WHY we have found it necessary to build a nuclear stockpile.

Or, we read, *"There is in Communism an element of judgment upon the churches and upon the more privileged societies"*. And, since communism is all our fault anyway, *"We should avoid the posture of general hostility to them and cease the practice of continual moral lectures to them by our leaders"*.

The writers of the National Program manuals cannot get around the fact that we seem to be in a "nuclear stalemate" . . . that the cold war continues. There are, they declare, "five reasons . . . for these failures". And the five reasons? You guessed it. All five "reasons" are blamed on the United States. Not a word to indicate that the Soviet Union is to be held responsible for declaring and waging total war on the free world.

There are many references to "communist dreams", Russian aims, communist goals . . . but not a word about the American dream, American aims, intentions, hopes and aspirations. Whatever happened to the American dream? But, of Communist China? A "crusade" of such magnificent proportions, that it is completely unreasonable for us to expect the reds to abandon their noble purposes. Specifically, the sentence reads, *"It may now be too late for Communist China to give up her crusade to liberate and reclaim Formosa . . ."*

Crusade? Liberate? Reclaim? Those who, during and before World War II, supported Hitler's movement as a "Crusade" to "liberate" and "reclaim" certain

territories and nationalities for Germany were called Fascists. Yet, *D. F. Fleming*, who wrote the above gem, insists upon putting on an air of injured innocence and indignation if anyone reaches a logical conclusion as to which brand of totalitarianism he supports.

As an American citizen, Fleming, of course, has the right to espouse any philosophy he wishes. But it would seem that our Protestant Churches, since they had the right to oppose the views of Gerald L. K. Smith, should have the equal right to oppose, just as strenuously, the views of D. F. Fleming.

RED TRICKS OF THE PROPAGANDA TRADE

I have, in my file of Communist propaganda leaflets, one clever little mailing piece used several years ago which did a fabulous money-raising job for the Reds. It successfully confused a large number of innocent victims. Sincere non-Communists, they nevertheless were tricked into contributing to a Communist front organization.

The trick was accomplished simply by asking questions!

The trap was set by inserting a false statement *within* the question; and, since the good-natured person is intent upon finding the *answer* to the question, his mind tends to ignore the precise content of the question itself. And, since the question is "loaded" in favor of his enemy, his answer is likely to strengthen the side of the enemy, and weaken the side of the victim.

The National Council of Churches, in its NPOE & AFP booklets, pulls this propaganda trick constantly. Seemingly innocent questions are, in fact, loaded favorably for the Soviet Union and unfavorably for the United States and the free world. Sometimes it is done within the question itself; sometimes the question is prefaced by slanted or distorted information, thus "setting up" a tinted background designed to color the victim's reply; and sometimes it is done with a combination of questions.

For example, on Page 24 of the "Study Guide" we find a question which was loaded from within: We are asked,

"What does the rise of nationalism mean in Africa, Asia, and Latin America? In what ways does it compare with the rise of nationalism in our own country's history?"

Unless the victim is careful, he may be tricked by this apparently innocent question . . . because a Communist false twist of fact has been inserted!

The key, of course, is the accusation of "Nationalism" hurled at the United States. This is a continuing accusation made against us by the Reds, not only as part of their propaganda of hatred, but also as a very definite part of the war to weaken our resistance to Soviet oppression.

This Red propaganda line holds that the people of the United States are guilty of Nationalism, Chauvinism, Imperialism and super-Patriotism, thus endangering the peace and tranquility of the world.

Much closer to the truth, of course, is that the people of this country are among the least "nationalistic" of any nation in the world. Still a new country, we are aware that this land has been a "melting pot" for many peoples, nationalities and cultures. Indeed, we lack patriotism to a fault. Many competent observers, too numerous to list here, have cited our deplorable lack of knowledge concerning our own nation and heritage; of the meaning of freedom; of a true appreciation of our constitution and the liberties it protects. Indeed, rather than suffering from "nationalism", we are more likely to suffer from apathy, indiffer-

ence and complacency . . . disastrous characteristics which have, in fact, played right into the hands of the Communists and which have contributed, more than anything else, to the fact that the Reds are winning World War III right now.

It is, therefore, completely in the interests of the Reds to try to prevent any trend towards greater love of country and of American freedom, because such loyalties are an obstacle to Soviet aggression.

On Page 19 of the "Study Guide", we find an example of the ancient "Have you stopped beating your wife" question; in other words, one that comes out to your detriment no matter which way it is answered. Here it is:

"Some people say that Communism must be destroyed. Some people say that Capitalism must be destroyed. How could either be done without destroying much of the world in war?"

This question is asked against the "tinted" backdrop of the "background paper" entitled, "Can the Cold War Be Ended?" This paper holds, in essence, that we have no choice; that the answer is either co-existence or no-existence; and that we had best resign ourselves to the inevitable conclusion that totalitarianism is here to stay.

We can only hope that the intended victims will be smart enough to realize that we are not faced with a choice of equally unacceptable "solutions", both of which would plunge us into war; but that the only real solution is freedom for the enslaved peoples.

On the same page of the "Study Manual" is an example of a loaded combination of questions. We are asked, "Is all of Communism bad? Is all of Capitalism good?" Of course the first question prompts favorable remarks concerning Soviet totalitarianism, while the second question incites unfavorable comments concerning the United States.

Or, we find that a whole series of questions manage to direct our attention away from any criticism of the Soviet Union, and to concentrate all criticism against the United States.

For example, one would assume that in the "Report of Section IV", which has to do with "The Changing Dimensions of Human Rights", that a fair comparison would be made of human rights under the free Republic of the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Alas! We find nothing of the sort!

Rather, we are sternly admonished that any criticism of "another nation or group" is unjustified; that to do so we would most certainly be harboring dangerous "political propaganda reasons"; and besides, "Christians are reminded of the Biblical injunction to take the obstruction out of our own eye if we are to help in clearing the sight of others."

Hence it is not surprising to find in the 22 questions posed concerning "human rights", not one single mention of Communism. There is nothing about Soviet slave labor camps; nothing about the destruction of free speech, of assembly, of the churches; nothing about the murder of Christian martyrs behind the iron curtain; nothing about the dread MVD, the Soviet Secret Police; nothing about the brazen Soviet kidnapping of refugees in the United States; nothing about Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union; nothing about the destruction of the rights of labor and workers . . . not even mention

of the iron curtain itself. If the hoped-for victim in the Discussion Groups wakes up in time, he will find that he is not even talking about "peace" any more!

What is he talking about? By clever transition, the questions slowly change the entire direction of thinking. We find out, without realizing it, what was meant by the "whole field" of human rights. From the original statement of simple human rights, the questions take us to "Do you believe that the community has a responsibility to see that every child has a right to an education?" What responsibility does the *world community* have . . . ? The right to remunerative work? The right to a minimum standard of living? Have the rights of the American Indian been considered? Should everybody have the right to vote? The right to equal opportunities? Housing? Hospital care? Recreation?

The final question of the 22 posed in the Study Guide reads: "What obligations, if any, do Christians have in being concerned about these questions in the changing dimensions of human rights?" By this time it is quite likely that the victim has completely forgotten that the question has anything to do with Communism . . . his entire attention has been scientifically directed, by means of very clever propaganda techniques, towards thinking what a perfectly awful place *we* live in — a discredited, maligned United States which is in such a deplorable state that we had best direct our prayers to God to forgive us our many sins against humanity. But this is not yet the end. We have still to be delivered the *coup de grace*. Directly following the list of questions, and to nail down any loose ends the brainwashing may have left over, the National Council of Churches provides a list of "Readings".

Here we find that the National Council of Churches recommends that we read "The Races of Mankind" by Prof. Gene Weltfish, published by "Public Affairs Pamphlets" in New York. What we are *not* told (remember — Christians must base their decisions on facts?) is that Maxwell S. Stewart, the editor of Public Affairs Pamphlets, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., by a sworn witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1951 and that Prof. Weltfish who was one of the outstanding Red front joiners in the U.S., was head of the infamous Communist front known as Congress of American Women and was fired from Columbia University after invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Senate Committee hearing.

Neither are we told, by the writers of the National Program booklets who insisted that Christians "know the facts", that Maxwell S. Stewart has been affiliated with the defunct publication *Amerasia*, of which 6 members of the editorial and contributing staff were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1945 on charges of conspiring to violate the Federal Espionage Statutes through theft of government documents ranging from *Restricted* to *Top Secret* in security classification.

We are not warned by the National Program authors that Stewart has been affiliated with *New Masses*, described as a "communist periodical" by the Attorney General of the United States in 1942 . . . or that he has been affiliated with over 40 subversive organizations during the past 22 years.

And so we have travelled the complete circle. From an initial discussion point, which was alleged to have been for the purpose of establishing "peace and friendship" we have been brought completely around, step by step, until we have been delivered safely into the hands of an identified communist.

Can this be because of stupidity? Were the instigators of this device clumsy amateurs, who simply didn't know what they were doing? It is true that, as we have already explained, names of perfectly honest people were tossed into the committee lists, thus providing proper and respectable cover. But the anonymous authors of the Nationwide Program pamphlets and booklets are much too slick; much too clever; they display an expert touch which is simply not the work of an amateur.

COMMUNIST LIES

In addition to the slanted, distorted, angled, loaded and twisted material in the National Council of Churches "Nationwide Program for Peace" booklets, we are also fed straight communist propaganda lies. Let's take just one. On page 21 of the "Christian Responsibility" booklet, we read that the "cold war" (their quotes) "had its roots in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917".

It is incredible that a lie of such magnitude and importance could be contained in so few words; but this communist lie, which is a deliberate fabrication of "history", is literally the key-stone of the whole facade of communist propaganda.

In the first place, strictly speaking it is technically inaccurate to link the words "Communist" and "Bolshevik" since, as we have already pointed out, the communists have never been a "majority" of anything. However, we cannot, of course, hold the National Council of Churches accountable for this bit of Red deceit, since the term "Bolshevik" has come to be generally recognized as the label used, albeit fraudulently, by the communists.

In the second place, to link the word "communist" (or Bolshevik) with the term "revolution" is equally false . . . a total untruth. Communism is not revolutionary; it never has been revolutionary; it never will be revolutionary, because communism by its very essence is reactionary. In the original sense of the words, "revolutionary" or "liberal" mean something new, something forward, a movement towards freedom, a release from the shackles of state power and control, the liberation of man from state authority. Communism is, and always has been, the complete opposite. It increases the power and authority of the state at the expense of society. It diminishes the freedom of the individual to the vanishing point. It makes of *every* man, including the member of the communist apparatus, a slave to the state.

However, the communist propagandist wants you to *think* that communism is something different; that he may be compared, let us say, to Tom Paine, or Abraham Lincoln, or to an number of other great "revolutionaries". It is to their advantage to claim that they are moving forward in history, when in fact they are plunging nations and peoples under communism backward at least a thousand years.

But the most important part of the lies is the very term itself, "Russian Bolshevik Revolution". There was, of course, no such thing as a Russian Bolshevik Revolution. It is only important that the communists make you *think* that such an event occurred in history. The importance of the lie, to the structure of communist falsehood, becomes apparent when you examine the truth.

What really happened? Culminating a long struggle by the Russian people against the tyranny of the Tsar, a series of uprisings and demonstrations in early 1917 ended, in the middle of March of that year, in the abdication of the Tsarist government and the formation of a pro-

visional government of the Russian people under the leadership of Kerensky. This was a true revolution, in the same tradition and for the same goals as the American Revolution; to secure a greater measure of individual freedom from autocratic government.

For the first time in the long history of the Russian people, freedom was established. Amnesty was declared for political prisoners; government restrictions against people because of nationality and religion were outlawed; kangaroo courts were abolished and trial by jury was decreed; equal rights were declared for women; exile to Siberian camps were abolished; freedom of the press and of assembly were declared. Also, the Russian people, through their provisional government leaders, laid plans for a free election to be held in the fall of that same year, 1917.

What part did the "Bolsheviks" play in the Russian Revolution? Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, in his excellent book, "The Naked Communist" (published 1958 by the Ensign Publishing Company, Salt Lake City, Utah) explains:

"The most significant thing about the abdication of the Tsar and the setting up on the people's Provisional Government in Russia, is the simple historical fact that the Bolsheviks, or Communists, had practically nothing to do with it! This revolution had been initiated by the same kind of people as those who started the revolt against the Tsar in 1905. They represented Russia's best people—the liberal aristocrats, the intellectuals, the businessmen, the millions of peasants and the millions of workers. *But the Bolshevik leaders were nowhere in sight.* (Italics mine). Lenin was in exile in Switzerland, Trotsky was in exile in New York and Joseph Stalin was in prison in Siberia."

Not until a month after the Russian Revolution did Lenin manage to get back into Russia. Further, he was able to do so only with the aid and assistance of the German totalitarian regime, which was at that moment waging war against Russia! As enemies, fighting the Russian people, the German militarists most certainly would not have helped Lenin *unless they knew* that Lenin, too, was an enemy of the Russian people.

Immediately, Lenin began to utilize his well-developed tactics as a wrecker, gained by long experience in his ruthless search for power. And so the communists begin working towards the violent overthrow and destruction, not of the totalitarian Tsar, but of the free government of the Russian people. Within six months the evil deed was done.

Free elections had been promised the people, and the self-styled "bolsheviks" either felt they could not afford to "lose face" by preventing the elections, or else they had actually swallowed their own propaganda and had come to assume that they really did have "majority" support. In any event, the elections were held on November 25, 1917. **OVER 75% OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE VOTED AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS!** That was the last free election ever permitted the Russian people. When the freely elected government met in January of 1918, the armed gangsters of Lenin ruthlessly moved into the assembly, aimed their bristling rifles at the representatives elected by the people, and ordered them to get out. And that was that.

Of course this was not revolution, it was insurrection, an act of treason against the will of the majority of the Russian workers and peasants. Hence it was that the Russian people were plunged back under a dictatorship far worse, far more cruel, far more ruthless, than anything they had known under the Tsar.

But the National Council of Churches, in their NPÖE & AFP material, makes no mention of Mr. Skousen and his

book on communism. Neither do these self-appointed "leaders" of the Protestant Churches mention any other accurate, truthful account of the communist criminal conspiracy. Rather, the National Council and its discredited World Order Study Conference, under the guise of a "peace" campaign, elects to repeat fabricated, false "history" which was deliberately manufactured by the communists as part of their world campaign to deceive and confuse the people of the free world.

This, of course, is not the only pro-communist falsehood in the Study Material. A few further examples:

RED PROPAGANDA: The use of the word "leaders" to identify those at the top of the heap in the Soviet Socialist States.

FACT: The communist dictators cannot "lead" anybody at the point of a bayonet. The word "leader" is false propaganda, because it implies that the people are willingly following the red gangster regime.

RED PROPAGANDA: Adlai Stevenson mentioned "the angry hostility of the Chinese leaders (there's that word again!) to the United States. This is the emotion which dominates 640,000,000 Chinese."

FACT: It is totally false that the Chinese people are in accord with the communist dictatorship in their hatred of free America. This was dramatically proved in "Operation Big Switch," after the Korean War, when only a tiny percentage of the Chinese POWs elected to return to their communist controlled homeland.

RED PROPAGANDA: The "cold war" is a result of our "illusions," our "fear of communism," our "adventures in containment," etc.

FACT: It is nothing less than straight communist propaganda to allege that the "cold war" is entirely and completely the fault of the free world, and in particular the United States. Hence, to the communists, "liquidating the cold war" means that the United States should cease all effective opposition to soviet imperialism.

RED PROPAGANDA: Some field commander, or unbalanced officer, can launch an atomic war.

FACT: The Constitution of the United States specifically provides that Congress, and only Congress, has the authority to declare war. It is not only constitutionally, but physically impossible for any individual in the United States armed services to start a war.

SUMMARY

We have been able to mention only a tiny proportion of the massive volume of communist and pro-Soviet propaganda in the 15 NPOE & AFP booklets.

One may complain that, after all, it is not necessarily subversive that the red dictators are called "leaders," or that Red Chinese aggression is called a "crusade," or that it is falsely claimed that there was, in history, a "Russian Bolshevik Revolution."

It is perfectly true that any one, or possibly two or three of these "slips" might not be serious. But when we find that this same pattern continues, for book after book, chapter after chapter, page after page, sentence after sentence, the sheer massive weight of communist propaganda becomes nothing less than devastating. A single pebble dropped on your head may do little harm; a pailful of pebbles can cave in your skull.

Were these "errors"? Common sense tells us otherwise. If these were mistakes, at least some of the mistakes would be in our favor!

It is my opinion that, this time, those responsible for foisting this fraud upon the Protestant Churches have overplayed their hand. When the bright light of truth is thrown on the NPOE material, its bright red hue stands out all too clearly. Protestant Churches, Protestant Pastors, Protestant laymen are not nearly as asleep as they once were. They know a great deal more about communism than they did ten, five, or even one year ago. And they are learning more all the time. Because of this, it is my conviction that the NPOE & AFP will, in the end, prove to be an abject failure. It may even prove to be the end of the National Council of Churches.

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The purpose of this Bulletin and all of our other editions is to inform the American people concerning those subversive forces which are methodically penetrating every major phase of our society. Once the American people are informed, they will do something to stop this infiltration. You can help inform them.

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Eternal Vigilance Is Forever the Price of Freedom

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SMEAR TACTICS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The tactics employed by a hard-pressed commander in a bad military situation usually are a good clue to the amount of worry or panic dominating the GHQ. Nothing has ever hit the National Council of Churches, or for that matter, its predecessor, the discredited Federal Council of Churches, with the same devastating impact as the recent Air Force Manual controversy. Mobilizing all their vast resources and reserves, the badly shaken N.C.C.C. hierarchy is still planning desperate counterattacks in the hope of regaining some of its badly battered standing and prestige in the Protestant community. Some of these counterattacks do no credit to an organization claiming to speak as the conscience of "39 million Protestants."

A brief summary-review of the whole imbroglio is perhaps in order as some of our readers may not be correctly or wholly informed of all developments.

Under date of February 11, 1960, James Wine, signing himself "Associate General Secretary" of the Council, addressed a letter to the Hon. Thomas Gates, Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C., Wine inclosed a copy of an Air Force Reserve Center Training Manual N.R. 45-0050 Incr. V. Vol. 7 with a formal complaint that the manual was in "patent contravention of the First Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S." As the manual was restricted to air reserve non-commissioned officers Wine should have been challenged as to how the N.C.C.C. obtained a copy of it.

Wine then went on "To imply some relationship between the Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible and Communism is insidious and absurd." The manual had made no such assertion. It merely said that the N.C.C.C. had officially sponsored the R.S.V. and that "of 95 persons who served on this project, 30 have been affiliated with pro-Communist fronts, projects, and publications." Note carefully the old, old trick of craftily avoiding the direct charge and then vehemently denying one that was never made and which would be preposterous and absurd to make. The charge that 30 out of the 95 people who collaborated on the R.S.V. had front records was and remains documented beyond cavil.

The N.C.C.C. demanded that the manual be withdrawn immediately and also asked for a conference with the Defense Secretary so "that we may have the complete explanation which we believe we are entitled to have." Secretary Gates turned the whole matter over to Dudley Sharp, Secretary of the Air Force. Sharp later testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and admitted he had "immediately started an investigation" but found that the manual had been withdrawn on the morning of the same day that Wine wrote his letter.

Liberal commentators and news outlets saw to it that the N.C.C.C. ultimatum to the Defense Secretary reached every literate and radio-listening American from Maine to San Diego. Secretary Gates panicked and threw in the towel before he had time to find out what all the shouting was about. The resultant controversy aroused, entertained, outraged, or baffled millions of Americans depending on their own particular knowledge, or lack of knowledge, of the true facts behind all the shouting. Most Americans naturally were totally dependent for their information, and hence their own views, on the press and radio accounts. In these media, needless to say, the N.C.C.C. enjoys an overwhelming advantage.

PENTAGON PANIC

Defense Secretary Gates in publicly apologizing to an N.C.C.C. official (naturally with photographers present) created an entirely false impression that the manual was questionable and that the N.C.C.C. had been vindicated in its protest. The President of the N.C.C.C., Edwin T. Dahlberg, whose long front record the Church League of America documented in 1957 and again in NEWS AND VIEWS of August, 1958, called the Defense Secretary's abject public capitulation "a smashing victory for the National Council of Churches and the forces of freedom." Highly placed officials in the Pentagon confidentially reported "near panic" in top echelons over the N.C.C.C. protest. One reason was that Congress was in town and the Air Force had already been in hot water over manuals for enlisted men on how to wash dogs and wait on tables at officers' parties and homes.

Dr. Clyde J. Kennedy, President of the American Council of Christian Churches, and Dr. Carl McIntire, president of the International Council of Christian Churches, demanded and secured an interview with Secretary Gates on Feb. 24th. They spent forty minutes with Mr. Gates explaining the simple facts of life, and just what the N.C.C.C. was, to the Defense Secretary. In the meantime, Fulton Lewis Jr., and a number of other authorities on Communism in Religion worked long hours telling an incredulous nation what a few hundred security and intelligence officers and a few thousand well-informed people had known for years.

THE COUNCIL FIGHTS BACK

Meanwhile, the General Board of the N.C.C.C., meeting in Oklahoma City, pressed the counterattack. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who needs no introduction to readers of NEWS AND VIEWS, issued a statement that if necessary he would personally see President Eisenhower when the latter returned from South America to lay the N.C.C.C.'s case before the Chief Executive. W. A. Visser't Hooft, gen-

eral secretary of the World Council of Churches, who happened to be in this country, issued a statement in Cincinnati saying that any charges that Communists had infiltrated American Protestant Churches were "complete nonsense," "stupid accusations," and "idiotic remarks." His headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland.

With the abject apology scalp of Defense Secretary Gates dangling from his belt, James Wine came to Oklahoma City feeling pretty good. The Washington, D.C., *Evening Star* of Feb. 24th quoted him as hinting that American servicemen might be getting "Totalitarian training" from dark and sinister forces in the services. "In a subsequent interview Mr. Wine said the Air Force training manual could have been inspired by a subversive influence." Note carefully the standard and well-worn-out technique of never answering specific charges and cited facts except in denunciatory generalizations and in vituperative language. This from top leaders of an organization claiming to speak for 39 million Protestants and hence, in effect, guardians of the highest Christian conscience in this country.

For those desiring to examine the Air Force Manual first hand we suggest either sending a dollar to USA, P.O. Box 134, Lenox Hill Station, New York 21, N.Y. for the Special Feb. 23, 1960 issue or thirty cents in stamps to the *Christian Beacon*, Haddon and Frazer Avenues, Collingswood, N. J., for the March 3rd, 1960 issue. Both publications reprinted those pages of the Air Force Manual dealing with Communism in Religion.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE HEARINGS

On Feb. 25 the House Committee on Un-American Activities stepped into the picture. Another Congressional subcommittee under a publicity-seeking chairman had threatened to summon the writer of the manual, Homer Hyde of San Antonio, Texas, for what was feared would be a scapegoat grilling of an innocent man in order to throw some one to the wolves of the N.C.C.C. who were now yelling for blood. The House report "Issues Presented by the Air Reserve Center Training Manual," Feb. 25, 1960, is most important to an understanding of this whole controversy and may be secured by writing to the Committee in Washington, D.C.

The whole affair now took a bizarre turn when Secretary Sharp told the House Committee that the manual had not been withdrawn because any of the statements in it were found to be untrue. The Air Force had not investigated the truth or falsity of the statements in the manual but had withdrawn it because it deemed some of the material as "inappropriate." Sharp also told the Committee that contrary to a N.C.C.C. statement neither he nor any other responsible Air Force officer had told the N.C.C.C. that references to Communist infiltration in the churches would be deleted from the new edition of the manual when it was published. He further said that he had not apologized to the National Council nor had he repudiated any of the contents of the manual.

Secretary Sharp was criticized by Committee members for the manner in which the manual had been withdrawn and the inept public relations surrounding the whole controversy which seemed to play right into the hands of N.C.C.C. officialdom.

After the hearing six N.C.C.C. big-wigs sent Chairman Walter of the House Committee an insulting telegram asking him to retract and apologize for his "untrue statements" against the churches." Note once more the cunning trans-

ference from charges against specific individuals to "against the churches."

The fiery little Congressman from Pennsylvania fired a telegram back at the six N.C.C.C. leaders inviting them to appear before his committee under oath and present their whole case to the American public in the form of testimony before a duly constituted Congressional committee. Needless to add, the six bold spokesmen for the now badly worried N.C.C.C. had no stomach for this sort of honest approach. They refused to appear under oath and turned instead to their publicity outlets for more attacks on the Committee, its Chairman, the manual, and all those who defended its accuracy.

THE N.Y. TIMES DOCTORS THE NEWS

On March 9th the *N.Y. Times*, always a staunch defender of the old Federal Council of Churches, came to the rescue of the N.C.C.C. with a rather clever bit of doctored "news." Headlined "Spellman Scores Air Force Manual," the *Times*, which "prints only the news fit to print," printed a complete distortion of what Cardinal Spellman had actually said.

The article quoted the Cardinal as having "deplored last night recent attacks in an Air Force Manual on the loyalty of some U.S. churches and clergymen." The rest of the two column article then went on to recount the uproar created by the Air Force Manual. The Cardinal never made such statements.

Spokesmen for the N.C.C.C. were then quoted as having termed the allegations against it as "slandrous, biased, and venomous." The Rev. Dahlberg was once more quoted as asserting that "the program of slander being circulated against the churches" was made to order for the Communists. Note once more the old, old, N.C.C.C. trick of always changing any charges against it and its officers as attacks "against the churches." The trick of accusing honest and bona fide anti-communists of engaging in activities "playing into the hands of the Communists" is a tried and trusted device of the phony liberals when exposed in some pro-Communist activity of their own.

Congressman Donald Jackson of California quickly exposed the *N.Y. Times'* fakery by sending the following telegram to Cardinal Spellman:

"YOUR EMINENCE: Evidently the statement made by you on yesterday respecting the current controversy over certain statements made in an Air Force training manual were deliberately distorted to indicate a blanket endorsement by you of the entire body of Protestant churchmen relative to their loyalty. The implication written into your perfectly proper message has done grievous harm to the fight being waged by many of us here in the Congress to disclose efforts of the Communist Party to infiltrate American churches and the efforts of a few Protestant ministers to further the cause of Godless conspiracy. As a former combat officer in the U.S. Marine Corps, I share your high regard for the dedicated men of all faiths who have served and are serving in the Armed Forces of the United States. Their loyalty has never been brought into question in any manner, nor do I know of a single instance involving the loyalty of a chaplain. The fight against the common foe has been set back by the improper use of your statement. If it is at all possible to

clarify this matter, I sincerely hope it can be done. Believe me to be, most respectfully."

The Cardinal replied:

**"Congressman Donald L. Jackson,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:**

I have received your telegram which I have read with interest. The statement I made was clear and unequivocal. I cannot understand how some of the press distorted my statement. I respect the fact that Congressman Walter, you and other members of your committee have rendered outstanding service in exposing Communist activities.
Francis Cardinal Spellman"

Jackson thereupon inserted the Cardinal's original statement in the *Congressional Record*, page 4902, March 11, 1960, and commented:

"It will be noted that nowhere in the Cardinal's statement does the phrase 'Air Force Manual' appear. Yet that bulwark of journalism, the *New York Times*, frequently pointed out to students of journalism as the greatest example of honest, fair, and objective reporting, took unbridled license in editorializing the headline, and to give the impression to its readers that a great church leader had said something he never said or never intended to say. The headline in question is morally dishonest, factually inaccurate, and intellectually on a par with the journalistic ethics of a throwaway tabloid."

The *N.Y. Times'* fakery probably reached and impressed millions of readers and radio listeners. Congressman Jackson's exposure in fine print, buried in the *Congressional Record*, probably was not seen by more than ten or fifteen thousand readers at the most. Small wonder that getting the truth out in situations of this sort is such a herculean task!

Desperate situations force desperate men to adopt desperate methods. Checkmated in Washington, with the President understandably avoiding any involvement in a red hot religious controversy and with church and lay leaders up in arms all over the country over the revelations of N.C.C.C. skullduggery, Council leadership adopted the old tactic of low politicians—"if you can't answer or deny your opponent's charges call him a scoundrel and a wife-beater." What started out as a brazen intimidation of a poorly informed Defense Secretary over a service publication with a very limited distribution, degenerated, thanks to the N.C.C.C.'s "highest standards of Christian ethics," into a Bowery brawl of name-calling and slimy insinuations of alleged associations with "Hate-mongers."

THE N.Y. TIMES TO THE RESCUE

Again the *N.Y. Times* obligingly served as advance mud-gunner for the National Council when it published a special feature article by John Wicklein in the March 28th issue, two weeks after Congressman Jackson had exposed its news doctoring and distortion of fact. Wicklein's article, captioned "Protestant Extremists are seeking to Muzzle Clergymen on Social Issues," took up columns of valuable news space.

After briefly quoting Council spokesman Roy G. Ross, that the N.C.C.C.'s constituent bodies "are and always have been unalterably opposed to communism" Wicklein gets down to the real business of smearing the N.C.C.C.'s

outstanding critics. Out of hundreds, if not thousands, of critics of the N.C.C.C.'s past activities only five or six are carefully selected for the "full treatment".

The psychology behind this is quite sound. It marks the selected victims as "goats" separated from the rest of the "sheep". The sheep who are not smeared or attacked thank their lucky stars for their good luck and probably drop out of the fight after they have seen what happens to the "goats." Concentrating maximum fire on a few targets is also the oldest law of military science. The Wicklein barrage confined itself to Fulton Lewis, Jr., J. Howard Pew, Major Edgar C. Bundy, Myers G. Lowman and Rev. Carl McIntire. Verne Kaub of Madison, Wis. and the Rev. Billy James Hargis were casually mentioned. The Wicklein effort was strictly an N.C.C.C. hatchet job. But at least an honest hatchet job, making no pretense whatever of being either objective or even remotely fair in its presentation!

One of the big five, selected for the smear treatment had accepted \$4,500 as an investigator for a state government commission. Others had published pamphlets or lectured for fees, evidently by *N. Y. Times* standards a most heinous and morally reprehensible practice. This from a newspaper which last year admitted to the McClellan rackets investigating committee of the U.S. Senate that it had paid \$35,000 as "tribute" or a bribe to a racketeering union in order to get parts of its paper delivered through a strike-boycott blockade (See page 18250 et seq. Investigation of Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Senate Committee on Improper Activities, Part 51, May 5-8, 1948)

Wicklein naturally made no attempt to examine or disprove any of the long list of pro-Soviet, pro-Communist, ultra-pacifist, and appeasement policies and activities which have been and are still being made against the National Council by the Church League of America, Fulton Lewis, Jr., the Circuit Riders, *Christian Beacon*, and other responsible Christian clergymen, publications, and organizations.

"If you can't answer your opponent's charges—call him a low scoundrel and wife-beater" just about cover the entire *N. Y. Times* smear job. Nor is our carefully researched and documented COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES mentioned even once by Wicklein. He also carefully refrains from mentioning this publication lest Americans learn that there are sources of information on the National Council of Churches other than the Council's own self-serving publicity releases.

Far more significant, however, than these curious omissions is the fact that the "scholarly research" of Mr. Wicklein failed utterly to turn up a single quotation of a number made by F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover deploring Communist infiltration into the churches. Unchallenged testimony by former F.B.I. undercover agent and government witness Herbert Philbrick that there were so-called "ministers of the gospel" in his own secret "pro" cell in Boston is not mentioned by Mr. Wicklein. Articles on Communist use of religious figures by the Rev. Dr. Poling are studiously blacked out by the *N. Y. Times* "expert." The damaging testimony of Joseph Kornfeder, Benjamin Gitlow, Manning Johnson, John and Martha Edmiston and other former high-ranking Communists and FBI agents on just how, when, and through whom the Communists operated in penetrating church groups in this country is likewise carefully omitted from the Wicklein hatchet job.

The Romans had a saying for this—"suppression veri—suggestio falsi". To suppress the truth is to suggest the false.

"THE TRUTH" . . . BY THE N.C.C.C.

The *N. Y. Times* smear job was followed in a day or so by the N.C.C.C.'s issuance of a 160 page mimeographed defense statement. This was later reprinted as a small 31 page pamphlet entitled ". . . the Truth, . . . about the N.C.C.C. . . . about the Revised Standard Version . . . about noisy detractors." The introduction opens:

"The greatest enemy of atheistic and materialistic communism in the world today is Christianity. The Protestant churches, indeed all religious institutions, are the strongest bulwark against communism."

In exposing Communists, secret pro-Communists, fellow travelers, and phony liberals the anti-Communist researcher and writer suffers from one terrible disability from which he can never hope to find relief or change. This is the total and humorless lack of originality in tactics practiced by these people. Just like the fleeing criminal who seeks to protect himself behind a living shield of an innocent child or person, so these completely amoral people invariably try to use some innocent third party as a shield. They never come through with anything new or original.

Those patriotic Americans, who years ago became concerned over the boondoggling, covert subversion, and costly faddism in their schools and timidly raised some question or objection, were stunned to find themselves attacked as "enemies of education". When they made some small progress years ago in Pasadena, California, and succeeded in getting a grossly incompetent school superintendent fired they were naturally shocked and outraged to learn that they were really nothing more than stooges for some allegedly sinister *anti-Semitic* individual in New York whose very name they had never heard of before!

The same vicious and hackneyed smear is presently being used by the N.C.C.C. in the pamphlet under discussion. Like the scorpion which carries its deadly sting in its tail, it takes 28 pages of this pamphlet to get in its libelous sting on the next to the last page—"Bundy has been associated in various activities with two men identified by the Anti-Defamation League as professional anti-Semites, Allen Zoll of New York and Harry A. Jung of Chicago."

The fact of the matter is that Bundy has never been associated with these two men, nor has he been connected with Anti-semitism in any manner, shape or form! This charge is an utter fabrication and smear!

OPERATION CUTTLEFISH

Dr. Carl McIntire, Dr. J. B. Matthews, and Myers Lowman of the Circuit Rider, are the other three main victims of the N.C.C.C.'s little pamphlet which might well be called "Operation Cuttlefish." None of these three eminent authorities on Communist infiltration of certain religious circles needs any defense in these columns. All of our readers, we are sure, are well informed on the great contributions these men have made to true protection of the Faith against the infiltrators and subverters of Protestantism. Indeed, the N.C.C.C.'s and *N. Y. Times* smear attacks on them are in a way the highest recognition possible for meritorious and yeoman service in the field of intelligent and effective counter-subversion.

That the best reply which the N.C.C.C. could think of in its present deservedly unhappy situation was to adopt the inky tactics of the cuttlefish is depressing but not surprising.

The entire back page of the N.C.C.C. "truth" pamphlet is given over to an interesting but not very convincing effort at "innocence by association and numbers". No attempt whatever is even made to reply to the minimum and minor charges set forth in the Air Force Manual which started the whole furor. No attempt was made by the N.C.C.C. even to try to knock down some of the minor and more vulnerable charges made against it through the years. Instead, there is a bare recapitulation of the alleged "Membership of Constituent Communions" affiliated with the Council. The various denominations are listed, the number of their churches, and claimed total membership.

The N.C.C.C. pamphlet totals up 144,231 churches and 39,256,922 church members. So without saying it, the impression is created that 39 million American making up the constituent communions of the N.C.C.C. *proves* that the council cannot possibly be wrong. Or, guilty as charged. The unfortunate fact remains that setting forth totals of membership, *having no influence or control whatever over the policies of the N.C.C.C. or even knowledge of most of its activities*, proves nothing. Statistics cannot refute or conjure out of existence the cold, hard facts of the long, unsavory record. This record of anti-anti-Communism, Soviet and Communist coddling, meddling in purely secular matters, and carrying on brazenly every aspect of the modernist and quasi-Socialist "social action" programs has been more than amply documented in this journal and numerous other unimpeachable sources.

CHARGES THE N.C.C.C. AVOIDS ANSWERING

In his opening statement at the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings on the Air Force manual, Chairman Walter said:

"Incidental to investigations conducted by the the Committee on Un-American Activities, at least a dozen persons who have been identified as members of the Communist Party have also professed to be ministers of the gospel. In addition, several undercover operatives of the FBI who have served in the Communist Party have testified under oath respecting the directives under which they and other members of the Communist Party operated with respect to penetration of church groups." (page 1288 op cit)

Why has not the N.C.C.C. answered or denied this charge by a responsible and highly respected Congressman, one of the top leaders of his party?

Chairman Walter then went on:

"Although this question is not subject to precise qualitative or quantitative analysis, it is a fact, however, supported by the record, that the Communists have duped large numbers of the clergy, as well as lay leaders of the churches, into supporting Communist fronts and causes which masquerade behind deceitful facades of humanitarianism. This is not to say that these persons are necessarily consciously supporting Communist enterprises, but the net result is, for all practical purposes, the same." (page 1288, op cit.)

Why does not the National Council answer and expose Mr. Walter's charges as false and without basis if they can do so, instead of screaming "slander and "nonsense."

PARTY MEMBERS OR FRONTERS?

In their press releases and public statements National Council spokesmen have repeatedly claimed that no one could point to a single official or staff member who was a Communist. By this they presumably meant a self-admitted, card-carrying Communist duly certified under oath by at least two Communist Party officials as being in fact a C. P. member. If so restricted and so defined they are probably right. But they did not claim, at least as far as this editor knows, that no National Council officer or staff official had any Communist *front* record!

During the questioning of Secretary Sharp the following highly interesting information was developed by Staff Director Arens of the Committee:

Mr. Arens. May I first say, Mr. Chairman, in view of the Secretary's repudiation of the information conveyed respecting the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, the chairman issued a statement to the effect that the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ had hundreds or at least over a hundred affiliations with Communist fronts and causes. Since then we have made careful, but yet incomplete checks, and it is a complete understatement. Thus far of leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist front records or records of service to Communist causes. The aggregate affiliations of the leadership instead of being in the hundreds as the chairman first indicated is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands, and we have yet to complete our check, which would certainly suggest, on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee, that the statement that there is infiltration of fellow travelers in the churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement. (page 1303 op cit) (Emphasis supplied—E. B.)

Mr. Arens then put into the record that Walter Russel Bowie had over 33 Communist front affiliations, Leroy Waterman at least 20 "verified connections thus far" and Fleming James a total of 25 — "verified thus far." Here again is a golden opportunity for the National Council to attempt to prove to all American church-goers that the Committee's facts and figures are "false and without substance in fact." Instead of answering and exposing the House Committee, the best that the Council apparently can think of to do is to denounce a few individuals as "apostles of discord" and "hate-mongers." "If you can't answer your opponent's charges just call some one else a scoundrel and a wife-beater." Or, better still, don't attack those who made the charges under oath, but smear all who would let the public know such testimony exists!

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL'S RECOMMENDED READING

The Air Force manual uproar also brought to light a very interesting pamphlet published by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the N.C.C.C. in 1957. Congressman Donald Jackson, who deserves a formal vote of thanks from every Christian church community and meeting, and a personal letter of thanks from every American

regardless of religious affiliation, on April 20th took the floor in the House of Representatives and read into the Congressional Record (page 7842-46) a long expose of the N.C.C.C. pamphlet "Negro American." Every NEWS AND VIEWS reader who does not get the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD should read this part of the RECORD at his library or send for a copy from the Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C.

Space limitations permit only a brief summary of Congressman Jackson's devastating expose of the type of books recommended in the National Council's "reading list" of some 260 titles. The Foreword stresses that these titles were selected "after elimination of many more" because they "are safe to recommend for children." They are also safe, the N.C.C.C. assures us, because they "avoid stereotypes and because they qualify as literature.

Alfred S. Kramer, Associate Executive Secretary of the N.C.C.C., who signed the Foreword, states that "we of the National Council asked the women to consider books which might benefit church people." The following well-known Communists, veteran communist fronters, or fellow travelers *did benefit* from having their books plugged in an N.C.C.C. pamphlet, which presumably had a nationwide, large distribution:

Victor Perlo
W. E. B. DuBois
Gene Weltfish
Benjamin Botkin
E. Franklin Frazier
Ruth Benedict
Eleanor Lattimore
Bucklin Moon

Herbert Aptheker
Shirley Graham
Langston Hughes
Alan Lomax
Gunnar Myrdal
Margaret Halsey
Benjamin Mays

Perlo has been identified in sworn testimony as being not only a Communist but a member of a Soviet spy ring. Called to testify before a Senate sub-committee and to deny the espionage charge, Perlo took the 5th Amendment. Aptheker is one of the chief theoreticians of the Communist Party and presently is director of the party's most important school in this country. He is also the editor of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the C.P.'s major directive issuing magazine.

W. E. DuBois has one of the longest front records ever achieved by an American. Denied a passport for many years, DuBois and his wife Shirley Graham, hurried to Russia as soon as a Supreme Court decision opened the floodgates to all Communist applicants. Violating passport regulations he then went to Red China where he defamed the United States, defended Communist Russia and Red China, and urged the peoples of Africa to rise in revolt. His wife has also been identified as a Communist Party member and she was a marshal in the Communist May Day parade of 1950.

Congressman Jackson concluded his long speech by asserting that several of the National Council's recommended books contained passages so lewd and shocking that he could not conceive "that any man who wears the cloth of any church in this country (can) read these lines without repugnance." Mr. Jackson, although needed by leftist Congresswoman Green of Oregon to name the books, refused to do so because placing their titles in the Record "would bring down on me the strongest condemnation of all right-minded persons, nor would it avail me, anything to protest that I was simply extracting passages from books approved for children by the National Council of Churches."

The California Congressman concluded:

"Communists, blasphemers, and pornographers may assist the National Council of Churches to erect a new order, but I think it would be a house which neither the board of the National Council nor many millions of American citizens would want to inhabit."

Strange business for so-called churchmen to engage in!

The compilers of the National Council's guide for smearing all individuals and groups who support the statements in the Air Force Manual give on its last page so-called "suggestions for use of materials in this compilation", which serves as a plan of strategy for attacking all the N.C.C.C.'s opponents on the national, state and city levels.

Here are their quasi-military orders to their defenders:

"While the Department of Defense has announced the withdrawal of the false, offensive and slanderous statements in the Air Force Training Manual 45-0050, those hate-fringe groups and individuals responsible for the statements will doubtless, as Dr. Ross indicated in his Foreword, continue their attempts to spread them elsewhere. Much of the material in this book will be useful in combating the further spread of this poison.

"Other materials where needed and available may be had upon request to the Office of Information, N.C.C.C. in the U.S.A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

"Suggested ways in which this material may be used include:

1. Pamphlets and other publications of the denominations for circulation among local ministers and workers for the Church
2. Sermons in the local churches
3. Local church discussion groups
4. Talks on radio and television
5. Speeches before service clubs and other groups
6. State and local church Council bulletins and other publications
7. Publication and discussion groups of state and local councils of church women
8. Editorial writings in religious or secular publications."

Here is an outstanding example of how the top echelon of command, run by a handful of totalitarian-minded individuals on Riverside Drive in New York City, is sending its commands down to all levels of National Council affiliated groups.

For years local Councils of Churches and units of United Church Women have been maintaining that they are autonomous groups and not *organically* related to the National Council of Churches. They say this especially when they are putting on their annual budget-raising cam-

paigns in the local community. *But*, these are the units through which the National Council of Churches puts out its propaganda to the church people in the grass roots.

The Church League of America has gathered, as a result of the Air Force Manual controversy, outstanding examples of how these local National Council of Churches, cooperating groups and sympathetic secular journals carry out the orders of the N.C.C.C. hierarchy to the letter.

An outstanding example is seen in the manner in which the Texas Council of Churches (Austin, Texas), the Houston Council of Churches, the Mississippi Methodist Advocate (official journal of the Methodist Church in Mississippi), Louis Cassels of United Press International, and George Cornell of the Associated Press, have picked up the anti-Semitic falsehood and have repeated it almost verbatim from the National Council's smear compilation.

The Texas Council of Churches admits in a letter of May 2, 1960, signed by its Executive Secretary, Harold Kilpatrick, that the Council distributed this smear material to churches in Texas. Mr. Kilpatrick then states, "We shall be glad to make a correction in our next mailing to the churches because we mailed out some of the material about which you complained. I have looked back over materials prepared in this office to see if we had connected your name directly with anti-Semitism but apparently did not do so. We certainly shall take you at your word that you 'abhor anti-Semitism and have fought it all of my life.' Having that statement directly from you, I would be bearing false witness if I ever circulated again anything to the contrary."

Rev. Sam E. Ashmore went even further than the National Council probably intended him to go when he stated in an editorial in the *Advocate* that one of the men whom the National Council of Churches attacked in its smear compilation made his living as a "professional anti-Semitic." Mr. Ashmore was forced to apologize and print a retraction of this statement in the April 20, 1960 *Advocate* after being advised that his slanderous and libelous article had been turned over to a major law firm in Mississippi for suit.

If the average Christian patriot were to spend his or her time bringing suits against the National Council of Churches and its obedient serfs, then he might well spend the rest of his life in the courts of the land prosecuting and collecting awards!

Only as the multitudes of sincere and honest church-going people on the local level have the truth concerning the National Council of Churches' smear strategy and tactics brought to them will a revolt of the laity, who pay the bills, take place in the United States, as it did in 17th Century England when the Pilgrims, Puritans and Methodists successfully revolted and broke away from the parent body to form brand-new protesting groups.

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News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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The Death of a Great Church

One of America's most beautiful and historic Protestant churches today stands closed and dark. Once the church of Brooklyn's fashion and society, the 110 year old Church of the Holy Trinity today represents no communion. Its parish has been declared "extinct." The spectre of this fine old Anglo-Gothic structure now dark and silent is a dramatic rebuke to the National Council of Churches of Christ contention that charges of Communist infiltration into American churches are "nonsense."

Indeed, the N.C.C.C. with a temerity long associated with left-wingers and Communists, had the gall to demand that Chairman Francis Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities apologize for even intimating that there had been the slightest discernible trace of Red infiltration in the churches. Mr. Walter promptly invited those signing the officious telegram of the N.C.C.C. to come to Washington and tell their story *under oath* to the American public by way of an open Congressional committee hearing. The paladins of the N.C.C.C. declined the privilege as might have been expected.

The long, depressing, and sordid story of what happened to a fine old church is now no longer sensationalized in the press. Victors and vanquished have gone their separate ways, each side no doubt filled with righteous indignation after the long battle was over and the Church of the Holy Trinity closed perhaps forever. NEWS AND VIEWS, however, after studying and reviewing court records, partisan booklets, and a mass of material available on the bitter controversy feels that there is a lesson and warning in the death of the Church of the Holy Trinity for every Protestant determined to guard his own church against a similar fate. This, then, is the story of how Communists killed a church.

Contrary to widespread misunderstanding, the Communists did not invade Holy Trinity in very recent years to destroy an old conservative congregation for pure malice or mere atheistic devilry. They were apparently called in as badly needed auxiliaries by a faction of liberal and radical "social gospelers" long active in the church. The Church of the Holy Trinity enjoyed a liberal reputation as far back as the '80s or within twenty-five years after its founding in 1847.

When the Rev. Algernon Crapsey of Rochester was charged with heresy because of his unorthodox views on the Virgin Birth, Brooklyn's Church of the Holy Trinity welcomed him with open arms and he later became a member of the parish. A parish member, Edward Shepherd later conducted Crapsey's legal defense.

One of the most scandalous religious books ever to appear in this country, "The Call of the Carpenter," by Bouck White, published in 1911 by Doubleday, Page & Co., which depicted Jesus as a social revolutionary, was written in the

parish house of Holy Trinity unbeknown to the rector, White, at the time, being superintendent of the church's club work.

With a long record of liberalism going back to the 19th century it was not surprising that Holy Trinity looked for another liberal rector in 1904 when the post became vacant. A millionaire Wall Street investment banker, George Foster Peabody, was on the vestry. Peabody was a fervent disciple of Henry George despite the fact that he owed all of his enormous wealth to the very Wall Street manipulations so fiercely denounced by George. The so-called "social gospel" was sweeping through liberal Protestantism and Peabody also worshipped at that false altar. He knew "just the man we want," out in Cincinnati.

The chaplain at the University of Cincinnati was a "leading exponent of the social application of the Christian Gospel." His name was John Howard Melish. At the age of thirty he had already made quite a name for himself in the Midwest. The *Cincinnati Times-Star* had denounced him as mere "muckraker." It carried cartoons showing young Melish hurling handfuls of mud at the fair name of Cincinnati.

Holy Trinity extended an invitation to the young red-haired "muckraker" to become its new rector. Melish laid down two conditions to his acceptance. One, pew rents would have to be abandoned in favor of a "free church" open to all worshippers. Two, he would have the sole right to determine policy and not simply carry out conditions laid down by the vestry. The vestry agreed to both of Melish's demands and the ground was laid for a long series of bitter and humiliating incidents which were to culminate 44 years later in his ouster and 53 years later in the extinction of Holy Trinity.

The *Brooklyn Eagle*, now itself refunct, happily welcomed the new rector as "the young Dr. Parkhurst from the Middle West." Melish's social crusading fame having apparently preceded him. A former football star and athletic coach, the new rector quickly built up one of the best church athletic teams in Greater New York. It was an era when modernist churches were branching out into every field of social activity in order to hold the younger element and to attract others to whom religion was merely a secondary matter.

So-called "higher criticism" of the Bible developed by a whole school of German philosophers and religious critics had crossed the Atlantic and was also seeping through the ranks of many Protestant clergymen. In his sermons, Dr. Melish leaned consistently to the modernist position. He set up a common radical device of the time, a Sunday evening forum where radicals, Socialists, and pacifists could hold forth in the warmth and prestige of a church basement rather than on a windy corner soapbox. Issues a bit too "hot" to handle from the pulpit at the Sunday morning

service were merely routed to the evening forum. When some of the vestrymen and parishioners began to have doubts about Dr. Melish, Wall Street Cræsus Peabody brought balm from Gilead in the form of a nice fat check for the budget and all was serene and lovely again.

Although Dr. Melish frequently denied that he was a Socialist he readily admitted his close friendship for and high admiration of many leading Socialists and radical pacifists. Among them were Rabbi Stephen Wise, John Haynes Holmes, and the "atheist Bishop McConnell." He said that he preferred to call himself a "Social Christian."

His opposition to America's entry into World War I naturally created a wave of criticism within his own parish. A friendly biography relates that a serious accident confining Dr. Melish to the hospital for several months probably saved him from being fired. By the time he came out, still partly crippled, the resentment against his unpatriotic stand had been largely dissipated by his long hospitalization.

With the end of World War the century old social and racial pattern of fashionable Brooklyn Heights, where the Church of the Holy Trinity stood, began to change or deteriorate. Business houses moved in and stately old sandstone homes of Brooklyn society were converted into rooming houses. Porto Rican and non-white elements began to crowd into the fringes of the "Heights." As older families of Holy Trinity moved to estates on Long Island the social pattern of the church also began to change.

An assistant pastor, Dr. Bradford Young, openly joined the Socialist Party and campaigned for the Board of Aldermen from a corner soapbox. Dr. Melish pretended to be embarrassed when his assistant rector was jailed overnight in Paterson, New Jersey, in connection with some non-sacerdotal strike activity. This happened to be one of the very first textile strikes in which Communists insinuated themselves and tried to take over direction. After serving with Dr. Melish for thirteen years, Dr. Young departed for New Hampshire in 1939.

Once more Holy Trinity went all the way to Cincinnati to find a new assistant rector. The young pastor of Cincinnati's Christ Church certainly had a unique claim on Holy Trinity's consideration—he had been born in the parish house of the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1910. He was William Howard Melish, the second son of Dr. John Howard Melish!

THE RISE OF WILLIAM H. MELISH

The younger Melish, a graduate of Harvard, also studied at Harry Ward's Union Theological Seminary. A true chip off the old block, the junior Melish had long been closely associated in Cincinnati with Rabbi Abraham Cronbach in various pacifist endeavors. Cronbach has one of the longest Communist front records in the country.

In order to "induce" the younger Melish to come to Holy Trinity, the vestry saw fit to offer him a most unusual contract of tenure. He would enjoy the royal right of succession to the rectorship upon the death or retirement of his father. With life tenure at a substantial annual honorarium, William Howard Melish stepped into a pastorate which would be a dream to most devoted and poor clergymen.

The elder Melish, now 65, confined himself mainly to ministering to the older parishioners while his son took over the church school, office, side activities, and welcoming "new people" to the century old parish. The "new people" turned out later to be largely of ultra-liberal if not radical persuasion. The political coloration of the parish, long a light tea rose pink, began to deepen to a dark vermilion.

During World War II Melish the younger busied himself setting up Russian War Relief chapters in Manhattan and Brooklyn because "he foresaw that the future would be largely shaped by the post-war relations between the United States and the Soviet Union." A friendly biographer states that "in his leisure hours he read the best materials available on the Soviet Union and learned to read Russian." He became a leading and highly vocal advocate of peaceful coexistence with the U.S.S.R. Indeed, he was quite proud of the fact that "the War Department asked him to speak at a number of army posts in the New York area where he addressed thousands of servicemen."

Mr. Melish believed that in order to live peacefully together both the United States and the U.S.S.R. would have to build an effective United Nations. Every form of cultural and intellectual exchange would have to be fostered between the two countries. To secure a wider public understanding and acceptance for such peaceful coexistence Mr. Melish joined with several other New Yorkers in founding an organization devoted to that objective—the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The same pro-Melish source claims that only one vestryman voiced any strong opposition, "nor did any criticism come to the ears of the rector," his father. In the findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the National Council was a Communist front, William Howard Melish is listed as an incorporator and founder. Appendix B to the Final S.A.C.B. findings published in 1955 lists William H. Melish as "having been a member of the Communist Party on the record."

In 1946 Corliss Lamont resigned as chairman of the N.C.A.S.F. and the board asked Mr. Melish to take over the chairmanship. After conferring with his father, the younger Melish accepted the chairmanship of what was then the largest and most important front set up by Communists. As luck would have it, shortly afterwards President Truman set up the first loyalty security program for government employees and asked the Attorney General of the United States to supply the government with a list of organizations which were Communist, fascist, or subversive. Needless to add, Melish's National Council of American Soviet Friendship was on the list.

Both Melishes naturally denied that they were Communists,

"but they were concerned with the meaning of communism and the reasons for its increasing spread. Remembering the long struggle between religious institutions and Darwinism, they asked if here might not be some parallel in this matter of Marxism. Here was a body of thought containing at least sufficient truth that in the course of a hundred years it was winning wider and wider acceptance until now it was motivating whole governments under which considerable sections of the Christian church must live. It was not possible to dismiss these new ideas, nor could their implications be evaded. There was the double task confronting the Christian Church of finding a strategy to maintain worthy religious institutions and clarifying intellectually the true relationship between two ideological systems of thought."

(The Melish Case—Challenge to the Church, page 20, an undated publication but printed in the union label shop #412, New York, which did considerable Communist front printing.)

"Their friend, the Arctic explorer Vilhjalmar Steffanson" had also pointed out to them a profound theological observation that there was a striking similarity between the current impact of Communism on western Christendom and the 16th century impact of Protestantism upon Roman Catholicism. (Steffanson, has a long front record and was also a board member of Melish's National Council on American-Soviet Friendship.)

In 1947 Tito's planes shot down an unarmed American plane slightly off course and briefly over Yugoslavian territory. Six Americans died needlessly. The arrest and Communist fake trial of Archbishop Stepinac by Tito's secret police also aroused widespread anger in America. To add to his difficulties Tito was also heading for serious trouble with Stalin which was to lead to an open break between the two Communist dictators a year later.

The Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States thereupon decided that it was high time to whip up some favorable publicity for the Tito regime. Six Protestant clergymen and two laymen were invited to Yugoslavia on an all-expenses-paid tour to report first hand on religious freedom under Communism. The delegation was as fine a handpicked crew of pro-Communist apologists, or simple dupes, as it would be possible to assemble in all Christendom.

Counterattack, a newly founded anti-Communist weekly newsletter, and the American Legion's "Summary of Trends and Developments," devoted several issues to exposing this cynical swindle. Nevertheless, millions of innocent Protestants were taken in by the phony religious facade presented by six well known Protestant ministers journeying to Yugoslavia to learn the truth about religion under Communism. The Rev. Emory S. Bucke, editor of *Zion's Herald*, came back to report:

"We found absolutely no evidence of any restriction by Tito upon religious freedom."

This whitewash mission anticipated by nine years a similar fraudulent enterprise pulled off by top N.C.C.C. hierarchs in 1956. William Melish not only backed up Bucke but added that he had seen "documents" which convinced him not only of Stepinac's guilt but also that other Roman Catholic priests were guilty of plotting against the state—Communist state that is. To work against Communism obviously was a crime in Melish's mind.

MELISH ON TOWN HALL OF THE AIR

As a result of this whitewash junket Melish was invited to appear on the radio Town Hall of the Air program. The subject to be discussed by a four man panel was "How to Combat Anti-American Propaganda in Europe." As Melish had been long engaged in anti-American propaganda in this country, Town Hall certainly picked the right man!

The other participants were Rep. (now Senator) Case of South Dakota, then a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; and General William "Wild Bill" Donovan of World War I and O.S.S. fame.

Unfortunately for Melish just one week before the program was to go on the air, the U.S. Attorney General issued the first of the Department of Justice's lists of Communist and subversive organizations. This put Town Hall of the Air in a pickle. It did not like the idea of publicizing the chairman of an officially cited Communist front, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. On the other hand quietly removing him and putting in a pinch hitter at such a late hour would naturally raise a storm of questions, protests, and public derision. There was also the unpleasant

possibility of costly legal action—Communists and Communist fronters have a nasty reputation for quick and costly lawsuits. To make matters worse Gen. Donovan also happened to be chairman of the board of Town Hall of the Air and some one had slipped him the bad news that he had a Communist on his panel. And, "Wild Bill" enjoyed a reputation of never pussy-footing or beating about the bush as far as Communists were concerned. His moral aversion for Commies was deep-seated and implacable.

General Donovan bluntly asked Melish four direct questions:

1. Was he a Communist?
2. Had he been a vice president of the Communist Civil Rights Congress?
3. Had he been a board member of the Communist Jefferson School?
4. And if he was not a Communist why had he accepted the chairmanship of the Communist front National Council of American Soviet Friendship?

Running true to Communist form for such situations Melish ignored the questions and wrapped himself up in a defense of peace and civil liberties which was loudly cheered and applauded by a claqué of Communists and sympathizers who packed the studio audience. The radio carried his glib and evasive replies and the claqué's loud applause to millions of listeners all over the United States.

This was too much for *Counterattack*. Its December 12, 1947 issue flatly charged that the Rev. William Howard Melish was a "traitor", "Fifth Columnist" "Quisling" and a "member of the Community Party." Melish never sued and apparently did not even demand a retraction.

A freezing atmosphere began to set in against the assistant rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, particularly among the vestrymen. A pro-Melish writer admits that "a formerly friendly attitude on the part of the vestry now changed to cold and implacable hostility." In December 1947 one of the vestrymen was designated by the others to call upon Mr. Melish and invite him quietly to resign as associate pastor. This Mr. Melish refused to do and a ten year war to get rid of him was on.

More and more members of the parish failed to attend services or transferred to other Protestant Episcopal churches. This merely served to strengthen the pro-Melish faction numerically against a dwindling opposition. The two Melishes blamed deep snow and long hard winter for the dwindling attendance. The spiritual atmosphere inside the venerable old church dropped with the thermometer outside but not for the same reason.

THE GATHERING STORM

Dr. John Melish naturally stood by his son and assistant rector—after all the boy was merely parroting ideas planted in his head since childhood by his father. Nevertheless, the younger Melish decided to bend slightly to the storm and he gave up most of his outside speaking engagements. However, like all fanatical radicals, he could not resist the temptation to take an occasional sly pot-shot at the hated "class enemy."

When the anti-Communist motion picture "The Iron Curtain" was released the Communists threw picket lines in front of theatres showing it. The film was based on the sensational espionage activities of Russia in Canada and the United States as disclosed by a defecting Soviet code clerk, Igor Gouzenko. The National Council of American-Soviet

Friendship naturally spearheaded the attacks on the film so Melish soon found himself in hot water with his vestry once more. His defense was quite simple—and typically commie:

As a minister he was dedicated to peace. "The Iron Curtain" and all other anti-Soviet films were deliberately fanning the flames of suspicion and ill will." This in turn could easily "fan the war psychology of the country." He therefore could not retreat from the issue of war and peace "without compromising the spirit of the parish."

It was just as simple as that!

Having unburdened himself of these noble thoughts he went on to add that he would not be intimidated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the U. S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. He did concede that when his term as chairman of the N.C.A.S.F. expired he might feel constrained to resign for the sake of the parish. But to salve his conscience this would have to be entirely an act of free will on his part without any coercion or pressure.

In the spring of 1948 Henry Wallace began his third party campaign for the presidency. The younger Melish was on hand as a delegate at the founding convention in Philadelphia. That summer his father delivered the invocation at a giant rally of the Progressive Party in Yankee Stadium. Informed observers estimated that at least half of the 40,000 wildly cheering Wallaceites were undoubtedly Communists. There was abundant evidence later that the whole Progressive Party idea was strictly a Communist enterprise designed to ensnare and manipulate a large bloc of liberal, labor, and radical votes. However, most Socialists, Trotskyites, and smart radicals shied away from the Wallace bandwagon. Some were even so ungracious as to yell "Commie!" at the Red parade.

THE RED DEAN OF CANTERBURY VISITS HOLY TRINITY

If there is one characteristic of which the Melishes can never be accused it is timidity or shyness. Not satisfied with their foray into partisan politics of a radical hue, the elder Melish decided to really thumb his nose at the congregation of the Church of the Holy Trinity. After some difficulty with the Immigration authorities, the notorious Red Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, came to the United States for no apparent good reason. The Communist press gave away his importance to their cause by the fervor of their welcome. Only Stalin himself would have received a wilder Communist welcome.

Dr. John Melish invited the Red Dean to preach in Holy Trinity. There was, of course, a perfectly rational explanation for this outrage. Years before when he had visited England as an exchange preacher, the elder Melish had been received by the Red Dean. *Inviting him to the pulpit of the Church of the Holy Trinity was therefore nothing more than a gracious return courtesy!*

Knowing full well that all anti-Communist parishioners would stay away, the Melish supporters resorted to an old Communist tactic of "packing the meeting" with that type of rabid radical so familiar to Madison Square Garden in the good old days. The *Daily Worker* crowed that the line of those seeking to enter Holy Trinity to hear the Red Dean "extended four deep around the block." The police had to close the doors when 1,500 Red Dean worshippers had crowded into the famous old church. *Most of them had probably never seen the inside of a church in their lives!*

This outrage appears to have been the last straw to break the long suffering patience of both congregation and

the bishop of the diocese. After a long inquiry Bishop James Pernet DeWolfe ordered the severance of the pastoral relationship of Rector John Howard Melish. Melish promptly denounced his bishop as having "violated Protestant Episcopal law" and said that he would stay on as long as the congregation wanted him. It was all "a struggle to maintain democracy and freedom of speech in the church", Melish added. It was obvious that the pro-Melish faction, tightly organized and fanatical, had a safe majority of the parish. Melish announced that 70% of the parish supported him.

The anti-Melish vestry contested this claim. They had conducted a referendum and found that 156 parish members felt that the activities of the Melishes had been detrimental to their church, 136 supported the two ministers, and 14 were neutral. The remaining 200 parishioners did not bother to reply, they were probably already on their way out to other churches.

The Melishes also boasted that they had plenty of outside support in the Protestant Episcopal church. At least four bishops were in their corner: the Right Rev. Theodore R. Ludlow, Suffragan Episcopal Bishop of Newark, N. J.; The Right Rev. William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri; the Right Rev. Donald B. Aldrich, Dean of the chapel at Princeton and formerly Bishop of Michigan; and the Right Rev. William Appleton Lawrence, Bishop of western Massachusetts. This was a startling development in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church as bishops traditionally avoided interfering in each others jurisdiction.

THE YOUNGER MELISH BRANDED A COMMUNIST

At this point the New York World-Telegram Pulitzer prize winning columnist and anti-Communist crusader, Frederick Woltman, entered the fray. The April 28, 1948, issue of that paper carried a long condensed summary of William Howard Melish's seven year pro-Communist record. According to Woltman the assistant rector of Holy Trinity had sponsored a Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges in 1941, had written appeals urging pardon for a convicted Communist perjurer, Morris U. Schappes; had contributed articles to the Communist *New Masses* and other party line publications; had congratulated the *Daily Worker* on its 20th anniversary; and had been photographed marching in a May Day parade, reversed collar and all. He had also signed a number of open letters, petitions, and protests of a strictly Communist nature invariably listing the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, behind his name, according to Woltman.

The following day the World-Telegram columnist dropped a real bombshell on the Melish controversy. Woltman disclosed that the Political Committee of the Communist Party in the winter of 1943-4 had sent Louis Budenz, then editor of the *Daily Worker* to check on the political reliability of William Howard Melish. The Communist Party was considering Melish for an important post in a front organization but first wanted to make sure that he was "reliable."

Budenz spent an hour with Melish in his rectory and came away convinced that the C. P. could place implicit faith in the young clergyman. Budenz related:

"He told me he had a great admiration for our leaders and would like to become better acquainted with each one of them. He also appreciated the fact that the party had stood up well under its great difficulties and was not vanquished by events. He said he had no doubt

that a new type of democracy was arising in Russia."

Two years later Budenz confirmed this statement under oath at a trial in Connecticut.

In January, 1949, the vestry of Holy Trinity again requested Bishop DeWolfe to terminate the rectorship of John Howard Melish. The resolution was passed nine to one. Because of the peculiar contract which William Melish had secured in 1939, only his father, the rector could discharge him. Thus in order to rid the parish of the son it was legally necessary to discharge the father. The ensuing and bitter ten year struggle was not so much to get rid of the rector, the elder Melish, who was approaching retirement age anyway, as it was to rid the church of the incubus of having a Communist party member as associate rector and his scandalous outside activities which threatened to wreck the parish.

JOHN HOWARD MELISH FORCED OUT

On March 2, 1949, Bishop DeWolfe served formal notice that the pastoral relationship between the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Rev. John Howard Melish was dissolved as of April 4th, 1949. This would also terminate the ten year assistant rectorship of William Howard Melish. The elder Melish would receive his full salary as a pension for the rest of his life.

With an alacrity and zeal usually associated with Communists, an *ad hoc* "Committee to Retain the Rector" sprang to arms almost overnight. Defying the vestry, this committee called a meeting which voted 261 to 27 to oust the nine vestrymen. The vestry perforce had no choice but to resort to the courts to set aside an entirely illegal maneuver to seize control of the church. The committee's zeal to protect the Melishes becomes a bit easier to understand when it is recalled that the parish had a net investment value of some \$400,000, a considerable part of which was in liquid assets.

At this point it seems appropriate to comment briefly on the role of the powerful *N. Y. Times* in what was purely an inner church controversy. While the *Brooklyn Eagle* and other metropolitan papers played the story as straight news, the *N. Y. Times* could not hide its pro-Melish sympathy, editorially and in news slanting, throughout the long controversy. The Melishes and their supporters never seemed to have much trouble getting their side of the imbroglio into the *Times* including long direct quotations. The *Daily Worker*, needless to say, also was in the Melish corner from the very beginning and the left-wing *National Guardian* was more than liberal with space coverage favoring the Melishes.

When April 4th arrived, Dr. Melish simply ignored the ouster order of Bishop DeWolfe and carried on as if nothing had happened. A week later, on Palm Sunday, his sermon consisted largely of a denunciation of the North Atlantic Treaty alliance. Bishop DeWolfe perforce had to appeal to the courts to carry out a purely ecclesiastical order. There followed ten years of endless litigation through the courts—state and Federal—which would be tedious and extremely involved even to summarize in briefest form.

As fast as one court or judge handed down what appeared might be a final decision, appeals were immediately filed in other or higher courts. The final legal costs must have run into six figures. The Melish case was aired before the New York State Supreme Court no less than six times and before the Appellate Division twice. It reached the U. S. Supreme Court in February, 1951, and that court surprisingly enough refused to grant a writ of certiorari.

When the 56th Triennial General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church met in San Francisco in 1949,

it ducked the Melish case. The House of Deputies simply refused to consider a proposed change in canon law which would provide for special parish meetings to vote on the retention of a rector who had been dismissed by his bishop. The younger Melish who attended the convention happily noted that the House of Bishops had supported him, at least by implication when it passed a resolution urging the United States to make every effort at a rapprochement with Soviet Russia—just what he and his father had been advocating for years!

THE VIRUS SPREADS

By 1950 no less than eight bishops and 1123 Protestant Episcopal clergymen had rallied to the defense of the Melishes, or at least so their supporters claimed. If the figure of 1123 is correct, then it is obvious that most of them could not be Communists going to the defense of a comrade in trouble. Most of them were probably not even pro-Communist sympathizers or dupes. Their support of an identified Communist, with a long record of pro-Communist activities offensive to his parish and church, can only be explained by the fact that Communists, at least in this country, have been amazingly successful with a tactic known as "broadening the base" of any important issue.

"Broadening the base" means to arouse and mobilize literally thousands of non-Communists and sometime even anti-Communists to fight for an issue which is represented to be a defense of basic civil liberties or traditional American values when actually it is nothing more than a defense case of a lone Communist or member of a minority group. No other sect or group, religious, political, or radical in the history of this country has ever been able to exert a greater leverage and to move larger masses of innocent and well-meaning people into widespread and yet well coordinated action behind some cause of vital interest at the moment to the Communists.

This extraordinarily successful leverage tactic of the Communists still baffles experts and wins their grudging admiration. It is a testimonial to the marvelous organizing efficiency of that special Communist apparatus set up to arouse and mobilize large segments of the non-Communist population in behalf of party enterprises. A nationwide network of highly placed people, able to influence public opinion, can be mobilized in a matter of hours apparently by a few telephone calls in an endless chain system of amplification in behalf of some important Communist cause.

This, is yet little understood, Communist manipulatory power gives the lie to that common fallacy that the Communist Party's strength and potential for mischief can be accurately measured by its membership. As well limit a man's lifting power to that weight which he can pick off the ground with his arms and back. What of the crane operator who at the touch of a lever picks up a 25 ton locomotive and deftly places it in the hold of a ship? Communists are not muscle-bound strongmen who use their own physical strength to achieve a purpose. They are power manipulators handling levers and machinery which enormously amplify their own limited efforts and capacities.

Three years after his official ouster, Dr. Melish delivered what he called his "last sermon." The sermon lauded Moses as a "revolutionary leader" and stressed that all human progress had been sparked by the "revolutionary spirit of man." Because of failing health Dr. Melish spoke from a wheelchair. In the meantime his son, whose own pastorate had been terminated with that of his father, blithely continued to fill the vacant pulpit as "acting rector." Under canon law Bishop DeWolfe, who had removed the elder

Melish from the rectorship, was unable to remove the son because he had never been legally assigned to the post.

In 1954 the Subversive Activities Control Board held long hearings on a government petition that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship be declared a Communist front. William Melish appeared as a witness in behalf of the N.C.A.S.F. He admitted some former Communist front activities, denied others, or simply could not recall whether or not he had lent his name or support to still others.

Melish reversed previous testimony and now admitted, when confronted with proof, that he had also been a vice president of the Civil Rights Congress. The C.R.C. had replaced the malodorous International Labor Defense as the chief legal bulwark of the Communist conspiracy and its numerous fronts. He also admitted that he had permitted Neighborhood Films to use the office of Holy Trinity church as its address. Earl Robinson, an identified Communist, was the head of Neighborhood Films. Melish blandly replied that he did not know whether Robinson was a Communist or not. He was also of the belief that it was entirely possible for a "good Christian to be a Communist under certain qualified circumstances." He admitted he had marched in two Communist May Day parades.

The S.A.C.B. report beginning on page 20 is quite enlightening as to the Rev. Melish's credibility as a witness *under oath*:

"The witness Budenz testified that at a Party Politburo meeting in late 1944 or early 1945, a high Party official told him that William Melish was a member of the Party and was being considered by the Party for chairman of the National Council but they wanted Budenz to visit Melish for the purpose of determining his integrity as a Communist; that he (Budenz) subsequently visited Melish and after asking Melish to write an article for the Daily Worker, to which Melish agreed, he told Melish that he was aware that Melish was a member of the Communist Party and that their discussion would be on that level. Budenz also testified that Melish stated at the time that he was a member of the Communist Party, that he had the highest respect for the Party and its leadership, and, that he understood fully the obligations which rested upon a member of the vanguard of the proletariat. Further, Budenz testified that he reported back to the Party official on his visit with Melish and was told the report was satisfactory.

"Melish, upon being called as a witness for respondent, admitted that he had a visit with Budenz and placed the time as May 1944. Melish testified that he expressed to Budenz that he (Melish) was interested in a number of the community activities which the Communist Party had been supporting; that he did not tell Budenz he understood the importance of Communist Party discipline nor have any discussion with Budenz on the subject; that he did not tell Budenz that he understood fully the obligations which rested upon a member of the vanguard of the proletariat. Melish further testified that he is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party.

"The Melish assertion that he never has been a member of the Communist Party is not credible when viewed in the light of his entire testimony. To illustrate, in addition to Budenz' testimony, it is shown that for several years, terminating in January, 1948, Melish was on the Board of the Jefferson School of Social Science and a member of the committee that dealt primarily with its curriculum. Other evidence shows that the Jefferson School devotes its activities to teaching Marxism-Leninism in its teaching. The Director of Curriculum, when Clontz (another witness) attended the School, was a Communist Party functionary charged with the duty,

among others, of insuring that the School adhered to Communist Party positions.

"Melish wrote articles for the Daily Worker, official organ of the Party, and knew that Budenz, the managing editor, was a Communist. On several occasions he went to the office of the Daily Worker in the Communist Party headquarters building to deliver press releases. According to the issue of the Daily Worker for March 25, 1945, Melish was on a committee to obtain financial aid for the paper. Melish testified under questioning about the Daily Worker that he regarded it as only another newspaper and that he knew practically nothing about it. In response to the question whether he knew as a fact that the Daily Worker is the official news organ of the Communist Party, Melish stated; "That is hearsay, I don't know that, sir, of my own knowledge." (Tr. 3165) On being asked whether he has any knowledge that the Party is connected with the paper, Melish stated; "I did not know at that time, no, sir." (Tr. 3190) The Melish claim of no knowledge concerning the Daily Worker is not credible.

"When asked on cross-examination whether he was ever a member of an organization known as the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders, Melish stated he did not remember and, further, that he had no recollection of being a member of the Resident Executive Committee of that organization. He also said he did not know whether it was an organization set up to defend twelve Communist leaders on trial in Manhattan. Later during his cross examination, Melish was shown a list of names on the back of which included Melish as a member. Melish then said his recollection was refreshed and he was a member of the committee; that he was aware at the time he became a member that the twelve defendants were high-ranking officers of the Communist Party who had been indicted for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

"The foregoing illustrates a considerable number of instances during the cross-examination of Melish where he first claimed not to have specific recollection and made such statements as; "If you will confront me with some evidence, I will be glad to attest to it." (Tr. 3463) The recurrence of this manner of testifying left the undersigned with misgivings on the reliability of original denials. Further, there are other instances on record showing that Melish has cooperated knowingly with no compunction in affairs with Communists. This, of course does not establish Party membership but is another consideration consistent with the conclusion, now drawn, that his entire tenure with respondent in no way mitigates a finding of domination of respondent by the Communist Party.

"The testimony of Budenz showing Melish to be a member of the Communist Party in 1944 is credited. It is concluded that Melish, during this period of his tenure with respondent was a member of the Communist Party. The testimony of Melish due to the above findings and his manner of testifying, is not credited in the area pertaining to his connection with Communist Party Activities."

By 1956 less than seventy-five parishioners remained out of some 550 who belonged in 1948. Of this handful it was estimated that fifty were anti-Melish. Several hundred newcomers had joined the parish and a few hundred more could be depended on to pack pro-Melish meetings if the call went out. Melish lawyers refused to let newsmen see the church list. Nevertheless the names of a few did leak out. Among them Shirley Graham, wife of W. E. B. DuBois, veteran Communist and all-time heavyweight joiner of C.P. fronts. Also identified Communist Milton Kaufman, Waldo Salt—5th Amendment Hollywood Communist,—and several others.

Older members, who took communion, noted that very few of these newcomers ever attended communion but generally packed in during the "coffee break" between communion and 11 A.M. services. Parish meetings became typical Communist brawls so familiar to labor union meetings into which Commies infiltrated in the 30's. All the characteristic tactics associated with a Communist faction from long dragged-out meetings to discourage the opposition to slippery parliamentary trickery were worked on the bewildered and frightened conservative members. Generally these conservative and old parish members would walk out in disgust never to return which was just what the Communists wanted in the first place. One meeting, for example, elected a new pro-Melish vestry by the astounding vote of 200 to 0. Not even Stalin or Hitler, in their palmy days with secret police at every ballot box, were able to roll up such a smashing victory.

A priest sent by the Bishop to replace the younger Melish was knocked down by a Melish goon. Vestry doors were jimmied and locks changed so that Melish could enter the pulpit ahead of the replacement priest. Police squad cars and plain clothesmen became a familiar sight in front of Holy Trinity. Curiosity seekers from near and far came to gape at the "church taken over by Commies". Heartsick older parishioners transferred to other churches. This served to leave an ever-dwindling group of loyal Christians to face a rapidly growing Communist dominated faction.

Affairs touched an all time low in Episcopal Church history on January 15, 1956, when Holy Trinity worshippers were treated to the spectacle of two priests shouting each other down at the altar. News pictures the following day showed William Howard Melish leading in prayer at the altar while the Rev. Robert Thomas appointed by the bishop to the rectorship read another prayer from the pulpit.

The Rev. Thomas began to read Psalm 118 and Melish countered by asking for the responses to Psalm 28. Dr. Thomas thereupon turned to Melish and said, "Mr. Melish, you are out of order." This was probably quite unintentionally the understatement of the year—Melish had been very much "out of order" for at least fifteen years or since the time when he had secretly joined the atheistic Communist Party. Dr. Thomas left the service followed by some fifty older and loyal parishioners. The controversy went back to the courts once more.

In February Bishop DeWolfe named the Rev. Dr. Herman Sidener as rector of Holy Trinity. The post had been vacant for nearly seven years. Several other Episcopal priests who had been offered the rectorship declined with thanks. Flanked by all the high churchmen of the diocese, Bishop DeWolfe conducted the solemn service of institution of Dr. Sidener. He apparently reckoned without the Communist infinite capacity for sheer audacity and contumacy. He was rudely interrupted in the middle of the service by a pro-Melish vestryman who challenged the institution as "illegal."

He was immediately followed by the notorious Hubert T. Delaney, a former municipal judge whose long front record *News & Views* has already summarized in the Public Affairs Pamphlet report appearing in the March 1961 issue. By April the Melish faction was back in full jubilant control of the Church of the Holy Trinity. Another court decision had ruled in their favor. The Melishites immediately called a parish meeting and elected an entirely new vestry. The new vestry promptly installed William Howard Melish as the "legal" rector of the church.

The *Daily Worker* was overjoyed and gave more space to the "victory" than it did to any other class struggle news.

The *National Guardian* and other radical newsheets joined the chorus of jubilation. The World Peace Council in Vienna (Communist) awarded Melish a gold medal and \$14,000 cash as an "International Peace Prize." Melish affected to be "surprised and humbled." One anti-Communist commentator noted that it was supremely ironical that an instigator of endless dissension and hatred in his own church should be rewarded with an "International Peace Prize." Another, one commented that he had never heard of an anti-Communist ever receiving as much as a \$100 prize for his efforts from either a wealthy individual or a conservative foundation with millions at its disposal.

COMMUNIST SALT INTO THE WOUNDS

Later that year when the Hungarians rose in their tragic but epic fight for freedom, Bishop DeWolfe and the Christians of his parish were subjected to additional galling barbs from Melish and his supporters. Ever since its founding the National Council of American Soviet Friendship had met in an annual meeting early in November to hail the Bolshevik revolution of Nov. 7, 1917. The 1956 meeting convened just as Soviet tanks and Mongolian machine-guns were drowning the Hungarian uprising in a sea of blood.

Melish addressed the quisling meeting in a straddling, equivocal speech which obviously stuck in his throat. He naturally could not avoid Hungary on whose tragic fate the interest and concern of the whole world was concentrated. Melish told the N.C.A.S.F.: "Multitudes of men and women had greeted the birth and watched the rise of the Soviet Union as the embodiment of such a rational and ethical concept of society." It was a great pity that such a genuine socialist society was now "sadly compromised." He deprecated the "open resort to armed coercion in Hungary" but he firmly rejected any apology whatsoever "for our years of working for American-Soviet friendship."

While the whole world was outraged over what was going on in Hungary, while thousands of Communists all over the world tore up their party cards, while students of all political shades demonstrated in front of Soviet embassies from Paris to Buenos Aires, and while Hungarian Communists themselves largely fought on the side of the freedom fighters in one of the most heroic struggles for human freedom in modern times, the "Rev." Melish "deprecated" what he euphemistically called "coercion." He urged his quisling audience "to take the long view and to continue to work for world peace"—presumably meaning world communism.

Bishop DeWolfe expressed "burning indignation" not so much over Melish's hypocrisy and what he said as over the fact that he had the consummate bad taste and audacity to appear at such a quisling gathering when Christians were being massacred in Hungary by the very Communists whom Melish supported and defended. Bishop DeWolfe added:

"This one supply priest has brought scandal and disgrace to this diocese and serious unrest among Christian people everywhere."

It should be noted in passing that the Rev. Richard Morford, a former Presbyterian pastor, and the notorious Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary had also attended the N.C.A.S.F. meeting which Bishop DeWolfe aptly pointed out had been called "to celebrate the bloody founding, the bloody past, and the bloody present of the godless Soviet Union."

Melish, with typical Communists crust, promptly demanded that Bishop DeWolfe retract what he had said. The *Daily Worker*, always pinched for space, gave over a whole page to Melish's castigation of his bishop.

On June 24, 1956, the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court by a vote of 4 to 1 held that William Howard Melish had no legal right to the rectorship of Holy Trinity. Melish asked for a stay and filed notice of appeal. The N.Y. State Court of Appeals refused to stay the ouster. On July 8 Dr. Sidener re-assumed the rectorship after having been more or less barred from the church for sixteen months by militant Melishites.

The services themselves were without serious incident except for a note handed to Dr. Sidener by a pro-Melish vestryman stating he was not wanted in the church and to "go away in Christian humility." Later Dr. Sidener joined the congregation in the gymnasium for the customary coffee and lemonade "break." A lady, asked for his address, he obligingly jotted on a piece of paper but before he could hand it to her a vigilant Melishite "suspecting treachery" snatched it from the astonished minister's hand. This led to words and a scuffle in which the rector was knocked to the floor.

This apparently exhausted the patience and forbearance of Bishop DeWolfe. At the July 21 services Dr. Sidener read an order from Bishop DeWolfe closing down the stately 110 year old church "until further notice." In his farewell sermon Dr. Sidener preached on Christian humility, compassion, and loyalty to vindicated authority." He also observed that it was impossible to make a good omelette out of rotten eggs. Mr. and Mrs. Melish sat in a front row of the congregation. Twelve detectives mingled in the congregation or stood about outdoors in event of any further violence. Church authorities in New York expressed the belief that this was the first time in history that a church in that city had been closed because of factional fighting.

Faithful to the Melishes to the bitter end, the *N.Y. Times* carried the item sympathetically to the Melish side. It delicately referred to the "alleged pro-Communist activities of William Howard Melish" as if they really had amounted to nothing. The *Daily Worker*, never particularly noted for its church news coverage, gave most of its front page to the story.

Closing of the church meant little to the pro-Melish faction, they continued to use the other buildings for their social functions and their customary "coffee break" between Communion and 11 A.M. services even when there were no longer any services. Five months after the formal closing of the church, the Melishites held a "bazaar" to raise funds for some special and undisclosed purpose.

On December 5, 1957, the New York Court of Appeals at Albany upheld the ouster of William H. Melish. All seven judges concurred in the finding of a lower court that Dr. Herman S. Sidener had been duly and legally chosen by a quorum of the vestry of Holy Trinity in 1956.

In May, 1958, Canon Charles MacLean of the Long Island Diocese announced that Dr. Edward Saunders, Archdeacon of Brooklyn and Rev. H. K. Cowan would hold services in the re-opened church. He promptly received a letter over the signature of Senior Warden Cameron Beadle, a Melish supporter stating:

"We consider you as an announced trespasser and we will resist your trespass with all means at our disposal."

Bishop DeWolfe called the letter "fantastic" but nevertheless called off the services because he did not want to "turn the church, the house of God, into a place of resistance and battle."

The next move was to secure a court order evicting the Melishes from the rectory. This led to another prolonged battle which ended by a three to two Appellate Court decision upholding the right of the elder Melish to continue to live in the rectory for the rest of his life as part of retirement agreement signed years before. The younger Melish, however, did not enjoy any similar right even as a "guest" as he had contended. He moved out just before the sheriff was empowered to evict him and his family.

Even the departure of the younger Melish did not cool off the militancy of the pro-Melish faction. Dr. Sidener's assistant rector, a Rev. Cowan, came to take physical possession of the church and its buildings. He found chains on all the doors and when he tried to have them hack-sawed through he was quickly beset by an angry pack of battling Melishites. The police intervened and both sides continued the argument at the police station.

The next day Dr. Cowan returned with a Supreme Court order turning the church and all of its property over to Dr. Sidener. A police captain accompanied him. They were denied entry through a barred door by one Alexander Munsell who ridiculed the court order as being **"no good because it ain't signed by the proper judge."** The police captain suggested that Dr. Cowan break down the door but the young Episcopalian priest turned down the suggestion that force and violence be used to gain legal entry to the church.

Munsell claimed to be the treasurer of a Melish Defense fund. Two years before he had appeared before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee where he invoked the Fifth Amendment as to C.P. membership. He refused to deny or affirm that he was the same Alexander Munsell who had been a Communist candidate for the Baltimore City Council in 1939.

Precisely at 9 A.M. June 10, 1959, the Rev. Herman Sidener arrived at the Church of the Holy Trinity. He was accompanied by the Archdeacon of the Diocese and a squad of ten policemen. Armed with a court order they took possession of the church ending years of bitterest controversy and unheard of violence and chicanery in a church. A locksmith once more changed all the locks and the church was "closed for the time being" on the order of Bishop DeWolfe.

On December 28 that same year the Melish faction suffered the bitterest blow of all, a court decision handed over possession of some \$400,000 of the church in cash and securities to Rector Sidener, as belonging to the diocese and not to the rump remnants of a congregation long scattered and gone.

The younger Melish was last reported as working for the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans, a Communist front according to the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee.

The Church League of America has gone to considerable trouble and expense to gather together the tragic story of the Communist murder of a fine old church. The dark and silent edifice in Brooklyn should stand as a stern warning to all true Christians to guard their own churches against a like fate.

We need to heed the warning of the Holy Scriptures which tell us:

"Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

(St. Matthew 7:15)

Special Report

THE ROY BOY

PUBLISHED BY CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA—MAY 1961—WHEATON, ILLINOIS

The Church League of America has received numerous inquiries as to who Ralph Lord Roy is. Mr. Roy is one of the defenders of the ecumenical movement and Modernist leaders of the National Council of Churches who have been caught in the web of subversion within the United States.

His most recent book, *Communism and the Churches*, is being used by the radical theologians he defends to pooh-pooh the hundreds of pages of sworn testimony, given before the committees of the United States Congress by expert witnesses who have seen Communist penetration of churches in action.

This book is adequately exposed by the famous scholar, and former research director of two government investigative committees, Dr. J. B. Matthews, in a Special Edition of *NEWS & VIEWS*, Vol. 24, No. 6 dated May, 1961, and published by the Church League of America.

This white-wash of Communist activity within churches by Mr. Roy was financed by the tax-exempt foundation known as The Fund for the Republic.

In order that Christian people throughout the United States might know the true background concerning Mr. Roy and his tactics, the Church League of America herewith publishes the chapter from the Best Seller, *Collectivism in the Churches*, which is now in its fifth edition. Not one line of the following information on Mr. Roy has ever been refuted:

"APOSTLE OF DISCORD"

Chapter 18

From *Collectivism in the Churches*

Men hailed as leading theological scholars of today are the authors of totally anti-Christian books. One example is a young radical who calls himself a Methodist, gives his home address as the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and has his books published by a Unitarian publishing house in Boston. He has become the darling of The National Council of Churches. He has attacked leading defenders of the Christian faith throughout the United States who would not go along with the radicals in the ecumenical movement. His name is Ralph Lord Roy. His book, *Apostles of Discord*,⁴ has been quoted and requoted by National Council leaders against those who point out from the official records of the Councils themselves how they have departed from the Christian faith. Roy has defended Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and has attacked the committees of Congress that have investigated Bishop Oxnam and others in the religious world who have aided the cause of communism in the United States.

Ralph Lord Roy is a fervid ecumenical promoter and has become a major spokesman for the apostles of ecumenism and modernism. Because the most fashionable "interfaith" leaders wish to admit adherents of Judaism into virtual communion with the Christian denominations, they are determined to alter the integrity of the New Testament to make this possible. Roy is ready to oblige. Using "liberal

scholars" for his authorities, he attacks the New Testament Scriptures for being "anti-Semitic":

Many liberal scholars, however, express the concern that the New Testament, as the creation of fallible men, was influenced strongly by anti-semitic sentiments current in the first century of the Christian era. The Gospel of John is especially full of hatred for the Jews. The worst text is John 8:44, "Ye are of your father the devil." One commentator insists, "It is simply inconceivable that Jesus of Nazareth ever said these words." . . .

Some scholars have urged the churches to take forceful action against these corrupted passages. Dr. Frederick C. Grant, New Testament professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, laments: "The shame of the church is that it has permitted anti-Semitism to survive within its own ranks. The causes, like the origins, of this disgraceful and dysgenic social attitude certainly lie outside the New Testament and are shared by Jews and non-Jews; but that the Christian sacred Scriptures got infected with the virus, that the poison survives there to this day, that the Church has hitherto done very little to counteract the infection—all this is inexcusable."

Dr. Grant⁶ goes on to say that Christians should stem the tide of anti-Semitism by acknowledging the "seriousness of the situation within the New Testament itself." He says that material for use in religious education, sermons, and public worship should be carefully chosen and that these "anti-Semitic" passages should be eliminated from this material. These passages in the New Testament, he says, are "misrepresentations of the Jewish religion."

"Liberal scholars," according to Roy, say that the New Testament is the creation of "fallible men." This has never been the view of historic Christianity. The great scholars of both Protestantism and Catholicism for over two thousand years have acknowledged the Old and New Testament Scriptures to be the work of the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Trinity, who guided the pens of the authors of these books which form the Bible. The "liberal" scholars, in their left egotism, would have the world believe that God Himself has left organized Christianity in the dark for twenty centuries in regard to the veracity of the Scriptures—and that He finally brought the world out into the light when the liberal scholars suddenly arose on the scene in the twentieth century. *This is the spirit of communism itself—the spirit which tries to destroy established truths, to undermine faith in great religious doctrines, to brainwash people into thinking that things that were once called true are no longer true, and to plant the seeds of rebellion or revolt against all duly constituted authority, whether it be in the secular world, in the field of governmental authority, or in the religious world, with respect to the authority of the Scriptures and of Christ Himself.*

Roy's book was endorsed by such well-known left-wing adherents as Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; his own Professor

John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; the executive editor of the left-wing *Christian Century*, Harold E. Fey; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, and the notorious enemy of Christianity, the late Leon M. Birkhead.

Mr. Birkhead for years ran a publishing house in Kansas City with Haldeman-Julius, issuing atheistic and anti-Catholic literature. He became an apostate from the Methodist Church and was known as an agnostic, an atheist, a defamer of Christian ministers, and as one who advocated destruction of the theological seminaries. Mr. Birkhead later came to New York City and took over the left-wing Friends of Democracy, which contains hate files on Americans in all walks of life.

In the December 1953 issue of a magazine entitled *Exposé*, L. M. Birkhead, as president of the Friends of Democracy, said (emphasis added):

During recent years the Research Department of Friends of Democracy under my direction has helped to produce books which have made a tremendous dent on the thinking of America. The first of these was *Undercover* by John Roy Carlson, followed by his book *The Plotters*. These books sold almost a million copies and have been widely quoted and imitated. Add to the list Henry Hoke's *Black Mail* and *It's a Secret* and E. A. Pillar's *Time Bomb*—all of them best sellers. And now we have the current best seller, *Apostles of Discord* by Ralph Lord Roy. All of the aforementioned books were either written in the Friends of Democracy research department or by members of the FOD staff itself.

George Washington Robnett of Evanston, Illinois, then the executive secretary of the Church League of America, brought suit for libel against "John Roy Carlson," who had fifteen known aliases and whose real name was Avedis Boghos Derounian. The jury, in the Federal Court in Chicago where he was tried, sustained the charge of libel. Judge John P. Barnes, in rendering his decision, declared that "Carlson's" book, *Undercover*, "was written by a wholly irresponsible person who would write anything for a dollar. . . . I wouldn't believe this author if he was under oath."

Mr. Roy's sources of information, listed in the front of his book *Apostles of Discord*, are exactly the same as those listed by Mr. "Carlson"!

Now, Roy, when he is attacked, can point to a name on the jacket of his book and say, "Well, my book has been endorsed by Herbert A. Philbrick." Mr. Philbrick, a young churchman and an informer for the F.B.I. for nine years within the Communist Party of Massachusetts, has been asked why he permitted his name to be used on the jacket of a book of this character, which had been endorsed by four persons with Communist-front records who were leading radicals in the field of religion.

The author of the present book was one of those who asked, and this is Mr. Philbrick's reply (emphasis added):

White Plains, N.Y.
June 10, 1954.

Mr. Edgar C. Bundy
1407 Hill Ave.
Wheaton, Ill.

Dear Mr. Bundy:

Because of the fact that I have been out of town a great deal during the past few months on lecture tours, I hope you will forgive this tardy answer to your letter of March twenty-fifth.

In reply to your question, my "endorsement" of *Apostles of Discord* does not constitute affirmation or agree-

ment in views between myself and the author, Ralph Lord Roy. I do, however, think that the book presents, to most people for the first time, a picture of fundamental differences and disagreements within the Protestant Church which need to be examined. I do think Mr. Roy is unfair in his inclusion of some names, and his lumping together such names as Adolf Hitler and Gerald K. Winrod with those of Daniel A. Poling and Major General William J. Donovan. Also I decry the mention of the Freedom Foundation with "hate sects" and "hate mongers." I believe that such guilt by association is most unfair.

However, I would still recommend the reading of the book because of the belief expressed in the *Apostles of Discord*. I believe that the average American citizen has a great deal more common sense than a lot of us give him credit for, and I feel they will therefore be able to read Roy's book and draw their own conclusions.

Incidentally, Mr. Roy states on the bottom of p. 241 that you had described John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, as a "Presbyterian Red." Since the book was not published until mid-1953, and therefore your information pre-dates July of 1953, I am somewhat curious as to what information you had concerning Mr. Mackay. I was certainly shocked to read the Presbyterian Letter issued last October 1953, over the signature of Dr. Mackay, and to note that it supported not only the complete foreign policy program of the Soviet Union, but also contained all of the fundamental premises of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism concerning class struggle, imperialism, force and violence, and revolution.

Thank you for your letter and I hope I have been able to answer your questions satisfactorily.

Sincerely yours,

[signed] Herbert A. Philbrick

Ralph Lord Roy is one of the most articulate spokesmen for The National Council of Churches and its leaders. Often, when Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and other leaders of the Council wish to attack genuine ministers of the Gospel who have been exposing them effectively, they cite Ralph Lord Roy and his *Apostles of Discord* as their authority.

The methods by which Ralph Lord Roy obtained material for his writings are strikingly similar to those by which "John Roy Carlson" obtained his. "Carlson," operating under one or another of his aliases, gained access to offices and homes on some plausible pretext and gathered material from his unsuspecting victims or their associates. Ralph Lord Roy, also on some plausible pretext, wormed his way into the confidence of clergymen and their families and obtained the information he desired. One instance of his activities is related by Dr. Carl McIntire in his book *Servants of Apostasy*:

It was the usual hot, humid Labor Day weekend. There arrived early Sunday morning, September 2, 1951, at Collingswood, a young man, Ralph L. Roy, fair complexioned, with a bright eye and a ready tongue. He said that he was a student at Columbia University, working on his master's degree, and that he wanted to write a story about the movement of which the Collingswood church and its pastor were a part. He had contacted the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's* and had received approval from them, he explained, provided his article was satisfactory. He represented himself as being sympathetic. He was introduced to various officials and welcomed at the church as visitors are always welcomed. He said that his grandmother was an old-fashioned Methodist in Vermont and that, though he preached in his own church, he really

was not a licensed Methodist preacher. But his story varied some.

He expressed surprise at what he saw in Collingswood, at the work which was being done in the church and Sunday school. He returned again on Sunday evening. Afterwards he expressed a desire to visit Harvey Cedars, the Bible Presbyterian Conference at the seashore, for the Labor Day meeting where I was to speak. I arranged to take him to the seashore the next day with my family in our car. On the way, we conversed at length. He reported that he had visited the New York headquarters of The National Council of Churches, and they did not want to say very much to him about us. He had been to the World Council's headquarters and they had given him all the material they had about the International and American Councils of Christian Churches. He said they had referred him to the Friends of Democracy of which the late L. M. Birkhead was the director. He had interviewed Birkhead and others at length, he said, about our movement.

It was clear in talking with him that he did not believe in Jesus Christ as his personal Savior as the Scriptures teach it. On the return trip we spent most of the time explaining to him the way of salvation and endeavoring to lead him to accept Christ as his personal Savior. He seemed to know all the answers. He was steeped in the whole higher critical theory and was interested in building a "Kingdom of God" on this earth. We explained to him repeatedly the way of eternal life. He told us it was a wonderful thing to believe, if one could believe it, but that he could not conceive of a God making such a free gift to man.

Later, he wrote us a letter dated September 12, 1951, from Swanton, Vermont, saying:

"Please accept my manifold thanks for your hospitality and assistance in clarifying many of the issues that were in my mind. I am still not perfectly clear on several points, but the conversations with you enabled me to look at your endeavors with greater objectivity than before.

"God bless you, your wonderful wife and family, and may He give you new visions of His Truth and His Beauty."

After his departure on Monday, in a lengthy memorandum which I prepared, I wrote, "It looked to me as though here was a young man who either has been assigned or has set out on his own to write one of these colorful smear-type stories."

His story came repeatedly and in various places. "Ministry of Schism" was the title of an article on the American Council of Christian Churches appearing in *The Pastor*, October 1952, reprints of which were immediately distributed "as a service of the Commission on Public Relations and Methodist Information." It was announced that he was a graduate student at Union Theological Seminary, New York. The *Christian Century* carried several articles by him, attacking [myself], The American and the International Councils of Christian Churches, and the *Christian Beacon*.

"*Ministry of Disruption*" was the title of a 20-page mimeographed document "for private circulation" issued by the "Division of Literature and Publications, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y." The subtitle read, "A brief study of the activities of Carl McIntire and the American Council of Christian Churches,"

with the information that "this study has been compiled by Ralph L. Roy." This document was sent to mission stations throughout the world and turned up in various conferences where missionaries gathered to talk.

These articles were, in fact, sections or rewrites of material in the book which was to appear in 1953 entitled *Apostles of Discord*. "Protestant Fringe Groups Promoting Hate and Disruption" was the subtitle of the book with the following commendation on the front jacket: "BISHOP OXNAM: 'An extraordinarily valuable piece of work.' REINHOLD NIEBHUR: 'Ralph Roy has performed an important task in his careful analysis.' " Here it was learned that Roy had been working under the consultation and guidance of John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, the author of the World Council's pronouncement on "The Church and the Disorder of Society," adopted in Amsterdam in 1948, which the former editor of the *Christian Century*, Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison said was "overloaded with Communist sympathy."

Roy also made an ingratiating approach to Dr. Harlee Bordeaux, office secretary of the American Council of Christian Churches, at 15 Park Row, New York. Dr. Bordeaux received him cordially after Roy had represented himself as a Columbia University student engaged in gathering material for a thesis on the struggle between the orthodox and liberal wings of Christianity. Subsequently, Roy attacked the American Council.

Similarly, he launched assaults on Mr. Verne Kaub, retired public-relations director of the Wisconsin Power and Light Company and now chairman of the American Council of Christian Laymen in Madison, Wisconsin. These attacks, following a friendly letter to Mr. Kaub, appeared in the form of articles written for the *Christian Century*, *The Pastor*, and *The New Republic*. Ultimately, the assaults on Mr. Kaub and on many others appeared in his book, *Apostles of Discord*.

The Fund for the Republic, which has assisted The National Council of Churches in its secularized program, sought an authoritative person to collect material and write a book on communism and the churches. Ralph Lord Roy of Union Theological Seminary, in conjunction with Paul A. Carter of Columbia University, was selected. These men worked under a grant of \$250,000 furnished by The Fund for the Republic.

The following is an excerpt from the review by Dr. J. B. Matthews of Ralph Lord Roy's book *Communism and the Churches*:

Roy: Endorser of Funeral for Communist

On April 9, 1957, a Negro leader of the Communist Party, one Edward E. Strong, died after an illness of some three months. At the time of his death, Strong "was a member of the Communist Party's national committee and head of the Party's Southern Regional Committee." He was also under an indictment alleging "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence," a fact which was reported in the *New York Times*, on May 30, 1956. The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor preached the funeral sermon in the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, of which Dr. Taylor was, and still is, the pastor.

In an interview several months after his preaching Strong's funeral sermon, Dr. Taylor told a New York newspaper that he was "completely ignorant of Strong's Red ties," although the Communist Party leader had been a member of his church for more than a year. Dr. Taylor also said he was not aware of the "deceased's leftist affilia-

tions" until he arrived at the church and saw the assemblage of Communist leaders. Edward E. Strong had been a prominent Negro Communist leader himself for more than twenty years. His positions in the Communist apparatus had included the following: first vice-chairman of the American Youth Congress; delegate to the World Youth Congress in Switzerland; executive secretary of the All-Southern Negro Youth Conference; member, national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy; chairman, youth section of the National Negro Congress; an organizer of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; and the Young Communist League. Other Communist organizations with which Edward Strong was affiliated included the following: Young Communist Review; American Peace Mobilization; and the Second World Youth Congress.

Obviously, the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor was not acquainted with the activities of at least one of his members. In his funeral sermon, Dr. Taylor described Strong "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world every good person desires." He claimed, however, that the quotation was taken out of context.

Ralph Lord Roy says that he had attended the funeral service for Edward Strong in the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. Roy says that Dr. Taylor "was only performing what he saw as his duty as a pastor." According to Mr. Roy, "Walter Winchell, J. B. Matthews, and others began a campaign to discredit Taylor."

For myself, I can say that I was greatly interested in the unprecedented phenomenon of a church funeral for one of the highest functionaries of the Communist conspiracy. To what extent, if any, did the Edward Strong church membership and church funeral represent a new line of the Communist apparatus on the subject of religion? Was it in the nature of an experiment, staged by the strategists of high Communist policy, for the purpose of discovering or probing the possibilities of a bold move to infiltrate the churches as one of the important institutions in American society? Did the Edward Strong church membership and funeral mean nothing more than a special dispensation granted to a member of the highest level of the Communist conspiracy? To what extent, if any, did the Edward Strong episode represent a new approach of the Communist Party to the Negro Churches?

Granting that the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor could hardly refuse a Christian funeral to one of his parishioners, if the family requested it, was it necessary for the clergyman to characterize a Communist Party leader "as one who dared to dream and work for the new world," etc., or was it necessary for Dr. Taylor to characterize the Communist

society as "the new world every good person desires"? All of these questions bear directly on the question of Communism and the churches. Mr. Roy rejects them as irrelevant to his study. Why did Mr. Roy attend the Edward Strong funeral in the Brooklyn Baptist Church? Was his attendance a part of his research?

Edward F. Strong, dead at 42, spent part of his youth and all of his adult life in the service of the Kremlin-hatched world conspiracy to enslave the human race. Why and in what circumstances he joined the Brooklyn Baptist church was completely *relevant* to Mr. Roy's investigation of Communism and the churches. **The fact that Mr. Roy found the Strong-Taylor episode irrelevant for his investigation, except as a sentimental oddity, tends to substantiate the view that he had purposes in mind other than a research project for an objective study in the Communist infiltration of the Protestant churches.** Mr. Roy shows a marked tendency to consider whatever is truly revealing with respect to the churches and Communism, as irrelevant for his purposes. As a title for the mass of data — some true, some false, some inconsequential — which Mr. Roy has put together, and which deals only secondarily, if at all, with the how's, the why's, and the who's in the operations of Communists within and around the ranks of the clergy, *Communism and the Churches* is a misnomer. Like the guinea pig, which is neither guinea nor pig, Mr. Roy's book is not about Communism or the churches. A more appropriate title would have been *How to Get Preachers Off the Hook*, with the sub-title *The Use of Smear Techniques in the Fight Against Anti-Communists*.

NOTICE TO READERS: As an antidote to Ralph Lord Roy's *Communism and the Churches*, just in case any of you spent \$7.50 foolishly for Mr. Roy's mass (or mess, if you prefer) of data which are irrelevant, mendacious, misrepresentative, special pleading, doctored nonsense, or just plain ignorance, I strongly recommend Edgar C. Bundy's *Collectivism in the Churches* which you can get for \$2.00 from The Church League of America, and which you can read with confidence that you are not being bamboozled. **Caveat Emptor!**

4. Beacon Press, Boston, 1953.

5. *Apostles of Discord*, p. 72.

6. The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives list Dr. Frederick C. Grant of Union Theological Seminary as a member and sponsor of the "Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges," the well-known alien Communist labor leader in the United States.

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Ralph Lord Roy's Communism and the Churches*

by J. B. Matthews

By way of a preface to the facts and opinions herein stated, it should be clearly understood that Mr. Roy's book, *Communism and the Churches*, does not, in this reviewer's opinion, reflect the prevailing views and attitudes of any large section of the Protestant clergy in the United States.

On the contrary, Mr. Roy's theses faithfully represent in a general way the viewpoint of several Protestant groups of clergymen which, taken singly or collectively, constitute a relatively small but highly articulate minority.

Endorsers of Mr. Roy's Conclusions

There is no surprise in the fact that Bishop James A. Pike, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dean John C. Bennett, and A. J. Muste are among those who have heaped praise upon Mr. Roy's book. The young author of *Communism and the Churches* has made a play for the commendation of these clergymen whose bias on the subject of Communism is well known.

In any enumeration of Roy's highly prejudiced supporters, the following groups must be included: (1) the self-perpetuating bureaucracy of the National Council of Churches whose many pronouncements on controversial questions have fostered the erroneous impression that the National Council is the duly appointed spokesman for forty million Protestant Christians in the United States; (2) the non-Communist social actionists who are well organized in most of the major Protestant denominations; (3) the A. J. Muste group which is made up of relatively small committees and leagues which classify themselves as the "non-Communist left"; (4) the Union Theological Seminary group of which Dean John C. Bennett is the unofficial leader and theoretician; and (5) *The Christian Century*, leftist weekly journal of opinion, of which the Reverend Harold E. Fey is now the editor.

In all of these groups, the ideological orientation is anti-anti-Communist. The names of the majority of the adherents of these informal groups have been found frequently on the rolls of Communist fronts and Communist-infiltrated organizations during the past 25 years. Despite these affiliations, the great majority of the clergymen in these groups emphatically deny that they are in any way pro-Communist or Communist frontiers. Many of them were once (in the 1930's) avowed Socialists. Their renunciation of socialism today is equivocal. It is largely a matter of a new jargon. Where the language of orthodox

socialism was formerly the medium of propaganda, today the ideological faith is expressed in the more respectable but tricky language of "the responsible society."

Near the Zero Mark

"Today Communist influence within the American churches is near the zero mark." With these words Mr. Roy states one of the main conclusions of his five-year study of Communism and the Protestant churches. How Mr. Roy reached this particular conclusion on page 425 of his book must remain a matter of guess work. **In the preceding 424 pages, there is not a single line of supporting evidence for the assertion that Communist influence in the American Protestant churches is "near the zero mark" today.**

It is quite clear that Mr. Roy went through the routine motions of research. There are 1,024 notes and citations, filling 32 pages of his book. There is even a posture of objectivity, a spurious claim of having heard both sides. All of this, however, bears no relationship to Roy's conclusion concerning the "zero mark." His copious annotations, endless hours of interviewing scores of so-called witnesses (including Earl Browder and A. J. Muste), and weary days and nights of pouring over the pages of the *Daily Worker* — all of these turned out to be works of supererogation which contributed little to Mr. Roy's personal education and nothing at all to his "zero mark" conclusion.

Concerning Roy's conclusion, several possibilities are suggested: (1) wholly inadequate research, (2) failure to recognize "Communist influence" when he saw it, or (3) an unbending determination not to find any appreciable evidence of infiltration for fear that he might be called an "anti-Communist." In the Liberaloid circles in which Mr. Roy moves, "anti-Communist" is a smear word.

Roy's Deliberate Ambiguity

Mr. Roy's major conclusions are rarely forthright and unambiguous. They are, therefore, susceptible of more than one meaning.

His phrase, "near the zero mark," leaves his readers to guess what he means. How near is "near," for example? Does he intend to create the impression that the number of Protestant clergymen who supported, in one way or another, the activities of the Communist-front apparatus was once significantly large, but is today quite negligible? In terms of sheer statistics, the number of clergymen who were, in any way, affiliated with the Communist fronts was always small in comparison with the total number of clergymen in the United States. I have

*This is excerpted from a long chapter on the Roy volume in a book by Mr. Matthews to be published by the Bookmailer, Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16, N.Y.

never at any time held that more than two percent of the total number of the Protestant clergy were Communist fronters.

The next question to be answered is this: how is "Communist influence within the American churches" expressed? Is the meaning of "Communist influence" limited to the fact of dues-paying membership in the Communist Party? If "Communist influence" is thus limited, then it is quite true that Communist influence within the church is, and always has been, "near the zero mark." Mr. Roy hazards the guess that the number of Communist Party members who are clergymen has not exceeded 200. I am inclined to think that the figure 200 is an exaggeration. It must be remembered that the usefulness of clergymen to the Communist apparatus lies entirely outside the realm of Communist Party membership. This is, of course, a sweeping generalization to which there have been exceptions. The rigorous discipline to which Party members are subjected makes the average clergyman an unpromising candidate for Party membership. If 10,000 ministers of the Gospel should apply for membership in the Communist Party, we may be sure that their applications would be rejected. As a group, they are not wanted inside the Party.

Mr. Roy spends a great deal of time and many pages in the irrelevant and ambiguous refutation of allegations which have not been made. This is the hoary technique, used from the beginning of time, of making straw men in order to tear them to pieces. Mr. Roy says, for example, "the Communist Party in America never did undertake a full-scale campaign to infiltrate the churches." Of course not; such a campaign would be beyond serious consideration. If a full-scale effort to infiltrate the churches means a campaign to recruit a mass of clergymen into Party membership, it would be contrary to all Communist theory and tactics.

How Many Thousands, Mr. Roy?

Early in his book, *Communism and the Churches*, Mr. Roy seems to be on his way to an accurate and fearless estimate of the Communist influence within the ranks of the clergy. He writes as follows: "**Thousands of Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, and some Roman Catholic priests, did sign petitions or sponsor meetings that have been called subversive.**" (page 9)

In his discussion of the Communists' appeals used in enlisting supporters for their front organizations, Mr. Roy returns to an estimate of the number of clergymen who were induced to sponsor or otherwise support Communist enterprises. "Over the years," says Mr. Roy, "*hundreds, indeed thousands*, of ministers responded to such heart-rending appeals" as that of Willie McGee. (page 193) The Communist Party conducted one of its major campaigns in an ostensible effort to save McGee, a Negro sentenced to die in Mississippi.

Near the end of his book, Mr. Roy is still speaking about the "thousands of clergymen" who supported Communist fronts. This time in the form of a question, Roy asked: "Why have the names of *several thousand* clergymen appeared on front-group literature over the past three decades?" (page 423)

Roy does not offer any hint of how many "thousands" of clergymen there are who lent their names to the Communist-front apparatus. Presumably, his ambiguous phrase, "several thousand clergymen," means at least three thousand, and could mean more; say, seven thousand. There was, of course, a good and sufficient reason why he could

not say "seven thousand," regardless of what his research indicated. In an article which I wrote for the *American Mercury*, in the July, 1953, issue of that magazine, I said that "at least seven thousand" clergymen had supported the various units of the Communist-front apparatus over a period of seventeen years. My figure was a cold statistical fact, not an estimate. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, my statement resulted in the synthetic furor instigated by the White House as part of the campaign to destroy Joe McCarthy.

The Liberaloid Contingent to which Mr. Roy is bound by personal and professional ties is not happy about his admission that "several thousand clergymen" had put their names on what he calls "front-group literature."

Manual of Absolution

Comparing the Roy volume, *Communism and the Churches*, with the now-famous *Air Force Manual*, the latter is a model of accuracy. Mr. Roy has written what amounts to a manual of absolution. He has granted remission of sins to his wayward colleagues in the Protestant ministry. He says, in effect, all is forgiven; go and sin some more.

Roy is a talented master of the technique so dear to the hearts of the Liberaloids: the double standard. Toward the vast majority of the thousands of clergymen who have records of Communist fronting, whether they be veterans like Stephen H. Fritchman or occasional helpers like the Rev. Signer for Civil Rights, he is indulgent almost to the point of outright endorsement of their Communist affiliations. He notes with emphasis that they are clerics whose reputations are without blemish and whose motives are uniformly pure. Their support of the insidious Communist-front apparatus, whether much or little, leaves no stain of civic irresponsibility on their reputations. What little damage has been done to their reputations, in a few cases, has been the work of the church-hating anti-Communists, according to Mr. Roy.

For Stephen H. Fritchman, Unitarian clergyman whose pro-Soviet views and activities constitute a severe case of addiction to fronting, Mr. Roy observes in an obvious effort to soften the criticism of the Los Angeles Unitarian cleric by saying: "Much that he has done in Los Angeles is praiseworthy."

In defense of the Rev. Loyd F. Worley, whose many affiliations include the presidency of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Mr. Roy writes: "... a minister who commands enormous respect. Worley is a soft-spoken man of unusual charity and integrity."

Dryden L. Phelps, who has written and spoken in behalf of the Communist regime in China, is according to Mr. Roy, "a beloved northern Baptist missionary" and "is highly regarded by those who have known him."

Francis J. McConnell, Methodist Bishop who was president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action for forty years, is described by Mr. Roy as "one of the great figures of modern American Methodism." Bishop McConnell was affiliated with at least 56 different Communist-front organizations. Mr. Roy mentions only two of the 56, in addition to the Methodist Federation for Social Action; and he does not give the slightest hint of the real extent of the Bishop's Communist-front affiliations. In a passing reference to McConnell's chairmanship of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Mr. Roy

notes in the same sentence that the Bishop was a "beloved symbol of liberalism within the Methodist Church."

Roy Revises His Judgment on The Protestant Magazine

The Protestant, a Communist-line magazine published by one Kenneth Leslie, stands near the top (if not on the top itself) of the long, long list of the Communist agencies, fronts, leagues, committees, councils, federations, and publications in its record of enticing Protestant clergymen into the Communist orbit. The magazine, originally published as the *Protestant Digest*, is now published in Canada under the name, *New Christian*.

At the peak of its success, *The Protestant* enlisted approximately 3,000 clergymen as editorial advisors, sponsors, and signers of its numerous manifestoes.

In Ralph Lord Roy's first book, *Apostles of Discord*, published in 1953, *The Protestant* magazine was characterized as follows:

In its first issue — December 1938 — it carries a strong hint as to its future policy. Leslie asked: "Is it not possible for both Christians and Communists, instead of condemning each other in their mutual weakness, to contribute the best they each have and work together for the common good?" (*Apostles of Discord*, 1953, page 254)

In the foregoing quotation, Ralph Lord Roy says, in effect, that *The Protestant* carried "a strong hint" in its first issue that its policy was pro-Communist. Leslie served notice on the public in general and clergymen in particular, that his magazine was to follow the pro-Communist line in its editorial policy. Clergymen who accepted Leslie's invitation to lend their names to his magazine as editorial advisors, sponsors, or signers of his numerous manifestoes would do so with their eyes open and would, therefore, not be able in the future to plead the excuse that they had no knowledge of his pro-Communist sympathy.

Writing seven years later, in *Communism and the Churches*, Mr. Roy offered a new and different evaluation of Kenneth Leslie's magazine, *The Protestant*. Mr. Roy's new version reads as follows:

It demonstrated strong political bias, to be sure, but the early issues gave little indication of pro-Communist sympathy. (*Communism and the Churches*, 1960, page 281)

What Mr. Roy has as the reason for his different evaluations of *The Protestant*, first in 1953 and then in 1960, and both of them dealing with the early issues of the magazine, is anybody's guess. Regardless of his motive in switching from the judgment that the first issue carried "a strong hint" of pro-Communist sympathy to the judgment that the early issues "gave little indication" of pro-Communist sympathy, the objective fact remains that the clergymen who signed up to support *The Protestant* under the "strong hint" view could not make a case for their being dupes; while those who signed up under the "little indication" view could argue that they were duped by Leslie. And what was even more important, the clergymen who affiliated with *The Protestant*, while the magazine was still giving "little indication" of Leslie's pro-Soviet sympathy would not be held accountable by public opinion for their affiliation.

Furthermore, many of Mr. Roy's circle of friends in the Union Theological Seminary group were acquitted of knowingly collaborating with a pro-Soviet magazine — an accomplishment which constitutes one of Mr. Roy's major

objectives in writing *Communism and the Churches*! Reinhold Niebuhr, for example, "resigned and tried to persuade others to resign 'when it became apparent that the magazine was pro-Communist and violently anti-Catholic.'" Other prominent clergymen who were involved in the same way that Niebuhr was involved included Paul Tillich, George A. Buttrick, Sherwood Eddy, John A. MacKay, Wilhelm Pauck, Edwin McNeil Poteat, and Walter M. Horton.

In fact, Ralph Lord Roy executed a massive release from all responsibility for some 3,000 clergymen for supporting a Communist enterprise. The only count standing against most of them was that of being the unwitting dupes of a cunning pro-Soviet operator — his, by implication only, and not by direct statement.

Finally, Mr. Roy could not resist saying that Kenneth Leslie's "colorful personality and contagious idealism attracted many."

Roy: Endorser of Funeral for Communist

On April 9, 1957, a Negro leader of the Communist Party, one Edward E. Strong, died after an illness of some three months. At the time of his death, Strong "was a member of the Communist Party's national committee and head of the Party's Southern Regional Committee." He was also under an indictment alleging "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence," a fact which was reported in the *New York Times*, on May 30, 1956. The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor preached the funeral sermon in the Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, of which Dr. Taylor was, and still is, the pastor.

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WORLD ORDER STUDY CONFERENCE- MOSCOW'S MOUTHPIECE

by HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

The author of this article is well qualified to discuss Communist propaganda techniques. As a youth he was duped into joining a Communist-front youth organization by Communist inspired "peace" propaganda. When he discovered the fraud, he reported it to the F.B.I. The Bureau asked if he would be willing to stick with the comrades in order to observe their subversive activities. Philbrick did so—for nine years.

During that time he served in many capacities, as a secret "member" of the Communist criminal conspiracy. Among his many assignments by the party dictatorship, he served as a member of the Red "Agit-Prop" division of the Communist apparatus, working on agitation and propaganda. He was a member of the Educational Commission of the C.P.U.S.A., one of seven top Reds in charge of Marxist propaganda in District One. He was the Communist Educational Director for an important section of the Red network. He was also in charge of leaflet production, turning out propaganda material at the headquarters of the Communist Party itself. Among many other assignments, he was "literature director" for several Communist cells, assigned the responsibility of obtaining and delivering Soviet propaganda material to secret cells in the New England area.

Hence, Mr. Philbrick was in a vantage position to observe and study Communist propaganda methods at first hand, over a considerable period of time.

At the present time, and continuing through June 1960, the Soviet Union is and will be racking up one of its greatest propaganda victories in years. It is being achieved through the discredited World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches, and by the insistence of the National Council to continue to espouse the red propaganda line even though it has been disavowed and rejected by the vast majority of Protestant clergymen and churches.⁽¹⁾

Calling itself the "Nationwide Program of Education and Action for Peace", local Protestant church groups and leaders are being exhorted to promote the World Order Study Conference line by radio, television, sermons, study groups, panels, seminars and other methods of communication.

The basic material being used consists of 15 pieces: two 64-page booklets, one called "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet" and a companion "Study Guide"; twelve "background papers" covering six major topics dealt with in the series; and a special issue of the "International Journal of Religious Education" (November 1959 issue) with a front cover title, "Related to the Nationwide Program of Education and Action For Peace." All of this material is printed and published by the Department of International Affairs of the National Council, headed by Chairman Ernest A. Gross; Vice Chairman Ernest S. Griffith; Executive Director Kenneth L. Maxwell; and Associate Director Darrell Randall.⁽²⁾

(1) A poll of Protestant Clergymen taken by Dr. Daniel Poling and others, revealed that over 80% were in "fundamental disagreement" with the publicized position of the World Order Study Conference.

(2) In addition to the "official" material, large quantities of "supplementary" material is also being used on the local level by State Council of Churches. The record would require nearly an entire issue of "NEWS AND VIEWS". It includes material from:

Public Affairs Pamphlets
American Friends Service Committee
Promoting Enduring Peace
Peace News
I. F. Stone "Weekly"
New Times (Soviet magazine)
Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fellowship of Reconciliation

Every "official" document contains a disclaimer, denying responsibility for any allegations made in the series, or that the material is to be considered an "official" representation. This, apparently, is a useful device for making irresponsible statements while avoiding responsibility for making them. As one might suspect, there is good reason for the National Council of Churches to deny responsibility for the booklets they printed, published, paid for and are distributing.

INSIDIOUS COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

I have been a student of communist propaganda for more than 20 years. Since I was initially victimized and duped into joining a "Christian" youth organization with "peace" propaganda, I have naturally given particular attention, over the years, to this kind of red propaganda message.

On the basis of that background, knowledge and study, the "peace" propaganda now being distributed to the local churches by the National Council of Churches is, in my opinion, the slickest, neatest, trickiest, and the most insidious I have ever seen. On every fundamental issue it agrees with the current line of Soviet foreign policy. But, the way the red propaganda line has been disguised and covered is truly a masterpiece of cybernetic warfare.⁽³⁾

A sloppy propaganda job is easy to expose. But a good job, such as the World Order Study Conference material, is most difficult to tackle. The reasons are several. First, to untangle the massive distortions of fact — and the Study Material is loaded with them — would take at least a thousand-page volume to expose adequately, unravel, and explain.

Second, in every case the World Order Study Conference took great pains to see that the original direction taken was along traditional Christian lines. Hence the perpetrators of the fraud can (and they will!) point to high-sounding phrases, noble statements of purpose, irrefutable

(3) For a full description of the techniques of Cybernetic Warfare, see "How the Communists Control Thoughts and Attitudes" by Herbert A. Philbrick, The National Education Program, Searcy, Arkansas—25¢ copy.

goals and aims of great magnitude. *IN EVERY CASE*, however, the original direction is changed; the emphasis is shifted; the initial premises are nullified . . . and in their place are substituted communist interpretations.

Third, a common tactic of communist fronts is to "dress up" the propaganda material with a lot of names, most of whom cannot possibly be considered communist, pro-communist, red or pink. This serves several purposes beyond the obvious one of draping a mantle of respectability. For example, once their names are linked with the reports, the victims are psychologically conditioned so that any attack made on the report is considered to be an attack on *them*. They automatically, 99 times out of a hundred, come to its defense. Or, if their common sense tells them that they have been used, their pride prevents them from confessing publicly this embarrassing discovery and so they remain silent. Nobody likes to admit that he has been fooled, taken in, or duped. The more conservative he is, the more this is likely to be true. Of course the communists, knowing these things full well, *always* load their material with just as many "names" as they can accumulate . . . the more respectable the names, the better. This is a description of the *communist* tactic.

It is therefore interesting to note that the World Order Study Conference uses exactly the same tactic. With every "background paper" there is printed a long list of "commission members".

I have not talked to a single one of these commission members. I don't have to. I know that the views expressed in the final reports are far removed from the personal opinions of most church members. IF THE TRUTH WERE KNOWN, it will be found that the individual members of the "commissions" had very little to say about the actual wording and terminology of the reports.

IF THE TRUTH WERE KNOWN, it would be revealed that very few of the commission members have ever read as little as half a dozen authoritative texts concerning the communist criminal conspiracy.

RESPECTABLE COVER

The 15 basic booklets of the NPOE and AFP are introduced, with respectable cover, by letters of "greeting", addressed to the conference chairman Ernest A. Gross, from President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary-General of the U. N., Dag Hammarskjöld. (Gross, a New York attorney, whose clients include Dag Hammarskjöld, was the hatchet-man for the U. N. in the Povl Bang-Jensen case.) The International Journal features a similar statement by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter.

Oozing respectability, the booklets set about their task. We are momentarily distracted by a lavish advertisement on the immediate inside cover of International Journal, in the best style used by smutty newsstand publications, featuring a \$6.50 book on "Sex and Love in the Bible". We are informed that this "candid approach" features "448 pages . . . 12 chapters . . . about every aspect of love — human and divine, normal and abnormal . . . subjects examined in detail (with illustrations, possibly?) . . . Pre-marital sex relations . . . prostitution and adultery . . . other sexual deviations; Masturbation, Rape, Incest, Bestiality . . .".

And we are assured, in small type at the bottom of the table of contents, that "unless otherwise indicated, Scripture is from the Revised Standard Version".

These minor diversions done with, however, the booklets get down to business. We are assured that the "key to every basic code of human conduct is based upon the Christian doctrine that the individual person is the prime object of God's love and mercy. Human dignity and individual freedom thus become the basic purposes of society". We are warned that "It is strange that American Christians

should be deceived by slogans", but *what* slogans, we are not told. And we are solemnly advised that "The spread of Communism is based upon force or upon the exploitation of restless multitudes".

However, lest we become *too* anti-communist, we are quickly told: "The Spirit enables us to face the difficulties, dangers and evils of our time; *to see the deeper unity* (italics mine) underlying the divisions between men and nations; and to work in faith and obedience at the task God gives us".

This is the first little sign-post pointing to the prevailing theme ahead; a theme which grows and builds as the "Peace" material continues; the implication that we face not any danger from communism itself, but only from the *misunderstandings* between the communist and the free world; and the further implication that the "disagreements" between communism and Christianity are, after all, simply surface or superficial; and that actually, if we look closely, we will find that underneath it all Christianity and Communism actually have much in common. Hence, our *big* job is to straighten out these silly misunderstandings and misconceptions, and then we can live together in peace and tranquility in a world of competitive coexistence.

Unbelievable? Read 'em and see!

LET'S HAVE THE FACTS!

"Now, if Christians carry out their task responsibly, they must come to it with something more than good will and moral fervor. *They need to know what they are talking about.*" (Italics mine). Thus we are exhorted by the International Journal. Further, we are assured by the Study Guide, "one principle of the Nationwide Program is . . . not to indoctrinate churches and their members with particularized views or dogmas . . . but to urge them to use the most responsible, thought-provoking materials available".

We are thus led to expect that the key leaders of the Study Conference were knowledgeable and recognized defenders of American and world freedom, and certainly that they were authorities on the subject of communism. And we find, indeed, that throughout the 15 manuals there are many references to other "thought-provoking" material. But, "responsible"? It seems that there may be some question concerning this allegation.

As I write this article, I have on my desk a list of 100 authoritative texts on the subject of communism, selected by the Knights of Pythias after a canvass of twenty of the acknowledged anti-communist authorities in this country, to obtain their collective judgments as to which titles constitute the soundest and most dependable works on International Communism from American sources today. (*)

I have carefully searched the NPOE and AFP booklets, and I find that the study material of the National Council does *NOT* mention or quote a single one of these 100 books on communism, found by the Knights of Pythias as the "soundest and most dependable works"! The National Council also manages *NOT* to mention or quote a single author of any of the books on communism!

Yet the National Council leaders have the incredible mendacity to allege their concern that Christian people should base their opinion on sound, dependable facts! Never was a more malicious pose of "objectivity" so falsely assumed!

The World Order Study Conference material cannot avoid acknowledging that the problem under discussion somehow concerns the communist criminal conspiracy. But the way in which the manuals skillfully avoid any head-on clash with communism is indeed a masterpiece of adroit

(*) You may obtain this list by writing to Headquarters, Order Knights of Pythias, 420 First Ave., N.E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

and skillful manipulation. I contend that such ability as evidenced by these manuals was not developed overnight, but came only through long and diligent practice by veteran apologists for the Soviet system of gangsterism.

Although written long before the Nationwide Peace Program, the Knights of Pythias have, in their compilation of books on communism, a foreword which accurately describes the National Council material. The K of P say:

"Experts in the field of countersubversion have been disturbed to note the rise since 1950 of a new category of questionable books. These books may appear to be anti-Communist or mildly critical of the Soviets to the general reader and to the superficially informed. In the main, the books share a common characteristic; their pseudo-objectivity and apparently scholarly neutralism leave the average reader in a state of confusion and doubt as to the true objectiveness of world Communism, or else the net impression is left that the bad aspects of aggressive Communism today have been matched by similar bad things the United States had done in the remote past. In other words, Communist crimes are neatly washed away with specious sophistry, false logic, and under the guise of lofty 'objectivity'."

WHO ARE THEY?

Let us see if the Knights of Pythias description of pseudo-objectivity applies to the current "Peace" material now being distributed by the hundreds of thousands of pieces throughout the nation to unsuspecting and trusting local churches.

First, since we find *NONE* of the qualified spokesmen and authorities on the subject of communism present, who do we find? Would one expect to find pro-communists or fellow travelers?

On the basis of the evidence of communist infiltration in the field of churches, the answer is *yes*. According to one of the best informed scholars in this field, Dr. J. B. Matthews, the record shows that a small per cent of the Protestant clergymen in America have records of affiliation with communist or communist-front organizations. One might reasonably expect, out of the approximately 250 names listed in the Study material, that about two and certainly not more than three of the individuals *might* have communist front records . . . although one would also assume, since the discussion involved such a serious subject as communism, that care would be taken to eliminate those having any previous history of pro-fascist or other totalitarian sympathies.

Alas! We find that just the opposite is true. If Chairman Ernest Gross had deliberately canvassed the country in an attempt to get pro-communists into the conference, he scarcely could have done better. The percentages make J. B. Matthews' estimate a pale washout by comparison. Indeed, to list all of the communist front records of the attendees would require several volumes of *NEWS AND VIEWS*.

Methodist Gerald Kennedy was associated with the Methodist Federation For Social Action, an organization cited as subversive by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

Georgia Harkness, supporter of communist fronts for many years, including the subversive Rosenberg Clemency Appeal, was also a sponsor of the subversive Waldorf Peace Conference of the National Society of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

William E. Hocking has a record of affiliation with at least 26 communist and pro-communist organizations including signing the petition for the pardon of convicted

perjurer Carl Marzani. Hocking was also an Editorial Advisor of the subversive "Protestant Digest".

Carl Lehmann: sponsor of communist fronts such as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and signer of the appeal to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and a clemency appeal for the convicted communists Green and Winston.

Benjamin Mays, a sponsor of the subversive American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, has also served as Honorary Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress.

D. F. Fleming, a signer of such petitions as the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Appeal to Recognize Soviet Russia, also wrote to Alger Hiss offering to help raise money to "convict Whittaker Chambers of perjury"! (It took 12 pages of *NEWS AND VIEWS* to outline the left-wing record of this one man).⁽⁵⁾

George F. Thomas joined in the 1959 drive to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, as one of the signers of the Jan. 7, 1959 petition which appeared in the *Washington Post*.

Philip Jessup has been a sponsor of the American-Russian Institute and was chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1936-40 and from 1944-46. The Institute of Pacific Relations has been cited as "an instrument of Communist Policy, propaganda and military intelligence".

Clarence Pickett, who has a long record of affiliation with pro-communist and communist front organizations over a period of many years.

Ray Gibbons supported the Communist opposition to our aid to England and France during the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1941.

Frank Graham has been linked with a large number of Communist fronts for many years, including the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Kenneth S. LaTourette was a writer for the subversive "Far Eastern Survey" which was published by the Institute of Pacific Relations; and he was also a writer for the publication "Pacific Affairs", published by the same subversive organization.

This is by no means a complete survey. We have not checked the records of all the names, but have indicated only some of the most familiar public records of communist or pro-communist affiliations. It is clear, however, by simply scanning the record, that the World Order Study Group was rigged with individuals whose sympathies have been with the Red Fascists. As J. B. Matthews has documented, in comparison to the vast majority of loyal and dedicated clergymen, only a small proportion have been "fellow travelers". If you were to try to do so, you would probably experience real difficulty locating, in your area, a Protestant minister with a significant communist front record.

Yet, in a small number of only 250 names, there appears a very large number of fellow travelers, known to have pro-communist records. Can we be expected to believe that this happened completely by accident? Still the National Council of Churches would have us believe that it is *NOT* their purpose to "indoctrinate churches and their members with particularized views or dogmas"!

In the 15 key pamphlets used in the Nationwide Program material, the name of one expert appears or is referred to no less than 31 times. Surely there must be a reason for such top billing! Here, indeed, the National Council of Churches selected a real expert in the field of communism! Let us introduce (trumpets, please) Dr. John C. Bennett. (Incidentally, the Study Guide material consistently dropped all designations of Reverends, Doctors,

(5) For the left-wing record of D. F. Fleming, send 20¢ for the October, 1957 and November, 1957 issues of "NEWS AND VIEWS".

Bishops, etc., referring to all individuals simply by their Christian names. A new trend in classless society?)

Bennett (we might as well drop first names, too) was ordained in the Congregational Christian Church in 1939. He has been affiliated with the Pacific School of Religion, with Auburn Theological Seminary and has taught Christian Theology and Ethics for Union Seminary. His name is not new with the National Council of Churches.

Bennett's name, also, is not new with communist fronts. He was a signer of a petition sponsored by the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, a group cited as subversive and communist by the Attorney General Dec. 4, 1947 and Sept. 21, 1948.

This organization was described by Attorney General Francis Biddle, (Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, page 7687) as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations ostensibly having no connection with the communist party, by which communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters for their program."

The special committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 50, stated: "There can be no reasonable doubt that the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, regardless of its high sounding name, is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the communist party".

Among the signers together with John Bennett were: Max Bedacht . . . William Rose Benet . . . Alvah Bessie . . . Dr. Ernest P. Boas . . . Hugh De Lacy . . . Muriel Draper . . . Donald Henderson . . . Langston Hughes . . . Arthur Kallet . . . Abraham J. Isserman . . . Freda Kirchwey . . . Alfred Kreymborg . . . Henry Pratt Fairchild . . . Elizabeth Gurley Flynn . . . Waldo Frank . . . Rev. Stephen Fritchman . . . Hugo Gellert . . . Ben Gold . . . Corliss Lamont . . . Kenneth Leslie . . . Rev. F. W. McConnell . . . Albert Maltz . . . Rev. Richard Morford . . . Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam . . . Lee Pressman . . . Paul Robeson . . . Edwin Seaver . . . Howard Selsam . . . Max Weber . . . Nathan Witt and Max Yefgan.

John Bennett, together with many others having extensive records of communist affiliations, signed an "open letter to the American People", carried by the Communist Daily Worker, Sept. 26, 1955, page 4. The letter opposed loyalty oaths, the attorney general's list of subversive organizations, committees investigating communists and other efforts by the U. S. Government to probe the activities of communists in this country.

John Bennett, together with a list of others having extensive records of communist affiliations, signed a petition to President Eisenhower demanding the release of The statement was in the Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1955 and the Communist Daily People's World, Dec. 22, 1955. Among the signers of this petition were: Rev. A. J. Muste . . . Roland H. Bainton . . . Henry Hitt Crane . . . Georgia Harkness . . . Sid Lens . . . Jerome Nathanson . . . John N. Sayre . . . and John Swomley.

John Bennett served as Vice President of the League for Industrial Democracy. Although the League has not been cited by the Attorney General as a communist front, its left-wing and anti-American record can be judged by the public statements issued by the group from time to time, such as:

"The League for Industrial Democracy is a militant educational movement which challenges those who would think and act for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

— "a socialist attack on the problem of Government cannot be restricted to Presidential and

Congressional elections or even to general programs of legislation. We have to widen our battle front to include all institutions of government, corporations, trade unions, professional bodies, as well as legislatures and courts."

— "Capitalism, now so inoffensively called private enterprise, is essentially immoral. It is a source of corruption in business and politics. Private enterprise corrupts government enterprises and the only effective steps toward the elimination of these immoral influences are the rapid extension of collectivism and the advance of the cooperative movement".

John Bennett signed a petition to President Eisenhower demanding that the United States discontinue H-Bomb Tests, which petition appeared in the Communist Daily Worker, July 14, 1957, page 1.

Speaking at the World Assembly of the International Congregational Council in Hartford, Conn., July 4, 1958, Bennett stated that "the Christian Church (should) abandon the rigidity of its opposition to communism and the communist controlled countries". He further stated that we should "stop the continuous expressions of national and religious hostility to communists and communist nations".

Bennett, on at least three occasions, signed expensive full-page advertisements appearing in newspapers across the country, demanding the United States discontinue atomic bomb tests. The advertisements were sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. A large number of the signers and sponsors have long records of previous affiliations with communist and communist front organizations. Among them: Henry Hitt Crane . . . Norman Thomas . . . Lewis Mumford . . . Clarence Pickett . . . James G. Patton . . . Oscar Hammerstein II . . . Harold Fey . . . Paul J. Tillich . . . Linus Pauling.

BENNETT'S BOOK

The public record of pro-communist affiliations by Bennett would not appear to offer a logical reason for his top billing by the National Council of Churches in a study series involving communism . . . unless, of course, it was somebody's intention to teach the advocacy of communism. Naturally, that can't be true. There must have been another reason.

Perhaps we have a clue! We find that Bennett has written a book, with an attractive title: "Christianity and Communism", published by Haddam House in 1948, which "seeks as authors new voices to give fresh guidance for youth". On the editorial board we find, in addition to Bennett, Paul M. Limbert, Edwin E. Aubrey, Virginia Corwin, Grace Loucks Elliott, Lawrence K. Hall, William Hubben, Harold G. Ingalls, Paul L. Lehmann, John Oliver Nelson, J. Edward Sproul, Rose Terlin and Paul Braisted.

It must be said that indeed we do learn something "new" about communism in Bennett's book. I am amazed that I didn't learn any of these things while a member of the communist apparatus for nine years.

For example: "The errors of communism are in part the result of the failure of Christians." (page 9.) Or, that "Communism (is) a Promise of a New Order." (Chapter heading, page 12.) Or that "There is always the possibility of living with communists without being the permanent objects of their hostility..."

Strange. I seem to remember distinctly the red leaders telling their soviet disciples in my communist cell meetings just the opposite. These are indeed important facts (remember, we were told that we must base our judgment on facts) about communism.

"Communist materialism is not a . . . form . . . that leaves no room for any of the higher spiritual and cultural values." Page 24. On the same page, we are dismayed to find that Christianity is "the most materialistic religion in the world". Obviously, I have been misguided by every one of my ministers and Church School teachers.

"The whole communist attack upon capitalistic society is ethical through and through". Page 28. I guess I'll have to revise my concept of the meaning of the word "ethical", too.

For several pages Bennett speaks of what he calls the "darker side" of communism. He then *justifies* every crime of the communists against the people, asking: "Does not a ruthless policy, that is by hypothesis essential to realize that goal, have moral justification? Does not the very directness and quickness of the process, if indeed it is direct and quick, make it relatively less painful than the long-drawn-out suffering of the victims of institutions? Now what can Christians say in answer to these questions?"

I know what my answer would be, but Bennett has a different one. "So far as Christian behavior is concerned, there has been in the past no clear case in principle against communist methods". However, despite the fact that "Christians" can support not only Communism but communist *methods*, the same cannot be said for our free nation. "Christianity has no stake in the survival of capitalism", he declares.

But, most fantastic of all, is Bennett's worship of the Red Tin God, Lenin. Among many other things he says, "Communist movements depend . . . upon the leadership of those who are attracted by its social purpose, who are themselves moved by moral conviction. Marx and Lenin were extreme examples of this" (page 25); or, "The contrast between the Christian spirit in politics and the communist spirit in politics can be seen in the contrast between Lincoln and Lenin. Both were men of integrity who serve causes that could claim high moral sanction."

To classify Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, who used the alias Lenin, as a man of "integrity" is as monstrous a falsehood as any pro-soviet lie I have ever read in any book, much less one that professes to speak in the name of Christianity. "Integrity" was one of the least prevalent qualities in the character of Ulyanov. His tactic of rising to the top was as a "wrecker" who would enter a group, gather a small group of fanatic supporters about him, then busily create splits and dissensions. After smashing the organization into factions, Lenin and his minority followers would then move in for the kill.

For example, at the 1903 meeting of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party, a Lenin faction called Iskraits engineered a dispute over party membership. In the heat of the argument many of the non-Iskraits walked out, temporarily leaving Lenin and his faction in command — who promptly seized the advantage by calling themselves the Majority (Bolsheviks).

Later, in 1918, Lenin managed to change the name of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party to that of the "Russian Communist Party" and arbitrarily added on the word Bolshevik in parenthesis — R.C.P. (b). But the truth is the Communists have never been the majority of anything, at any time. Even in the Soviet Union today, the communist party (b) is composed of only 3 per cent of the Russian people.

Hence, Lenin's application of the word "majority" to his dictatorship was a pure fraud; a fact obvious to all competent historians.

We must conclude, from Bennett's eulogy of Lenin, that he must never have read much about the man. It is true that there are probably few good books concerning communism in the library of Union Theological Seminary. But it is safe to say that they have not yet burned the Encyclopedia Britannica. On Page 914, Vol. 13, there is a straightforward description of Lenin which would not be found objectionable by any communist, but which we would not assume would lead a Christian to define as "integrity". We read:

"(Lenin) firmly believed that *only force* could produce serious social change". . . "Dictatorship he always defined in the sense of power based neither on law nor on elections but on *violence* directly applied"; . . . "In praise and encouragement of *terror* he was second to none"; . . . "A lawyer by education, he was *completely blind to law* as an instrument of social organization".

But if Bennett has never opened the pages of the Encyclopedia, it seems impossible that he developed such a worshipful attitude of Ulyanov without ever reading anything the man himself wrote. What did Lenin believe? Let's take a look at only two or three samples.

*Selected Work of V. I. Lenin, Vol. X, page 172: "The absolute necessity of combining illegal with legal work is determined . . . by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, a sphere or field of work that cannot be won by the Communists . . . It is necessary, immediately, for all legal Communist Parties to form illegal organizations for the purpose of systematically carrying on illegal work . . . Illegal work is particularly necessary in the army, the navy and police."

Ah! That, for a graduate of Law School, is real integrity . . . truly an example of sterling character! Moral purpose? Yes, indeed — Lenin was loaded with it! Let's read: *Selected Works, Vol. 5, page 147: "Hatred for one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie . . . is a banal phrase if it does not mean revolution against their own governments. It is impossible to rouse hatred against one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie without desiring their defeat."

Gracious, such patriotism! If Bennett's concept of "morality" is in accord with Lenin's, this is what he believes: *Ibid, Vol. 9, page 477: "We say: Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is creating a new communist society. Communist morality is the morality which serves this struggle."

Referring to this and other statements by Lenin, Radio Moscow had this to say more recently:

"Morals or ethics is the body of norms and rules on the conduct of Soviet peoples. At the root of Communist Morality, said Lenin, lies the struggle for the consolidation and the completion of Communism. Therefore, from the point of view of Communist morality, only those acts are moral which contribute to the building up of a new Communist society." Of these same matters, William Z. Foster, head of the American branch of the red international, stated of the communist: "With him the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be legal and 'moral' or not, does not concern him, so long as they are effective."

Yet, The National Council of Churches' "expert" on communism, John C. Bennett, states that Lenin was a man of "integrity" who was "moved by moral conviction"!

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL "EXPERT"

In a letter to me, Bennett complains bitterly that "only two other persons have used it (his book, "Christianity and Communism") as evidence that I am soft on Communism; one of these was Carl McIntire . . . the other was John T. Flynn who also quoted passages out of context."

It is little wonder, if true, that few people have attempted to begin comment concerning Bennett's "Christianity and Communism". To unravel the 128 pages of truth, half truth, innuendo, smears, slanted and distorted information, false and fabricated "history" would be a project of mammoth dimensions, requiring a volume at least 10 times the size of the original. We can only say that Bennett's appraisal of both "Christianity and Communism" bear very little resemblance to either.

However, this is the man who is selected by the World Order Study Conference to write not one, but two of the 15 texts used in the National Council "peace" campaign which they hope to foist on the unsuspecting churches!

What an authority on communism! How fortunate for the young men going into the ministry that Bennett should occupy such a high position at Union Theological Seminary! We can rest assured that upon graduation they will have learned all about the communist criminal conspiracy!

TRICKY BUSINESS

It is totally impossible, in a few pages, to expose adequately and uncover the conscious fraud of those who rigged the "Peace" booklets. The poison propaganda has been very skillfully inserted. If challenged, the perpetrators have "covered" themselves admirably. Let's take just one example, to show how it works.

The 15 booklets may be broken up, roughly, into four sections: 1, the International Journal which "sets the stage" (with left-wing writers, of course). 2, the 12 "background papers", which are heavily loaded in favor of communism. 3, the Report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, used as the "basis" for the discussion groups, seminars, sermons, etc. But the *key manual* is the 4th, "Study Guide" which contains a list of questions concerning each topic and a bibliography of "selected readings".

Remember, first of all, that there is *NO* reference made to any qualified or recognized authorities in the field of communism. Hence, an "iron curtain" is dropped to prevent the victims from establishing an accurate frame of reference. They are referred, constantly, to John Bennett and others.

The tactics of brainwashing, as I learned from the Communists, is to begin within a frame of reference which will be acceptable to the victim. Hence, in Section IV of the Study Materials ("The Changing Dimensions of Human Rights", Chairman Frank P. Graham, 38 affiliations with communist front and pro-communist organizations) we start off in fine style.

"In totalitarian states", we are told, "whether communist or fascist, it is held that the state confers or withdraws (human) rights . . . we oppose this view. Human rights belong to persons because of what in God's grace they are, not because of the political power of the state . . . As Christians we hold that rights and duties are as inseparable as two sides of the same shield . . . We cannot act lawlessly and expect freedom, or refuse to work and expect a high

standard of living as a matter of right . . . In the light of these truths we rededicate ourselves and our churches to the furtherance of human rights for all people".

This section also calls upon the Department of Religious Liberty of the National Council to "conduct an inquiry into reported moves to destroy the human rights of Muslims, Jews and other minority groups in the Soviet Union and its captive and associated nations, and *if warranted* (italics mine) to make a strong representation to the United Nations".*

There is little here with which the average American would disagree. However, the Peace program now calls for "discussion" of the issues, and for these discussion groups we are referred to the "background papers", to the key *Study Guide*, and to "supplementary materials".

The first step of the "Study Guide" is to get the discussion away from that mild mention of Soviet violation of human rights just as quickly as possible. We are told, "A fundamental consideration in a sound discussion . . . is the *whole field of human rights*". (What this is to mean, we learn later). In the meantime, however, we are sternly warned: "Interest in human rights can easily be exploited for political propaganda purposes." (!)

"The question of human rights is sometimes used for political purposes to justify criticism of *another country or group*".

"Some people consider it praiseworthy to point out the infringement of human rights by 'enemies' (the quote marks placed there by the N.C. writer implies that he doubts that there really are any enemies) while *similar practices* in one's own history can be astutely ignored."

Finally, we are told, "Christians are reminded of the Biblical injunction to take the obstruction out of our own eye if we are to help in clearing the sight of others".

Now, notice what has happened here, in four smooth steps. Originally, (1) there was mention (very faint, to be sure) that the Soviet Union violates human rights. Next (2) we are told, however, that to say anything about these violations is most unfair and of course is done by "some people" (reactionaries, of course) for "political" reasons.

Then (3) we are led to equate the crimes of Khrushchev and his gangster regime against the enslaved peoples with the "similar practices" . . . obviously, crimes of equal weight — by the United States government and officers against the people of this country!

And then (4) the clincher: all things being considered, we had better talk about OUR faults rather than to say anything about what communism is doing!

(The exposé by Mr. Philbrick of the National Council of Churches' so-called "Peace Program" will be continued in the March 1960 issue of NEWS AND VIEWS. Don't miss this issue! Also, send extra copies of each issue to church people in your local community so that they can be made aware of this subtle propaganda in the name of "Peace".)

*It is truly regrettable that the words "if warranted" were inserted in this section. They leave a huge hole for the National Council hierarchy to find that such a move is NOT warranted.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS ISSUE: 10¢ EACH, OR \$9.00 PER 100.



**St. Marks Vestry
Committee**

REPORT ON
**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

A REPORT TO THE VESTRY
OF
ST. MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA
ON THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RESOLUTION CONTINUED

the views of 39,000,000 Protestants in the United States; and

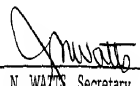
WHEREAS, the activities of said NCCCA are, in the opinion of the Vestry of the said St. Mark's Episcopal Church of Shreveport, Louisiana, contrary to the best interest of the Episcopal Church and in particular contrary to the best interest of the members of this church.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

- (1) That the report of the Committee be and it is hereby approved and adopted as a report of this Vestry; that the same be released to the press and other news media; that copies of said report and of these resolutions be forwarded to the Bishop of Louisiana, the Suffragan Bishop of Louisiana, to the Vestries of all Episcopal churches in Louisiana and to such others as said special committee may deem appropriate; and
- (2) That the Bishop of Louisiana be and he is hereby petitioned immediately to take such steps as may be necessary and expedient to cause the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to withdraw from The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States.

CERTIFICATE

I, the undersigned Secretary of the Vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana, do hereby certify that the foregoing are true copies of resolutions adopted by said Vestry at a special meeting at the Church, in Shreveport, Louisiana, Friday, April 21, 1961.


J. N. WATTS, Secretary

PREFACE

Since requests for this Report have been received from all sections of the United States, it is appropriate that some background information be furnished concerning St. Mark's and the Vestry Committee for the benefit of those who lack such information.

St. Mark's Church, Shreveport, founded in 1839, is the largest Episcopal Church in the Diocese which includes the entire State of Louisiana. It has over 2,100 active communicants and a Sunday school enrollment of about 850. In addition to the Sunday school, it conducts a Day School which is currently being expanded.

The special Committee appointed by the Vestry to investigate the NCCCA includes the Rector, both Wardens, the Chancellor, and the Chairman of the Day School as well as several additional laymen, all of whom were Vestrymen at the time the Committee was appointed. Several of the Committee have served at one time or another as chairmen of annual or special fund raising drives of St. Mark's. All have participated in various civic endeavors.

The oldest member of the Committee is 61, the youngest 34. The average age is about 46 years.

The educational background of the Committee is varied; the Universities attended by Committee members range from Ivy League to the Southwest and Louisiana Universities. Three have legal backgrounds; two are engineers, and one is a geologist.

The Committee's approach to its assignment was neither prejudiced nor provincial. Its work was done in a careful, unhurried, dispassionate and analytical manner. Ten months were spent in the study and preparation of this Report. The Committee had but one objective in mind: to determine the facts and to draw its own independent conclusions therefrom, using as its sole standard for ultimate judgment what it conceived to be the long-term best interest of the Church.

We sincerely request that you read and study this Report in the same spirit in which it was written, without prejudgment or prejudice.

The Vestry Committee
ST. MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
908 Rutherford
Shreveport, Louisiana
H. E. Linam, Chairman

May, 1961

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INTRODUCTION

At its June 13, 1960 meeting, the Vestry by unanimous resolution instructed the Rector to appoint a committee to study The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States (NCCCA). This committee was immediately thereafter appointed, and has been studying the NCCCA continuously ever since. This report is a summation of its findings and conclusions.

Many times in this report we will quote Dr. J. Quinter Miller, with whom we had a lengthy question and answer conference on February 3, 1961. Dr. Miller is an Assistant General Secretary of the NCCCA. He has worked for the NCCCA and its predecessors for over 25 years; he is an ordained minister but has never been the Pastor of a church. The proceedings of our interview were recorded by a Court Reporter and the full transcript is available in Shreveport upon request.

FINDINGS

Theoretically, and perhaps practically, the NCCCA does many things which are good. It conducts foreign missionary work; it distributes food and clothing to many who need it overseas. It prepares and distributes church literature.

But we have not discovered any so-called evangelistic activity of the NCCCA which is not also a function of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Our church also conducts foreign missionary work and publishes literature.

Our investigation leads us to the following conclusions:

The NCCCA has done and is doing a great number of things that we feel are not in the best interest of the Church. We have proved beyond a reasonable doubt that it has made a practice of speaking on behalf of all members of the 34 denominations comprising the NCCCA, when it is in fact not specifically authorized to do so. In this regard, it has been deceitful, in that it actually did desire the impression to be made on the public that it spoke officially for "the 39 million."

The NCCCA has far exceeded its rightful role in speaking out, as the official voice of Protestantism in America, on such controversial issues as federal aid to education, the right-to-work laws, the ethical considerations of the steel dispute, the seating of Red China in the United Nations, etc.

The NCCCA, although not communistic, has been an aid to the communist conspiracy.

It has been hypocritical in assailing "guilt by association" and "name calling" in one breath and employing it in the next.

It was deceitful in the manner in which it handled the Fifth World Order Study Conference in Cleveland. It is deceitful in refusing to repudiate mistakes or to correct misinterpretations in the press, except when

such mistakes or misrepresentations are harmful to what they (the professional core of the NCCCA) believe and profess.

We believe that such deceit is not a proper Christian attitude.

The NCCCA is in fact, if not in theory, dominated by a hard core of professionals, some of whom have never done pastoral work. We believe they may consider themselves leaders of what they would like to consider as a super church. They deliberately destroyed the Lay Committee of the NCCCA because the NCCCA could not effectively spread its propaganda with such a loud dissonant voice from within. We are of the opinion that there is something basically wrong with a religious organization which cannot bear to have within its framework a highly responsible group of the laity simply because it disagrees with the dominating clergy.

It is wrong for the NCCCA to carry out lobbying activities with the federal government at all, and it is particularly erroneous for it to do so as the professed voice of Protestantism.

There are only two choices available in reaching a conclusion in regard to the reading list, "The Negro American", which it published. Either the NCCCA displayed incompetence in allowing it to be distributed, or else it was distributed deliberately as a corrosive. In all clarity we must conclude that it was a display of incompetence, which conclusion strengthens our conviction that the NCCCA should refrain from taking stands on highly controversial issues in politics and economics: besides not being so authorized, it is not competent to judge upon all of these matters.

The most important point of all is this: far from being the great cohesive power it was intended to be, the NCCCA by its actions is splitting the churches wide open. We believe that it is doing much more harm than good; that its actions will restrict the attracting of new members to the church; that it will alienate and is now alienating many of the now faithful parishioners; that it is creating disastrous dissension in all Protestant Churches. We know for a fact that it is wreaking such havoc in individual churches that meeting of budgets is being impaired, and that life-long friendships between laity and clergy, and between laity and laity, are being strained.

In summation, we conclude with firm conviction and only after long study and prayer, that the National Council of Churches as it is presently constituted and operated, is a harmful and highly dangerous institution.

SECTION ONE

PRONOUNCEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. was organized in 1950 as a merger of the old Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and seven smaller religious organizations.¹ The NCCCA

1. Appendix, Section A-1, page i.

is basically a continuation of the Federal Council, and the Preamble as well as the body of the Constitution of the NCCCA make it clear that the NCCCA shall continue the work of the Federal Council.² In addition, some of the specific actions of the Federal Council, taken years before the formation of the NCCCA, are lauded by some official actions of departments of the NCCCA; the NCCCA also adopts works, statements, goals, etc. of the Federal Council as its own.³

It now embraces 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members. It budgets more than \$12,000,000 net a year – about 61 per cent from the churches; 26 per cent from sales of materials (mostly literature); 12 per cent in gifts from corporations and others; and 1 per cent from miscellaneous sources. (Percentages and budget figures from current National Council pamphlet, "The National Council of Churches, What It Is, What It Does.")

The Preamble to the Constitution of the new organization stated that it was formed because

"... in the Providence of God, the time has come when it seems more fully fitting to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour, by the creation of an inclusive cooperative agency of the Christian churches of the United States of America ..."

Under the heading, "Objects," the Constitution listed 10 purposes (Article II, Sections 1-10), all intended primarily to (Article II, Section 4) "assist in the spread of the Christian religion," and encourage Christianity in its basic religious tenets of Faith, Fellowship, and Charity – the latter word used here in its simple dictionary definition of "Christian love."

In the 11 years since adoption of that Constitution, the NCCCA may have achieved some of its aims in the purely Christian religious fields referred to above.

But it also has become a national and even international propaganda machine in controversial political issues involving baffling problems in constitutional and statutory law which have split Congresses, created deep schisms within both major political parties, divided bar associations, resulted even in reversal by the Supreme Court of its own previous decisions, and provoked basic differences of opinion in groups everywhere, including Church congregations.

The NCCCA has done this in the name of Christianity and Christian unity, yet obviously the more controversial an issue the greater the cleavage in opinion concerning it.

Thus, instead of fostering Christian love and unity, the NCCCA's course has been one to encourage and breed dissension among Protestant Christians and in their Communions and churches over political problems

having no place in the worship of God. The end result has been to weaken the confidence of American Protestants in their own clerical leadership and to divide them against each other in bitter disputes even within individual congregations. The effect of the NCCCA in its political activities thus has been to hinder rather than to help Christianity.

The NCCCA carries on with this almost daily political propaganda through a huge staff organization of 200 executive and administrative officials plus 600 employees of lesser importance (figures by Dr. Miller in his testimony before the Vestry Committee) and through 70 groups known as Units, General Departments, Divisions, Departments of Divisions, Committees and professional Staff Study personnel totalling approximately 6,000 persons. (Facsimiles of the NCCCA's organization chart and its membership and General Board make-up are included as Appendix, Section E, page xiii).

An Office of Information, well staffed and with an Executive Director, pours forth to communications media, the churches, and the people generally the controversial political propaganda which the NCCCA contends is part of its furtherance of Christianity on the vague principle that everything in life – business, social, economic, or religious – could be improved by greater use of Christian principles, an obvious truism. The NCCCA's controversial political propaganda goes forth not only in professionally handled publicity but through speeches, reports, General Board and General Assembly Pronouncements and through legislative lobby by testimony before Congressional Committees of its representatives – along lines set by the General Board.

Press releases of the NCCCA, Pronouncements of the General Board, and utterances and statements of various officials of the NCCCA make it clear that the organization presents itself as "the voice of Eastern Orthodox and American Protestantism" and as "representative of" the "thinking of" its 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members.^{4,5}

Dr. Miller pointed out to the Vestry Committee that the NCCCA seeks to be a voice for Protestantism similar to the voice of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.⁶ The Roman Catholic Church is a single organization with all of its individual Churches under control of one central authority. Protestantism is not so organized and does not now so function except to the extent that the NCCCA has, in exceeding its mandate, arrogated to itself such authority. Dr. Miller also said that the federal government often calls on the NCCCA for "the Protestant viewpoint" on various issues.

The statement directly suggests a basic issue: that the NCCCA, chiefly through its General Board is looked upon as the voice of Protestantism – including the Protestant Episcopal faith and St. Mark's Church – and that

2. Appendix, Section A-2, page i.

3. Appendix, Section B-1, page ii.

4. Appendix, Section D-1, pages xi-xii, I.

5. Appendix, Section F, page xiii.

6. Appendix, Section C-2, page iv.

it deliberately fosters the belief that it is the voice of Protestantism, when it actually is not and cannot be.

Dr. Miller said there has been confusion about the authority of the NCCCA because of "garbling" by the press. There are 1,755 daily newspapers, with 58,299,723 circulation (World Almanac, 1961). Probably not more than half a dozen have New York news offices. The rest get whatever news they print about the NCCCA from the press associations, each of which has a religion editor in New York. The religion editors are in constant contact with the NCCCA's Office of Information.

While an individual reporter or newspaper may have garbled a NCCCA news story at some time or other, it is inconceivable that the press associations have been doing so for 11 years – especially since the NCCCA holds press conferences in "well staffed and equipped press rooms" (quotation from NCCCA news release 17 GA 2/10/61) for Board meetings.⁷

It is inconceivable also that, if there had been widespread garbling leading to widespread misunderstanding of the functions of the NCCCA, the guiding executives of the organization should not have repudiated such garbling long ago. Dr. Miller said there has been no repudiation.⁸ Of course there hasn't. There is nothing to repudiate.

The NCCCA through its General Board, insists that the side taken by the National Council in a controversial political issue is the Christian side, the implication thus being that any other side is not Christian – or not as Christian as the NCCCA's.

But, on what grounds, for example, can anyone contend that medical care for the aged – an ideal and a purpose on which all Christians might agree – is Christian only if paid for by one method and not Christian if paid for by another method? Yet, that is a subject on which the NCCCA, through its General Board, has taken what it holds to be "the Christian stand" in legislative establishment of medical care for the aged.

Yet the points at issue in this legislation now pending are not care for the aged but means of paying for it and this was debated on opposite sides last fall by the two major presidential candidates almost daily. On election day there were only 112,000 votes difference between the candidates in 69,000,000 votes cast. By what assumption of omniscience does the NCCCA, through the General Board, determine which legislative method in obtaining care for the aged best serves Christianity?

The NCCCA is headed by a General Assembly of approximately 800. It meets every three years.

The day-to-day governing body, with full constitutional authority to act as it sees fit in any way except on such matters as membership in the NCCCA, is the General Board, made up of representatives of the national governing authorities of the various constituent Communions.

7. Appendix, Section D-2, page xi.

8. Appendix, Section C-3, pages v-vi.

The Board's membership varies from time to time, due to fractional votes being permitted. The Triennial Workbook for the General Assembly of last December, 1960, gives the Board a total of 173 votes divided among 273 members. Both the General Assembly and the Board are divided approximately 65 per cent clergymen and 35 per cent laymen. Representation of each Communion in both bodies is determined by a formula based chiefly on a Communion's total membership.

Instead of being an executive body administering programs "more fully to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour" (Preamble of Constitution) the NCCCA's General Board functions in practical effect in the manner of a Protestant Political Propaganda Hierarchy.

Under the NCCCA's Bylaws⁹ (Article XV, Section 2), 20 members of the General Board constitute a quorum, provided they include members of at least 10 of the 34 constituent Communions. For the General Assembly, 60 representatives constitute a quorum. (Presumably this means members holding 20 and 60 full votes, respectively.)

Thus, 11-1/2 per cent of the voting membership of the General Board, if it is from 29-1/2 per cent of the Communions, is a quorum and can conduct business – with only 11 votes of the 20 being a majority of such attendance.

The NCCCA, when criticized for non-religious political propaganda activities, hides behind the contention that "actions of the Board commit no one."¹⁰ This statement literally is true and is set down in the Constitution and in other formal actions of the Board itself.

But the Pronouncements of the General Board are presented to the churches and the public in a manner to give the impression that they are representative of the thinking of the 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 members. NCCCA activities and Board Pronouncements could not gain any volume of publicity in behalf of Christianity or political causes otherwise. What a quorum of 20 on the Board decided – or a minority of 50 or 75 – would not be "news" for any communications media or of interest to many people. It is the embracement of "39,000,000 Protestants" that draws attention to the NCCCA's activities and makes them important in the public mind and to the news media.

The most recent Pronouncement by the General Board – on federal aid to education at the Syracuse meeting last February 22, 1961 – was given to communications media by the NCCCA with a news release (No. 22 GA 3/14/61)¹¹ that this Pronouncement is made by the General Board as "representative of the 34 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Communions in the Council. . . ." The General Board itself in a Resolution adopted at its September 14-15, 1954 meeting stated that its Pronouncements "do

9. Appendix, Section A-4, pages i-ii.

10. Appendix, Section A-5, page ii.

11. Appendix, Section G, page xiii.

have full value as an expression of the current conviction of the churches through it (the NCCCA's General Assembly or General Board." The NCCCA is, collectively, the 34 Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members.

It is noteworthy that these representations mentioned above occurred both before and after Dr. Miller's appearance before the Vestry committee. It is almost unbelievable in light of the representations in the various resolutions that Dr. Miller, as a full-time staff member of the NCCCA, could claim that the NCCCA not only does not seek to foster the idea that it speaks for 39,000,000 Protestants, but actually attempts to remove this implication from press releases. The NCCCA will not, however, refute or repudiate such claims.¹² These contradictory assertions are deceitful.

The General Board is created through a somewhat nebulous chain of authority in which neither individual Protestants, nor individual churches, nor Dioceses have any direct voice in selecting Board members.

For example, St. Mark's Church has a voice in affairs of the Diocese of Louisiana. The Diocese of Louisiana has a voice in selection of the Protestant Episcopal National Council. The Protestant Episcopal National Council names members to the National Council of Churches General Board (and the General Assembly).

The Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana has no representation on the NCCCA's General Board. All Protestantism in Louisiana Communions belonging to the NCCCA is represented on the General Board only by two members of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., (in Louisiana a segregated Colored branch of the Baptist Communion), each with one half a vote.¹³

It has not been the practice of the NCCCA to give expression to minority views on any political Pronouncement. The Board may act simply on knowledge and opinion of the members present, or it may have a report from one of the 70 entities of the NCCCA, or a staff report prepared by its own professionals.

But such Staff reports are not necessarily impartial or objective. They might be well compared to a brief prepared in a law firm to advocate whatever the law firm sought to advocate in a case at hand. Clearly the 39,000,000 Protestants have no way of knowing what is going on until it happens, and no recourse then.

Usually these political propaganda stands are approved by the General Board through less than a majority vote of its voting membership.

The Vestry Committee has had before it the official texts of approximately 40 political Pronouncements by the General Board from 1951

through 1959.¹⁴ Many of these were passed by voice votes. But, where a record vote was taken, not a single one of these Resolutions mustered as many as one-half of 173 General Board votes.

For example, the General Board's first Pronouncement on federal aid to education (Pronouncement No. 13, 2-1, May 18, 1954) was passed by the General Board through a vote of 33 to 8, the favorable total being 54 less than a majority of the 173 votes on the Board. Here is an issue which—with some amplifications—still is red hot not only in Congress but all over the nation and has been throughout the seven years since the 1954 action of the General Board. Yet, at that time, the General Board—with only 23 per cent of its voting membership present and less than 20 per cent of the voting membership approving the Pronouncement—disposed of this issue handily.

The only General Board Pronouncement that has come to the Vestry Committee's attention in which a majority of the voting membership was recorded in the tally was a second federal aid to education Pronouncement passed at the Syracuse General Board meeting last February 22, 1961. This drew 87 affirmative votes, exactly one more than a majority of the total voting membership.

In this discussion the Vestry Committee is not concerned with which side of any issue the General Board has taken. Our point is that any political Pronouncements of the type often made are not in accord with the constitutionally announced purposes of the NCCCA, or with what we consider to be the obvious intent in forming the NCCCA in 1950, and that they should be no part of non-denominational activities by many Protestant denominations united "... to manifest Oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour ..."

While the Vestry Committee has avoided questions of what side the NCCCA takes in pronouncements on various controversial, political issues, it has become obvious to us in our studies that it nearly always is found on the side of more government control of the lives and liberties of individuals. Thus, in the pretense of seeking One Christian World, it actually is seeking One Political World.

When 69,000,000 Americans of all walks of life, all religious beliefs or no religious beliefs, of all colors and creeds, split evenly at the political polls, the same political differences must extend on into every group or organization, including the Protestant Communions, Dioceses and individual congregations.

Through its political activities, the NCCCA carries this political discord into the many facets of Protestant Christianity and thus builds fires of destruction under the tenets of Christian Faith, Fellowship and Charity which it was created to preserve and increase.

As an example of questions on which the General Board acts—supposedly in furtherance of Christianity—we cite the following Pronounce-

12. Appendix, Section C-3, pages v-v.

13. Appendix, Section D-5, page xii.

14. Appendix, Section H, pages xiii-xvi.

ments and the total of favorable votes cast; in each case less than a majority, but with the public obviously given the impression that these positions are "representative of" or "the current thinking of" 34 Protestant Communions with 39,000,000 members:

PRONOUNCEMENT 25.2-1, June 2, 1960: An Agenda of what the United States government should do as action for peace. Sixty-nine votes for, three against.

PRONOUNCEMENT 25.3-2, June 2, 1960: In this Pronouncement a NCCCA position on use of nuclear energy was approved with 57 favorable votes in the General Board—30 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 24.2-1, June 4, 1958: Protesting that there might be too much secrecy in the American government concerning control of armaments and the use of space. The pronouncement was passed with 57 favorable votes—30 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 20.2-1, June 6, 1956: A demand for freeing of all Japanese war prisoners. Passed by 67 affirmative votes, 20 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 21.2a, December 2, 1959: Covers ethics in industrial relations. Passed with 73 favorable votes, 14 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 30.1-1, February 25, 1960: Dealing with health services, became the position of the NCCCA through 48 favorable votes, 39 less than a majority.

PRONOUNCEMENT 7.2-1, May 18, 1954: This Pronouncement on technical assistance to foreign countries became a policy of the NCCCA "as representative of" 34 Protestant Communions, with 39,000,000 members, by a vote of 31 for, 6 against, and 0 abstentions. It is the smallest total vote recorded for any Pronouncement available to the Vestry Committee from 1951 to the present.

Other examples of positions taken by the NCCCA through Pronouncements of its General Board—approved by less than a majority of the Board's total votes—could be cited, but the above are typical. As typical examples of positions taken by the NCCCA on purely political problems in which there is certain to be disagreement in almost any group of any type that can be brought together, we cite the following General Board Pronouncements enacted by voice vote:

PRONOUNCEMENT 2.1-2, June 4, 1958, Agriculture: Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy. No vote record available.

PRONOUNCEMENT 3.1-1, December 5, 1957: International Aid and Trade. No vote record available.

Discussions and amplifications on some of these Pronouncements are found in the Appendix.¹⁵

The NCCCA also has taken specific and controversial political positions on such federal legislative matters as immigration, permanent universal military training (which it opposed), and the loyalty oath in federal college scholarships.

In all instances, the NCCCA acts in controversial political matters on the general ground that a "moral problem" or "Christian question" is involved. That can be true of any factor in any phase of the life of any individual, community, organization or nation. There can be no disagreement that all Christians want Christian principles to prevail in the activities of everyone.

But, by what moral or constitutional right does the NCCCA, through action usually by only a minority of the members of its General Board, arbitrarily determine what IS the Christian position in political, legislative and governmental problems?

In the Pronouncements of its General Board, the NCCCA in effect says to its 34 constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members: "This is the Christian side and you, as a Christian, should follow it."

Are Protestant Episcopalians, including those of the congregation of St. Mark's, less Christian for not agreeing with political Pronouncements of the NCCCA, and are those who agree more Christian?

There is no question of freedom of the pulpit or of the right—and sacred duty—of all Christians and Christian groups, whether church congregations, Communions or organizations such as the NCCCA, to seek Christian objectives in behalf of benefiting humanity. But it is not the function of any executive group in an organization of Protestant Communions to assume authority to determine which of several political approaches to such objectives are right and Christian, and which are not, or to resolve questions of controversial constitutional law in which points of dispute are not factors in furthering the Faith, Fellowship and Charity of Christianity.

SECTION TWO

THE CHARGE OF COMMUNISM WITHIN THE NCCCA

The Vestry Committee knows of no instance where any responsible person has accused the NCCCA of being Communist, a Communist Front, or of having any of its executive or administrative posts manned by a Communist. A check made in behalf of this Committee by a local newspaper* shows that at no time has the NCCCA been listed as subversive

15. Appendix, Section I, pages xvi-xvii.
* The Shreveport Times.

or cited as a Communist Front by any of the four major governmental bodies which investigate such matters, these being: the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Attorney General's Office and the California House Un-American Activities Committee, which has conducted years of investigation into Communist activities, particularly in California.

But there is room for discussion of the extent to which activities or Pronouncements of the NCCCA or of high officials within it may have paralleled propaganda of the communists.

The NCCCA leader who has been attacked most strongly as furthering causes which the Communists wish furthered, whether wittingly or unwittingly, is Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, immediate past President of the NCCCA. Since the controversy concerning Dr. Dahlberg is an area of criticism which could be extended to include many other prominent leaders, such as Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who is mentioned elsewhere in this Report, the Vestry Committee thinks that it should be the subject of a separate report. However, since it has received a great deal of national publicity, many sincere Christians are concerned about the discredit which has been brought on the constituent Communions and the laity, whether wittingly or unwittingly. Therefore, we include a report of it, containing our opinions, in the Appendix as Section J, pages xvii through xxiii.

Some of the utterances and activities emanating from or promulgated by the NCCCA have closely paralleled those of the Communist conspiracy.

The following are examples:

1. The Cleveland Conference (See Section Three) urged the seating of Red China.
2. The Cleveland Conference urged abolition of universal military training; so do the communists.
3. The Cleveland Conference urged that we suspend atomic testing unilaterally if necessary. Nothing could please the communists more.
4. The Cleveland Conference urged abandonment of military alliances such as SEATO. The communists have long fought against our military alliances.
5. The NCCCA is bitterly opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has proposed what amounts to its dissolution, by offering alterations which would in effect destroy it. Mr. Hoover wrote on Page 194 of *Masters of Deceit* the following:

"A primary tactic of the Communist Party is to preserve the legal status of the Party. Thus, any organization which has the duty to investigate or expose communist activity is singled out for attack. For years the Party has campaigned against the House Committee on Un-American

Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and the Senate Investigating Committee."

6. The NCCCA has been very critical of the film "Operation Abolition", which exposes communist instigation of the student riots in San Francisco in 1960.
7. The Communists would undermine our morals; Mr. Hoover wrote on Page 195 of *Masters of Deceit* that "Morality is strictly a bourgeois device. To the communists everything that promotes the revolution is moral, legal and beautiful." The NCCCA published and distributed a reading list some of whose recommended books would certainly tend to undermine the public morals.
8. The NCCCA urges repeal of the McCarran Act (restriction of immigrants). The communists are anxious for this repeal also, so that they may be able to bring even more spies into this country.
9. The NCCCA urges that we should not allow Mexican migratory workers to continue to cross the border to work in California. (This appears to us, incidentally, to be in direct contrast to their stand in reference to the McCarran Act). This fight against the Mexican *brazeros* is being led by the AFL-CIO (which donated \$200,000 to the NCCCA) and is receiving great assistance from the Mexican Communist Party. The results on the economy of North Mexico from the sudden unemployment of 400,000 workers would be disastrous and could well lead to another "Castro" revolution.

SECTION THREE

THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE; LOBBYING

Many of the pronouncements and resolutions that concern us emanated from the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland, November 18-21, 1958. The NCCCA, through the General Board, claims that the findings of the conference speak only for the conference and do not represent the views of the NCCCA, and that the NCCCA is not responsible for its actions or statements. This is hard to swallow; this is an example of where the NCCCA has been the Prime Mover in causing something to happen and then denying responsibility for the results.

The Study Conference was called by the General Board¹⁶ after the NCCCA's Department of International Affairs had worked the better part of a year preparing "work sheets" for it. The NCCCA published and widely distributed a report on the conference called *Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet*. This report states that the Conference "was

16. Appendix, Section B-2, page ii.

cular, that the values we cherish might have a better chance for survival if the other half of the world were unscathed. Now, it will be argued that this is the counsel of surrender, but it is not necessarily so." (Emphasis added)

The Vestry Committee considers it improper for the NCCCA to distribute educational material concerning matters so far afield from those of the Gospel; but it feels that it is even a greater mistake to lobby on behalf of these matters before agencies or legislative bodies of the federal government. For it does in fact so lobby, despite the fact that Dr. Miller at one point in his testimony states this: "In all of the debates about the function of this office (Washington) it is always understood and explicitly stated that this has no lobby purpose and has absolutely no relationship to a lobby approach." However, in another portion of his testimony he admits that it does carry out activities which can only be defined as lobbying.²¹

The NCCCA maintains a permanent Washington office²² which it is seeking to enlarge. It urges member denominations not to present their views to Washington independently, but through the NCCCA.

The range of subjects upon which lobbying has occurred is very wide.²³ In addition to the subjects mentioned in the Workbook, the NCCCA has officially opposed the right-to-work laws.

It is currently studying a document which it prepared called "The Ethical Aspects of Inflation and the Ethics and Economics of Defense Spending and Disarmament." It has a project under way on a church-wide program "on the role of the churches in resources uses and conservation of natural resources." These studies relate to the program of the NCCCA designed to influence government thinking and legislation.

SECTION FOUR

THE NCCCA AND THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE; "NAME-CALLING"

The NCCCA seems to take the position that any information obtained in any hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee cannot be accepted. Dr. Miller used the phrase, "I surely wouldn't ever take that as authentic"²⁴ when asked by the Vestry Committee concerning certain revelations in the House Committee's records concerning Communism. The attitude seems especially to be—as placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller—that testimony before the House Committee by ex-Communists cannot be given credence in any way.

21. Appendix, Section C-1, page iii.

22. Appendix, Section D-3, pages xi-xii.

23. Appendix, Section D-4, page xii.

* Transcript, page 128.

The Vestry Committee cannot judge the veracity of evidence by any witness before any governmental committee. But we do feel that there are two main sources of accurate information concerning activities of Communist cells, apparatus or agents in this country. One is the testimony of Communists who were part of such activities at one time and who have repented. The other is the testimony of FBI agents who were undercover agents in Communist cells for years. Some testimony from both sources has been referred to with disdain—as to veracity—by some officials of the NCCCA.²⁴

Individual members of the NCCCA — and some newspapers — have been active in movements to have the House Un-American Activities Committee abolished; for example, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, past President of the NCCCA, was a signer of a petition to Congress published as a paid newspaper advertisement, making such a demand.²⁵

The General Board issued a pronouncement (14.1-1) on March 17, 1954, which would render it ineffective and further states:

"III. A more basic threat has been a growing tendency on the part of our people and their representatives in government to suppose that it is within the competence of the state to determine what is and what is not American. The American way is to preserve freedom by encouraging diversity within the unity of the nation and by trusting truth to prevail over error in open discussion. The American way is to rely upon individuals to develop and express individual opinions. The American way is to depend upon the educational institutions to seek the truth and teach it without fear. The American way is to look to the churches in the richness of their diversity to bring to the nation light and discipline from God to maintain a responsible freedom."

The General Board thus questions the competency of the State to define the American way (the people and their elected representatives constitute the State), but they do not hesitate to arrogate to themselves the wisdom of defining the American way.

This attitude of belittling a constituted congressional investigating committee of nearly a quarter of a century of activity is, to this Vestry Committee, amazing. The House Committee was formed in May, 1938, during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration as a special committee of the House. Shortly thereafter, it was made a permanent standing committee of the House and still is. During its more than 22 years of existence, it has heard literally millions of words of testimony from literally hundreds of witnesses. In addition, it has had for its information quantities of private reports of investigations by other governmental agencies. At times

24. Appendix, Section L-1, pages xxv-xxvii contains a series of remarks by the Executive Secretary of the Arkansas Council of Churches, who was a delegate to the General Assembly meeting of December, 1960. State Councils work under the close guidance of the NCCCA and are highly commended by it.

25. Appendix, Section L-2, pages xxvii-xxviii.

it has been Democratic in the majority of its membership, at times Republican. It has had Republican and Democratic Chairmen. It has functioned under Republican and Democratic Speakers of the House – the Speaker having a powerful voice in naming the personnel of such committees.

Unquestionably, the Committee has made mistakes at times. Unquestionably, it has heard evidence at times that was false and it may at times have drawn erroneous conclusions from accurate evidence. Although questions might be raised as to testimony given before the House Committee by individuals, such records as its citation of publications and letter-heads listing certain persons as members of organizations are documentary. Furthermore, the testimony given by all witnesses is given under oath and the individuals are therefore subject to prosecution for perjury. It has been the subject of attack not only from "liberals," and various churchmen, such as Dr. Blake, Dean John C. Bennett, Bishop Edgar L. Love, Dr. John A. McKay, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, but also from Communist Front organizations and other organizations whose activities parallel some activities of some communist organizations. It has been subject to frequent attack by the official Moscow Communist newspaper, Pravda. Several times national campaigns to bring about its dissolution have been organized, particularly during the past calendar year.

When last November's presidential election brought a "liberal" victory, the organized and seemingly well financed efforts to destroy the House Un-American Activities Committee were increased in intensity. But when a vote came in the House in the present session, only six members voted against the appropriation. The Chairman of the Committee, when he arose to speak in behalf of the appropriation, was given a long and standing ovation from virtually the entire House membership, Democratic and Republican.

A year ago, when the NCCCA entered vigorous protest to the Air Force against a Manual distributed to its members – dealing with Communist infiltration into the Churches – Chairman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee invited the top officials of the NCCCA to appear before their Committee in refutation of statements in the Manual which the Chairman of the House Committee stated were correct in their substance. The chairman of the Vestry Committee is in receipt of a letter²⁶ from the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee – in response to inquiry from the Vestry Committee Chairman²⁷ – stating that not one official of the NCCCA accepted this invitation. Yet, NCCCA officials have participated in attacks on the House Committee Chairman and on the House Committee as well as on the Manual. Our purpose in mentioning this is not to raise any issue as to the Manual itself, but simply to further display the attitude of the NCCCA.

The Vestry Committee recognizes that the mere fact that the beliefs of a person or an organization may be in line with some beliefs of Com-

munist or its leaders does not mean that the person or organization necessarily are communistic, any more than that having four legs makes an animal a horse.

But, persons who hold high public positions in, or are spokesmen for, an organization which professes itself in political and other propaganda as "representative of" or expressing "the current opinions" of 34 Communions of 39,000,000 American Protestants should take especial care that in their personal activities they are not bringing reflection upon these millions and are not furthering a Communist cause in a manner inimical to both Christianity and American freedom.

The NCCCA and some of its leading figures have resorted to "name calling" as their reply to and denunciation of what they consider "name calling" of the NCCCA by some of its critics. Hypocrisy and demagoguery in this way have crept into the NCCCA's own defense against various charges made against it.

In its publication, "The Truth", the NCCCA reprints a New York Times article of March 28, 1960.* In it J. Howard Pew, former President of the Sun Oil Company, head of the United Presbyterian Foundation, and Chairman of the General Board's 1951-1955 Lay Committee (which was disbanded by the General Board after the Committee sought futilely to end or lessen the Board's political propaganda activities) is quoted as saying that men of wealth would "continue to withhold contributions to the corporate Church" until it stopped making Pronouncements on certain social and political issues.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Past President of the NCCCA, was quoted as saying that "support for slanderous accusations against liberal churchmen" comes from groups "specifically including wealthy men of the far right" (politically) as if that nollified the importance or veracity of the criticism.

Does political thinking of those of the far right – or left, or any other direction – make them un-Christian?

Does possession of wealth keep a person from being a Christian? (Abolition of private property, of course, is one goal of Communism.)

Where would the cause of the NCCCA itself – and the work of most of its Communions – be but for persons of wealth in regard to the furthering of Christianity? This is, indeed, demagoguery – in the name of Christianity. The NCCCA itself lists 12 per cent of its annual income as coming from special gifts from corporations and others – presumably all of wealth. It is no secret that gifts running individually into several hundred thousand dollars have come to the NCCCA from organizations or individuals of wealth.

In this same pamphlet, "The Truth", the introduction – presented by the NCCCA itself – contains the following as its second paragraph:

26. Appendix, Section M-2, page xxx.

27. Appendix, Section M-1, page xxix.

* "The Truth" is available from the NCCCA, Department of Publications, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

"A handful of arch-critics and dissident groups who are devoting their lives to undermining the Protestant churches and their regularly constituted agencies, are unwittingly the handmaidens of Communist techniques."

The NCCCA thus turns to a weapon it denounces its critics for using – "Communist name-calling". Well along in this pamphlet, it is brought out that the document is aimed specifically at certain identified persons who have been persistent critics of the NCCCA, especially in connection with furthering some causes Communism wants furthered.

But a reader picking up "The Truth" and reading that paragraph at the very start easily might interpret it as inclusive of all who criticize the NCCCA. It is difficult to believe that deliberate subterfuge and deceit were not used in the writing of this NCCCA document.

Let us state very emphatically here that there is nothing communistic or of being "handmaidens of Communist techniques" in the many Protestant churches, ministers, and Church groups, including Protestant Episcopal, who have been criticizing the NCCCA sharply for several years, specifically on utterances and activities of its high officials and its General Board. That includes, of course, this Vestry Committee in its present report.

Some others who have criticized the NCCCA are the Very Rev. Frank L. Carruthers, Dean of St. Matthews (Episcopal) Cathedral at Dallas, Texas; The Rev. Paul DeWitt Urbano, Rector of All Saints Episcopal Church at Phoenix, Arizona; the Diocese of South Carolina; the Texas District of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod; and the largest Baptist American Convention church in the nation at Wichita, Kansas. Brief details of these criticisms are contained in Appendix, Section N, pages xxx and xxxi.

These are simply some activities that have come to the Vestry Committee's attention. None of those concerned can be considered as unintentional or intentional "handmaidens of Communist techniques," nor can criticism of the NCCCA from such sources be looked upon as uttered with other than the most sincere desire to further the teachings of Christ and to spread Christianity throughout the world. These are informed, intelligent, respected Christians – including Episcopalians – speaking. The pamphlet, "The Truth", in the haphazard manner in which it denounces critics of the NCCCA is another example of irresponsibility in the executive and administrative functions of the NCCCA itself.

SECTION FIVE

THE UNITED CHURCH WOMEN; THE LAY COMMITTEE

The NCCCA's political and other policies are the policies of all of its components – the General Departments, Divisions and the lesser groups

beneath them – this including such General Departments as United Church Women and United Church Men.

The Constitution and the General Bylaws of the NCCCA specifically point out the complete authority of the NCCCA and its General Board.²⁸

Thus, as is natural, each of the 70 components of the NCCCA functions in general in a manner calculated to foster and support the purposes, objectives and policies of all other components and of the NCCCA as a whole. This is brought out here, (1) to emphasize the scope and thus the power of the NCCCA as a whole; (2) because at times the governing body of the NCCCA attempts to avoid responsibility for actions of some of its agencies; and (3) because of belief in some quarters, especially locally, that such a component as United Church Women is entirely separate from the NCCCA which it is not.

United Church Women has 12,000,000 members, a large Board of its own, 2,000 state or local Councils, and an annual budget of around \$780,000 a year, of which it gives about half to other agencies. This year it is giving \$200,000 of the offerings at its annual World Day of Prayer to NCCCA work in Africa and Alaska – \$100,000 for each (official NCCCA news release No. 14 UCW 2/7/61).

While United Church Women may be best known for such projects as its World Day of Prayer, it is engaged constantly in furthering the political as well as social and religious causes and objectives of the NCCCA itself.

From Page 176 of the Workbook for the Fifth General Assembly, December 4-9, 1960:

"Church Women have unitedly supported action to give meaning to their concerns. Testimony has been offered on the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and foreign aid. Statements have been entered on questions of immigration legislation, appropriations for UNICEF, and appropriations for the support of the UN Technical Assistance program. In order to finance economic growth, United Church Women has supported the establishment of the Development Loan Fund of the United States of America, and the Special Fund and the International Development Association of the United Nations. Resolutions have been adopted asking that the Connally Amendment be repealed . . ."

The foregoing indicates that the United Church Women is under the control of the professionals of the NCCCA. Apparently, they have not achieved the control to the same extent over the male laity, and in view of what happened to the Lay Committee, under Chairman J. Howard Pew, it is possible they will experience further difficulty.

28. Appendix, Section A-3, page i.

One of the major concerns confronting this committee has been the fact that the NCCCA professionals have obviously been unable to tolerate a dissonant voice in the form of independent laity. When the NCCCA was formed in 1950, the Lay Committee was an integral part of the operation. The General Board disbanded it in 1955, its pleas and recommendations to the General Board never to be heard again. Its chairman, J. Howard Pew, presented an eloquent final report on the causes of this death. Dr. Miller would have us believe that the report was not the true statement of the majority of the Lay Committee.

In fact, Dr. Miller did everything in his power to discredit the Pew Report as reflecting the views of lay Protestants in general and of the majority of the Lay Committee in particular. See Appendix, Section T, pages xlv through xlvii.

However, the vote of the Lay Committee on the Lay Affirmation is clear and incontrovertible evidence that the vast majority of the members of the Lay Committee were in complete agreement with the sense of the Chairman's Final Report. This vote was:

115 members voted approval of the Lay Affirmation.

15 members refused approval.

11 members were away, with Secretaries reporting.

10 members abstained.

17 members were not heard from.

We have every reason to believe that the constituency of the Lay Committee was representative of the best minds and hearts that Protestant Laity, nation-wide, had to offer. Indeed, we cannot imagine the General Board accepting less than that.

We also believe that laymen generally share the views of that Committee as expressed in the Lay Affirmation. We ourselves share them and we believe that the National Council would not like to know or to have it known how widely these views are held.

The fact of the matter is that the Lay Committee was disbanded because it did not believe that the NCCCA should pronounce on the wide range of subjects which it covered, and suggested that before such proposed pronouncements were made, the Lay Committee should be consulted. This was unthinkable to the professionals in the NCCCA.²⁹ It is our opinion that the NCCCA felt it must do away with the Lay Committee so that it could profess unanimity of opinion, and so that the professionals could in fact dominate the NCCCA and all of its activities.

SECTION SIX

THE READING LIST

In 1957 a pamphlet titled "The Negro American - A Reading List" was published by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the

NCCCA. It contains a Foreword by Alfred S. Kramer, who was then Associate Executive Director of the Department. It contains, in addition to the Foreword, an Introduction, a Reading Guide, a list of "Some Other Helpful Materials", a list of "Some Race Relations Organizations", an Index of Authors, Addresses of Publishers, and lists of books for Primary Children (pre-school and grades 1-3), Intermediates (grades 4-6), Juniors (grades 7-9), Seniors (grades 10-12), and Adults. In the introduction, one of the compilers of the list urges: "Read for enjoyment and information, remembering to note publication date. Read aloud to your children, or put the books where they will be picked up. Make recommendations to your children's teachers and to librarians. Share your copy of this list with friends. Urge church, PTA, and other organizations to circulate copies."

This reading list is indefensible - Dr. Miller admits the NCCCA is "embarrassed" about it - and we can find no excuse for its having been printed and circulated. Dr. Miller stated that it was prepared for "mature leaders,"³⁰ an obviously erroneous statement in view of the fact that there are specific lists for children.

The list is bad for two reasons. First, some of the books are of highly questionable moral background. For instance, Dr. Miller, in a letter to our Rector in December, 1960,³¹ especially recommended to the Vestry Committee the book *Without Magnolias* by Bucklin Moon as being representative of the list in that it was trying to show the moral climate in which negroes live. (Dr. Miller did this because the NCCCA claims the list is now out of print and that there are no available copies; we have several in our files.) If this book is a recommended example, we wonder what the rest of the books must be like. Vile language³² is used in *Without Magnolias*. It depicts an act of adultery between a Negro woman and a white man in New York City, not only without an expression that this was immoral, but in such a manner that it was actually condoned; furthermore, the reader is led to feel sympathy for the participants, who experienced no remorse or qualms of conscience.

Another book, *Color Blind*, by Margaret Halsey, is written in acceptable language, but devotes all of Chapter 8, pages 89-120 inclusive, to the subject of "Sex, Jealousy and the Negro," with discussion included on relative sex potentials of Negro and White males. Regardless of what Miss Halsey contends - and the Vestry Committee is not dealing with that point - why should such material be included in the recommendations of churches?

The question raised here is not one of Negro or White morals. But, why should a tremendous church organization recommend to its 34 Communions and their 39,000,000 Protestant members the use and distribution of a book couched in filthy and pornographic language? If the subject

30. Appendix, Section C-6, page vii.

31. Appendix, Section F, pages xxxi-xxxvi. Correspondence between Dr. Plumley, our Rector, and Dr. J. Quinter Miller, leading up to the conference between the Vestry Committee and Dr. Miller, February 3, 1961.

32. Appendix, Section C-9, pages x-xi.

29. Appendix, Section C-4, pages vi-vii.

should be on the reading list, certainly there are books that discuss it in language of common decency.

The second basic fault we find in the Reading List is a strange affinity found between the Communist Conspiracy and some of the authors whose work is cited. Miss Halsey has been listed as a member or supporter of certain Communist Front organizations.³³ The author whose works are most numerous is Langston Hughes,³⁴ who was identified before a Congressional Investigatory body as an active Communist. He is the author of a blasphemous poem³⁵ the very reading of which condemns him as not just atheistic but anti-God. He is a member or sponsor of or signer for numerous communist fronts, or subversive committees and organizations.³⁶

Another author is Victor Perlo, whose book *The Negro in Southern Agriculture* – recommended on this list – was published by International Publishers, the Communist Party's major publishing firm in this country. The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee describes him as "an open propagandist for Soviet World conspiracy."³⁷

Herbert Aptheker wrote the recommended *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. He stated before the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1952 that he joined the Communist Party in 1939, and that the Soviet Union and Red China were on the side of peace but that he believed the Government of the United States was the center of war danger in the world. For communist affiliations see the Appendix.³⁸

Black Reconstruction, by W.E.B. DuBois, was recommended. DuBois has long been actively associated with Communist organizations.³⁹ In Peking on the occasion of his 91st birthday, he was given a testimonial dinner by Vice Premier Chen Yi, at which he heaped praise upon Red China. For this occasion he, too, wrote a blasphemous poem, "I Sing to China."⁴⁰ You will do well to read it if you are to understand our charge that these authors are out of place for Christian thinking and education.

There are others. We cannot imagine why the NCCCA could have possibly allowed such people to have had their writings placed on a reading list recommended by the NCCCA. At first Dr. Miller could see no relevance between "a few phrases and a few poems" and the irresponsibility of the list. He did finally admit that they did indeed indicate the character of the authors, which we pointed out must pass on into any work the authors might write. He admitted that the list was a mistake, that recommending *Without Magnolias* specifically was a mistake,⁴¹ and he

read a letter from the General Secretary of the NCCCA stating that he is very much embarrassed by the fact that the book list was issued and that he feels its issuance was very unwise and inappropriate.⁴²

At this point the Vestry Committee once more ran into the peculiar attitude of the NCCCA which intimates that they labor under the impression either that they are not responsible for the mistakes they themselves make, or else that if they ignore the bad things long enough they will disappear. For although Dr. Miller admitted the list was a mistake, actually, the NCCCA really expressed embarrassment, not regret. Indeed, Dr. Roy C. Ross in his letter (Appendix, Section R, pages xl, xli and xlii) says, and we quote:

"Along with this, I must say that I think that the greatest harm that may have come out of the issuing of the book list is the misuse of it by enemies of the Council who have distorted the nature of the list and who have misrepresented the purposes for which it was issued."

Thus, the General Secretary of the NCCCA – the highest administrative post held by a permanent employee of this organization of 39,000,000 Protestants – by-passes the wrong of the list itself, the distribution of it, the inclusion in it of filthy subject matter and vulgar discussion of such material, and finds the "greatest harm" to be merely the criticism it has brought. To the Vestry Committee the question of whether professionals or others in the NCCCA are criticized either justly or unjustly is entirely secondary in a matter of this kind. We wonder to what extent this attitude of indifference to the effect on others of an official action taken in the name of the NCCCA is reflected throughout the professional administration of the organization.

Respectfully submitted,

THE VESTRY COMMITTEE

The Rev. J. Lawrence Plumley, D. D., Rector
John M. Madison, Junior Warden
James A. Van Hook, Chancellor
H. E. Linam, Committee Chairman
Joseph L. Hargrove, Vestryman
Charlton H. Lyons, Jr., Vestryman
Charles T. McCord, Jr., Vestryman

NOTE: Mr. J. Pat Beaird, our Senior Warden, was nominated to this committee, but he is out of the country at the present time and has been for several months. Consequently, he has not had an opportunity to assist in the compilation of this Report.

33. Appendix, Section Q-1, pages xxxvi-xxxvii.

• Source: Hearings (HCUA) of October 5, 1944, Vol. 17, pages 10, 336-7.

34. Appendix, Section C-7, pages vii-x.

35. Appendix, Section Q-2, pages xxxvii-xxxviii.

• Source: Speech – Representative Donald Jackson, House of Representatives, April 20, 1960, Congressional Record, Vol. 106, No. 72.

36. Appendix, Section Q-3, pages xxxviii-xxxix.

37. Appendix, Section Q-4, pages xxxix-xi.

38. Appendix, Section C-8, page x.

39. Appendix, Section C-9, pages x-xi.

40. Appendix, Section R, pages xl-xlii.

APPENDIX

SECTION A

A-1 Constitution of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, PREAMBLE states:

"In the Providence of God, the time has come when it seems fitting more fully to manifest oneness in Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Saviour by the creation of an inclusive co-operative agency of the Christian churches of the United States of America to continue and extend the following general agencies of the churches and to combine all their interests and functions:

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
Foreign Missions Conference of North America
Home Missions Council of North America
International Council of Religious Education
Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada
National Protestant Council on Higher Education
United Council of Church Women
United Stewardship Council"

A-2 Article II – Objects, No. 3 states:

"3. To continue and extend the work of the interdenominational agencies named in the Preamble of the Constitution, together with such additional objects and purposes as the churches through the representatives in the Council from time to time agree upon."

A-3 Article V – Functions of the Constitution states:

"The functions of the Council shall include the following:

1. The general oversight and coordination of the whole field of work of the Council and of its divisions and other units."

Article V, Section 8, of the General ByLaws states:

"8. ... the Bylaws of the General Departments, and central Departments shall be subject to approval of the General Board. In case of questions whether Bylaws, Rules of Procedure and Standing Rules of Divisions and/or of any Unit are in harmony with the Constitution and General Bylaws of the Council, the General Board shall have responsibility for determining such questions."

Article V, Section 11, of the Bylaws says:

"11. The General Board shall determine the procedure whereby policy statements of the Council or its several units may be released to the Office of Public Information ..."

A-4 Article (XVI) XV – Quorum, of the General Bylaws states:

"1. For either regular or special meetings of the General Assembly, sixty representatives shall constitute a quorum, provided they in-

clude members of a majority of the constituent communions.

2. For regular or special meetings of the General Board, twenty members shall constitute a quorum, provided that they include members of at least ten of the constituent communions."

A-5 Article VII - Authority - Constitution:

- "2. The Council shall have no authority or administrative control over the churches which constitute its membership. It shall have no authority to prescribe a common creed, or form of church government, or form of worship, or to limit the autonomy of the churches co-operating in it. "

APPENDIX

SECTION B

- B-1 Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet, Report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, November 18-21, 1958:

At Page 55:

"The principle of universality of membership, as urged by the National Study Conference of 1945, seems to us a sound principle: that all nations willing to accept the obligations of the Charter be admitted." (Emphasis added)

At Page 59:

"The section on 'Political Bases of a Just and Durable Peace' of the 1942 National Study Conference (Delaware) advocated: 'That certain powers now exercised by national governments must . . . be delegated to international government, organized and acting in accordance with a world system of law.'" (Emphasis added)

- B-2 "This is the report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, November 18-21, 1958, convened by The Department of International Affairs, The Honorable Ernest A. Gross, Chairman, Kenneth L. Maxwell, Executive Director, Darrell Randall, Associate Executive Director, The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York."

- B-3 The last paragraph of Page 13 reads as follows:

"The Fifth World Order Study Conference was planned by the National Council of Churches with the understanding that it was to be followed with a nationwide educational effort. This was to include special emphasis in denominational and ecumenical conferences on Christian responsibility in international affairs, leadership training programs in every possible state and local council of churches; and education and action programs in every

possible local church across the country." (Emphasis added)

- B-4 At pages 100 and 101 Transcript of the Conference, February 3, 1961, at St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Vestry Committee and Dr. J. Quinter Miller, Assistant General Secretary for Field Operations, NCCCA:

Dr. Miller: "I think I would like to report here, and I think this is relevant, one experience which I shared in. When President Eisenhower had returned from Berlin and London and Paris just prior to Khrushchev's visit and their private conference 100 representatives of our 34 member denominations under the leadership of our President, President Dahlberg, went to Washington and had an hour's conversation with President Eisenhower. We presented him with a study program for a nationwide program for peace, which grew out of the World Order Study Conference and dealt with most of the areas of concern that the Cleveland World Order Study Conference had dealt with, as an effort to recommend real study of the same issues all over America. (Emphasis added)

APPENDIX

SECTION C

- C-1 Transcript of Proceedings of Conference with Dr. Miller: Pages 93-94:

Q. Mr. Madison: "If they brought up to our vestry here the question of whether or not we should endorse or oppose the right-to-work law I feel that by polling our vestry we would throw that thing completely out the window. We would say that is not the function of our church; that there is a division of opinion among our members and that it would split our church wide open if we took a stand one way or the other; that we didn't build our church to pass on matters like that but strictly for worship matters . . . What I want to know . . . is . . . under what authority and why should some National Council purporting to represent this group take action in issues in that kind of a situation?"

A. Dr. Miller: "We are at the heart of our difficulty in that question, sir, and with all sincerity may I try to reply?"

Mr. Madison: "My question was sincerely put, sir."

A. Dr. Miller: "I know that, yes, sir, None of the issues we have been considering . . . appear until they have been studied by a responsible group of people often for years . . . If you will apply it to St. Mark's Church in which you have a group of lay people studying a given social issue . . . and they become so concerned about that issue that they bring it to the attention of St. Mark's Church because they believe in

conscience that the Christian Gospel is here involved in a weakness in the practice or the system that ought to be corrected. Now, I regard that as a basic fundamental responsibility of the church as is the official judgment of the representatives of the churches in the National Council. Similarly this church is a part of the Protestant Episcopal Church which is a part of the National Council of Churches. This church already is responsibly involved in the National Council of Churches by virtue of that relationship. What we are here trying to do is to both explain and interpret and ask for criticism on the part of your church in order that this agency that the churches have established may be the more authentic."

Pages 80-81

Mr. Van Hook: "I understand then what you are saying is that although you don't deal with any particular bill that is pending you deal in principles and the appearances there are to influence legislation in favor of the principles that you favor or to oppose the principles that you oppose, is that correct?"

A. "Not quite, sir."

Q. "Would you explain it?"

A. "As I understand our purpose it is to focus attention on the part of those who legislate on what are considered to be the Christian principles involved in each issue."

Mr. Linam: "As interpreted by the National Council of Churches?"

A. "As interpreted by the representatives of the churches through the National Council of Churches."

Mr. Van Hook: "Maybe I am dumb but that means to me when your representatives go before that body you are attempting to influence them to pass legislation."

A. "That is correct, with the Christian principles which the churches here are enacting."

C-2 Transcript of Proceedings of Conference with Dr. Miller, Page 100:

A. Dr. Miller: "... There is hardly a day passes but when some influential representative of government will telephone 'X' person and say, 'What does Protestantism think about X or Y or Z?' Very frequently he has talked with the Roman Church. It is very easy for him to ascertain through the authoritarian church what the authoritarian church thinks. There isn't anybody who can answer what he wants answered in this inquiry for Protestantism. That does not excuse Protestantism from trying to find a way to democratically express as near as it can what may be the Christian conclusion on a given issue for the guidance of this committee and this X, Y or Z officer or cabinet member. The procedure which we have been describing is the responsible and up to now the best known application to this problem we know how to make, and it is in the search for that kind of help that these functions of the National Council are engaged in."

C-3 Transcript of Proceedings of Conference with Dr. Miller: At Page 18

Q. Mr. Linam: "Practically every release I have seen mentions anywhere from Thirty-eight to Forty Million."

A. Dr. Miller: "I wish you would tell us how to get rid of that."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Do you know of any instance where the Board of the National Council of Churches has ever refuted that sort of reporting?"

A. Dr. Miller: "We do not regard that as our responsibility, sir, but we do not so say in the releases we make available to the press, and I would be glad to quote this particular release if it would help as to what the National Council actually said about Cuba. I have it right here. Would that help?"

Mr. McCord: "I would like to hear it -"

Q. Mr. Linam: "I would like to ask you this question. Why do you think it is not your responsibility to repudiate this sort of reporting, when practically every release I have ever seen says Thirty-eight or Forty Million people. I don't recall one release that hasn't mentioned Thirty-Eight or Forty Million people."

A. Dr. Miller: "We believe in a free press, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Well, you don't care what they say about you then?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Oh, yes, sir, we do -"

Q. Mr. Linam: "You mean anything we might put in the press here about you or about our opinion of you would not be repudiated? You won't repudiate it?"

A. Dr. Miller: "No sir, you have a perfect right to say anything you wish to say about me."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Of course, I don't agree with that. I would refute anything you say about us that I don't like."

A. Dr. Miller: "May I say that one of the things that I have learned over these years - this is my thirty-ninth year in this work - is to keep your mouth shut."

Q. Mr. Madison: "You don't believe in the right of people to know the truth?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I do my best, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Do you think it is an unreasonable assumption on our part to assume that this is all planned this way?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Completely, sir, I could not be more sincere about anything."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Well, I am just talking about an assumption. After all I am just reading the papers."

A. Dr. Miller: "I know you do, yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Van Hook: "You, of course know who handles your press releases and publicity releases?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir, I do, and I also know that the papers still garble what we release to them. We can't control that, as you men know."

C-4 The following dialog appears on Pages 33 and 34 of the Transcript:

A. Dr. Miller: "And this was the issue. There was an apparent desire on the part of the most vocal members of the lay committee that the lay committee should receive first before it was brought to the General Board all of the script that dealt with controversial issues that would eventuate in pronouncements or policies. This issue was debated on the floor in the most Christian way of any of our debates. I think you can see the drama of it. The total desire of the Council was to enlist greater lay participation, and the issue which was presented looked like an impossible issue, that of abridging the representative principle by insisting on such decisions first through the lay committee and a possible stoppage of further consideration, and adherence to the representative principle would not permit that, and other laymen in the General Board were the vocal leaders against what the lay committee asked or claimed, and I want now to be permitted to use that word, claimed, because the lay committee never received that report and discussed it. That is the Chairman's report, and—"

Q. Mr. McCord: "That's right."

A. Dr. Miller: "Now, the man who really led the conclusive debate in the General Board has been elected President of the NCC, Mr. J. Irwin Miller, of Columbus, Indiana, one of the greatest Christian laymen I think we know anywhere. Mr. Miller in the debate made it clear that in such issues the decision would have to be made by the voting representatives elected by the Churches and that he could never consent to a detour of a particular issue and a possibility of having it stopped by a portion of the constituency but that it would have to be decided by the responsible representatives that were elected by the Churches to make such decisions."

Again on Page 60 the following dialog is encountered:

Q. Dr. Plumley: "Away back in the beginning I think what you said, Dr. Miller, in regard to this Pew report, is that the lay committee wanted all issues to come before the General Assembly to go into its hands first and then . . ."

A. Dr. Miller: "Before it went to the Board."

Q. Dr. Plumley: "And then it could stop it?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Or if it got to the Board the Board should not act before it had been referred to the lay committee for its judgment thereon."

Mr. Linam: I don't see anything wrong with that. That gives the lay committee a voice."

Mr. McCord: "Which it should have in the total program. That is the basis for my feeling toward the NCC."

A. Dr. Miller: "If you adopted that policy you would then remove the ultimate decision from the total representatives of the assembly appointed by the churches."

C-5 From pages 102 and 103 of the transcript.

Mr. Linam: "This hour's conference with the President, you were following this . . ." (Linam holding up pamphlet, "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet")

A. Dr. Miller: "This was the study discussion which was being offered for study by the churches, which we were telling him . . ."

Q. Mr. Linam: "Offered to the President?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Just a minute. Which we were telling him were being offered to the churches and we were describing this program to the President, yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "And he agreed with you?"

A. Dr. Miller: "He said, 'This is the most important step in this field you possibly could be taking.'"

Q. Mr. Linam: "I wonder if he agreed with the part in here where we were to ban nuclear testing unilaterally if necessary."

A. Dr. Miller: "Those issues were not raised in this conversation."

Q. Mr. Linam: "He didn't know much about this, did he?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I was surprised to find that in his comments he knew a lot more about it than we had any idea he did. I don't know how he got that information."

C-6 From page 129 of the Transcript:

A. Dr. Miller: ". . . As to the purpose of this publication, it was the definite impression of the Director of the Department when he agreed to the process of preparation, that it was to be a comprehensive reading list for mature leaders in the segments of American society with respect to Negro life."

C-7 "Good-By Christ" — By Langston Hughes

Listen, Christ

You did all right in your day, I reckon . . .

But that day's gone now.

They ghosted you up a swell story, too.

Called it the Bible . . .

But it's dead now.

The Popes and the Preachers 've

Made too much money from it.

They've sold you to too many

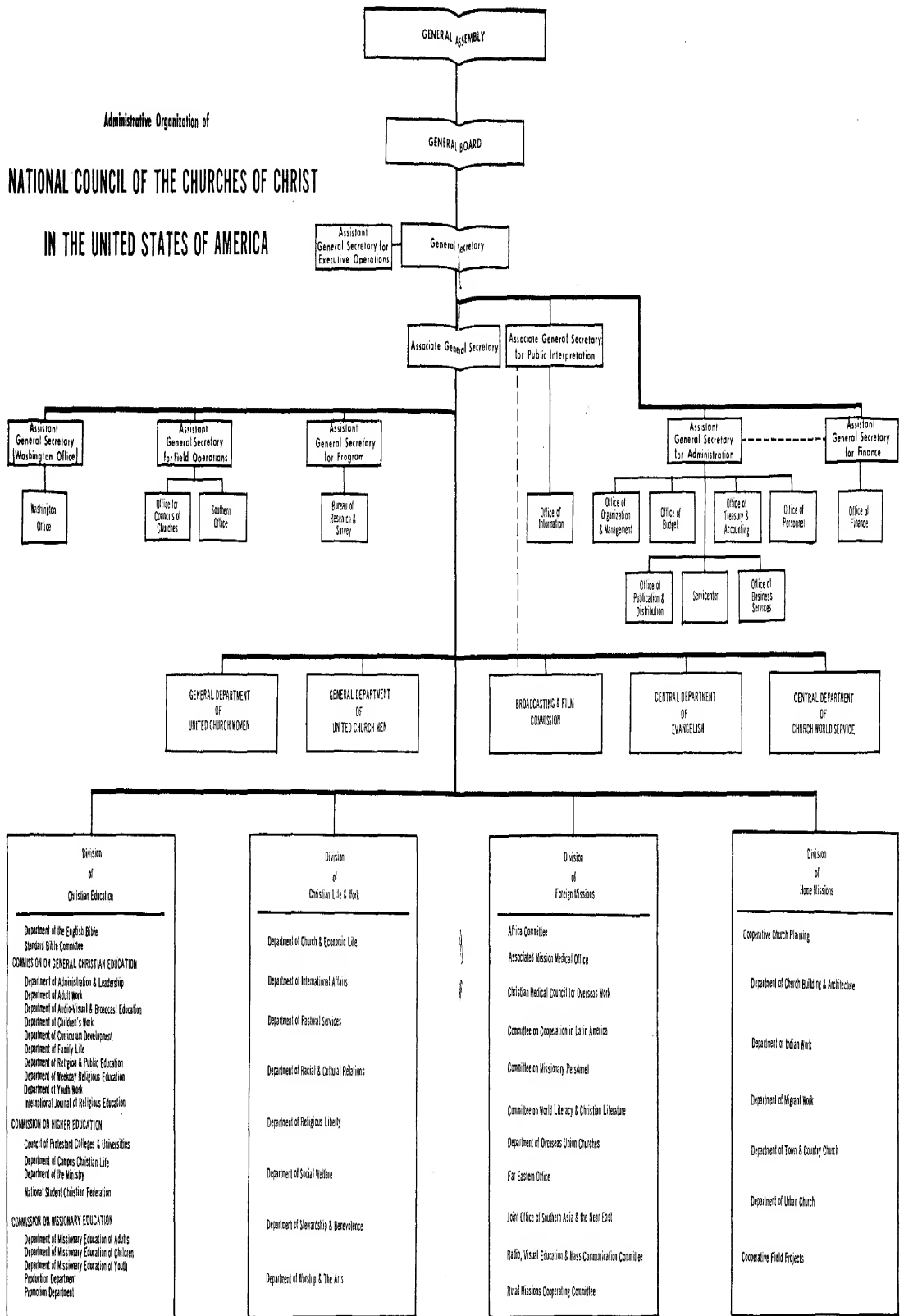
Kings, Generals, Robbers, and Killers . . .

Even to the Tzar and the Cossacks,

Even to Rockefeller's Church,

Even to the Saturday Evening Post.

Administrative Organization of
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



You ain't no good no more.
 They've pawned you
 Till you've done wore out.
 Good-by.
 Christ Jesus Lord God Jehovah;
 Beat it on away from here now.
 Make way for a new guy with no religion at all . . .
 A real guy named
 Marx Communist Lenin peasant Stalin Worker

ME . . .

I said, ME.
 Go ahead on now,
 You're gettin in the way of things, Lord,
 And please take Saint Gandhi with you when you go.
 And Saint Pope Pius,
 And Saint Aimee McPherson
 And big black Saint Becton
 Of the Consecrated Dime.
 And step on the gas, Christ!
 Move!
 Don't be slow about moving!
 The world is mine from now on . . .
 And nobody's gonna sell ME
 To a King, or a general.
 Or a millionaire

* * *

Good-By Christ, Good morning Revolution!

C-8 Excerpts from "I Sing to China" - by W. E. B. DuBois

"Down then, religion and church, temple and
 pagoda;
 Away myth and miracle, creed and dogma.
 Rejoice, honesty, God lives again.
 But not your God, Europe and America!
 Not that, not that;
 No Christ to kill, no faith to fan
 What China worships is a man.
 A workingman.
 Commune, communes, with the elect of
 Heaven,
 With Mother Earth, daughter of Sky and
 Sun;
 Born of democracy, fertilized by communism,
 Parents of revolution, makers of the world."

C-9 From Page 138 of the Transcript:

Mr. Linam: "Don't you think that the Department of Racial and

Cultural Relations could have found some other author to portray this realistic moral climate?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Linam: "And instead of saying 'mother frigging,' to use some derivative of the word incest, and instead of using the word 'frigging' they could use copulation, which wouldn't be quite as offensive?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I think we must say this was a serious mistake that was made. I believe all of us make some."

APPENDIX

SECTION D

D-1 The following is found on Page 77 of the Workbook for the Fifth General Assembly:

"During the triennium, and more particularly in the last year, this Office has increasingly accented, for both religious and secular publics, the Council's role as a representative Protestant and Eastern Orthodox voice in areas of Christian social concern. General Board pronouncements and statements, such as the Hartford Appeal for maintenance of freedom, were given wide distribution in the nation's press."

D-2 From the Workbook, Page 77, we read that the Office of Information during a 12 month period has:

1. Researched, prepared and distributed upwards of one hundred news and feature stories about unit programs and their activities.
2. Arranged and assisted at numerous press interviews with program unit executives and leaders.
3. Staffed and handled press relations at numerous unit-sponsored conferences, meetings, and other public and semi-public functions.
4. Participated in planning the public relations aspect of many of these meetings, as well as special emphases and other activities of the units.
5. Arranged and handled virtually all publicity photography connected with unit programs, conferences and other activity.
6. Disseminated information about unit programs and activities in response to inquiries by special groups and individuals addressed to this office."

D-3 The NCCCA maintains a Washington office. From Page 59 of the Workbook we read as follows:

"III. The Statement of Purpose for the Washington Office, as adopted by the General Board in 1951 and revised in 1953, is still our basic

Charter. To serve the NCC and its member churches in the following ways:

1. By giving prompt and authoritative notice regarding pending legislation and governmental directives and other developments in the national capital affecting the functioning of the churches and their agencies; and by securing official interpretations of legislative and administrative acts when required by the NCC.
2. By indicating proper channels for contacts in Washington and furnishing facilities for effecting such contacts when desired by the various units of the National Council or by the member churches. The Washington office as such is not to engage in efforts to influence legislation.
3. By rendering such services as is possible to the various divisions and other units of the National Council and its member churches, and co-ordinating all activities in relation to governmental agencies carried on by representatives of the NCC in Washington.

"Answering specific questions about developments in particular fields of legislation, or setting up dates for interviews, or discovering the dates for various hearings and making the necessary reservations of time for appearances; these are among the constant services that claim the time and energy of a very small staff in a very large and important area of Christian concern." (Emphasis added)

"1) It is imperative that denominational activities in Washington be increasingly coordinated under the leadership of the Washington Office of the NCC."

D4 From Page 132 of the Workbook we read the following:

"Increasingly in this triennium the Department, as authorized by the General Board, has had opportunity to present the concerns and policies of the churches for consideration of the Congress of the USA in support of the principles of: minimum wage extension, federal aid to economically depressed areas, particularly in rural communities, eventual termination and interim improvement of the program of importation of Mexican farm workers, and further protection of child workers in agriculture."

D5 Workbook

General Board - 1957 - 1960

The National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc.

Gayle, James E.
528 S. Rampart Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
Jemison, Rev. T. J.
915 Spain Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

APPENDIX

SECTION E

Refer to pages viii and ix for facsimile of National Council's organization chart and General Board make-up as indicated by work book of General Assembly.

APPENDIX

SECTION F

From "The Truth" prepared by the NCC, the following statement appears:

"To serve these noble and thoroughly democratic and American ends, the National Council conducts itself as the cooperative medium through which 33 Protestant and Orthodox communions in the United States focus the light of the Christian Faith on all phases of American life; and American concern."

APPENDIX

SECTION G

Office of Information

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

NEWS

475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York
Riverside 9-2200, ext. 2254

22GA 3/14/61

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Mar. 14, 1961—The National Council of Churches today released the full text of an official policy statement on the question of Federal aid to education. Issued as a pronouncement adopted by the Council's General Board, representative of the 34 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions in the Council, the statement endorses public funds for public schools, while cautioning against the further use of tax money for elementary and secondary private or parochial schools.

The full text is attached.

(Emphasis added)

(The Pronouncement referred to in the above news release is Pronouncement No. GB-13.4-1.)

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APPENDIX

SECTION I

PRONOUNCEMENT 25.2-1, June 2, 1960: An agenda of what the United States government should do as action for peace. Sixty-nine votes for, three against. This Pronouncement is three printed pages with six specific Items of recommendations. In Item 5, the Pronouncement says that the American government should be ready to confer "at all levels" with all governments on peace issues, including disarmament and prohibition of nuclear tests, and that this includes negotiation with nations "not officially recognized by the United States." The phrase "all levels" necessarily includes Red China. This reference in an official Pronouncement of the General Board is of especial interest because of recommendations of the National Council's Cleveland Study Conference in 1958 for recognition by U.N. and the U.S. of Red China. The National Council sought to slip out of the furor thus created by contending that the General Board had not specifically endorsed the report of the Cleveland Study Conference. But in this 1960 Pronouncement the General Board itself takes at least some action on the principle of Red China recognition.

PRONOUNCEMENT 24.2-1, June 4, 1958: Protesting that there might be too much secrecy in the American government concerning control of armaments and the use of space – an extremely delicate subject in which secrecy might be paramount for national security. The Pronouncement recognized the security value of secrecy but continued:

"The risk of revealing secrets must be weighed boldly against the advantage of revealing truth."

PRONOUNCEMENT 21.2a, December 2, 1959: Covers ethics in industrial relations. It includes a paragraph specifying certain qualifications which labor unions should establish in connection with membership in their organizations. Passed with 73 favorable votes, 14 less than a majority. A majority of the Board was present, however, for 16 votes were cast against the Pronouncement, and there were 12 abstentions.

PRONOUNCEMENT 2.1-2, June 4, 1958, Agriculture: Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy. Probably no subject has brought so much political argument and disagreement for the past quarter of a century as agriculture. Presumably as "representative of" 34 religious Communions and the 39,000,000 Protestants they embrace, the National Council of Churches

in this Pronouncement calls for agricultural workers to be placed under workmen's and unemployment compensation laws, minimum wage laws, and unionized in a manner to bargain under the National Labor Relations Board; it urges formation of farm co-operatives – business organizations, not religious; the Pronouncement calls for "Christian stewardship" to "discipline the rights of ownership of agricultural resources"; it demands "publicly encouraged" – which presumably means governmental – action in conservation programs; it also calls for expanded programs of trade at home and abroad, economic aid, reciprocal lowering of tariffs, reduction of arbitrary restrictions on international trade, development of technical and economic assistance to underdeveloped areas "promoted with vigor." It approves action (presumably subsidies) to protect farmers against downward trend in income and says that this is "a necessary function of the federal government." Whether any or all of these recommendations are right or wrong is not an issue raised by the Vestry Committee in any way. Our point is simply that here, the National Council through its General Board seeks to settle issues which have divided people everywhere in all parts of the nation for years, and to do so under the pretense that Christianity demands this political legislative action by Congress.

PRONOUNCEMENT 3.1-1, December 5, 1957, International Aid and Trade: Here the National Council of Churches calls for support of the principles of reciprocal trade agreements, and specifically calls for extension for five years of the Reciprocal Trade Act then expiring, such extension to be "without weakening amendments." (Obviously what one person considers a "weakening" amendment might be considered by another person as a very essential amendment.) It also approves trade agreements as planned in the proposed federal Organization for Trade Cooperation, strengthening and extension of the reciprocal trade system and other steps such as federal assistance in long term capital loans to other nations to establish "their place" in the world market. Foreign technical and economic aid also are backed. The Pronouncement recognizes that some of its recommendations might have "certain local adverse effects." The federal government, it says, should approve special programs of assistance in this field – in other words to offset American economic harm created by trying to bolster economy around the world. The National Council's recommendations as a whole in this Pronouncement affect directly or indirectly some 300,000 American manufacturing establishments, and some millions of families dependent on payrolls of these establishments for their livelihood.

APPENDIX

SECTION J

The House Un-American Activities Committee has made public* the following information from its files concerning Dr. Dahlberg:

* This information from the House Un-American Activities Committee is available to anyone seeking it. It was made available to this Committee by the Shreveport Times, which obtained it through request to the Committee by the Washington Bureau of the Times in December, 1958. There is also available the same identical information as provided to Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas by the Committee in response to a request from one of his constituents.

"Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, First Baptist Church, Syracuse, N.Y.,** was listed as a signer of an open letter addressed to the President of the United States, April 22, 1943, asking that he 'set aside the deportation order against Harry Benton Bridges . . .' The open letter was attached to a press release of the Citizen's Victory Committee for Harry Bridges which is cited as a Communist Front organization."

This is a typical example of how a man of national religious prominence may be used by a Communist Front organization in furthering its work, although he may be in no way affiliated with a Communist organization. Note that there is no inference here that Dr. Dahlberg ever belonged to (or that he did not belong to) the Citizen's Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, or that he ever heard of it. But an open letter which he signed was released by that Committee with one of its own press releases, thus obviously and intentionally giving the impression that Dr. Dahlberg was a member of this Communist Front organization and that the letter was being distributed by the Committee with his approval. (This procedure is explicitly described by J. Edgar Hoover in *Masters of Deceit****)

The House Un-American Activities Committee information continued by citing sources which listed Dr. Dahlberg also as an initiator of the National Committee to repeal the McCarran Act. Since National Council officials decline to accept information provided by the House Un-American Activities Committee -- as shown in another section of this report -- it is interesting to note that the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act is listed as a Communist Front not only by the House Committee but by the Senate Judiciary Committee Sub Committee on Internal Security, the latter reference being found in Senate Document 117, "Handbook for Americans," page 91, published April 23, 1956 -- just before Dr. Dahlberg was elected President of the National Council of Churches.

The sources given by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as listing Dr. Dahlberg as a member of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act are presented in the following further quotation from the information supplied by that Committee concerning references in its files to Dr. Dahlberg, and are as follows:

"Daily Worker, Dec. 27, 1950, P. 3; letterheads dated Jan. 19, 1951, May 25, 1951, and an undated letterhead subsequent to April 23, 1953. The Daily Worker of Jan. 7, 1952, P. 3, reported that he signed an open letter of the organization to President Truman, urging repeal of the McCarran Act. It was reported in the Daily Worker of July 9, 1952, P. 6, that he signed an open letter to the platform committees of the Republican and Democratic Parties urging that they include

in their 1952 platforms "a plank calling for repeal of the McCarran Act." According to the Daily Worker of Oct. 24, 1952, P. 3, and the Daily People's World, Oct. 27, 1952, P. 6, Dr. Dahlberg signed an open letter of the organization asking the presidential candidates to declare their position on the McCarran Act. The Daily Worker, Nov. 3, 1953, P. 8, reported that he had signed a letter of the (Communist Front) organization urging President Eisenhower to support S2585, a bill introduced by Senator Lehman as a substitute for the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act."

The McCarran Immigration Act was aimed at tightening immigration restrictions in a manner to lessen the chances for Communists and subversives to come into this country. There were other provisions in it which were subject to legitimate debate, pro and con, without any relation to Communism. This made it all the easier for the Communists to use general attack on the Act as a means of obtaining repeal of a federal statutory restriction which they wanted repealed. Here, again, we have an example of how the "innocent" and the sincere may be used in furthering Communist purposes. The McCarran Act was one of the most controversial pieces of federal legislation in many years. Division on it was not between the two major political Parties, but within each political Party and within such organizations as the American Bar Association.

When various free nations of the North Atlantic area were forming NATO in 1949, the Communists launched a terrific drive against the creation of such an organization, carrying it on until even after the organization was formed. The House Un-American Activities Committee information also included the following in connection with that Communist drive and Dr. Dahlberg, released for publication by the Committee on April 1, 1951:

"The aggressive and hostile policies of the Soviet Union since the end of World War II resulted in the signing of a defense treaty by 12 democratic nations, including the United States, known as the North Atlantic Defense Pact. The agreement was designated to provide the basis for effective collective action to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area if an armed attack should occur. The pact was signed April 14, 1949.

"The pact naturally met with bitter opposition from the Soviet Union." . . .

"The proposal for a Conference Against the Atlantic Pact seems to have first blossomed forth publicly in the Daily Worker of May 11, 1949. It was ostensibly formulated by a committee of five individuals: Albert Einstein of Princeton; Thomas Mann of California; Emily Green Balch of Wellesley, Mass.; Bishop W.J. Walls of Chicago; and Rev. Edwin Dahl-

** Now pastor of a church in St. Louis.

*** Appendix S, pages xlii-xliv.

berg of Syracuse, N.Y. That these individuals actually traveled from the four corners of the continent to confer on this plan is doubtful."

Albert Einstein, the noted mathematician and scientist, was a self-professed Communist, and Thomas Mann was identified as a Communist supporter in various governmental committee investigations, including those by the California House Un-American Activities Committee.

In December, 1958, Dr. Dahlberg, as President of the National Council of Churches, made a Christmas trip to American foreign military bases to, as stated by the major American press associations at the time, carry Protestant greetings and blessings to American soldiers. He visited bases at Zaragoza, Spain, Reta, Pot Lyautey, Sidi Slimani, Nousseur, and Ben Gerra, all in the North African area. He travelled by commercial plane, with the U.S. Air Force arranging his reception at the bases. At that time, some American newspapers raised questions as to the propriety of a person of Dr. Dahlberg's past activities carrying Christmas greetings from American Protestantism to soldiers overseas, such publications including references to an organization known as the National Committee of the Church Peace Mission. The Washington publication, "Human Events" which is distributed chiefly to newspapers, businessmen and public officials, published an article which included the following paragraph:

"As a member of the National Committee of the Church Peace Mission Dahlberg helped secure signatures for a pacifist pledge which states, 'I hereby affirm (reaffirm) my refusal to make or use the weapons of war and my purpose to do my utmost to win other Christians to join in this stand and to bring the church of Christ throughout the world to break with war'."

In other words, the purpose of this organization, which functioned before the start of World War II, was, in effect, to advocate a pledge by Americans not to bear arms in behalf of their country. The National Committee of the Church Peace Mission is not listed in any available sources as subversive or a Communist Front.

The only reply, that the Vestry Committee knows of, by Dr. Dahlberg to the allegations contained above is a statement in the files of the National Council of Churches which was placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller. It is addressed merely "To Whom It May Concern" and specifies that it is to be displayed only upon request - in other words, it was not a public statement issued for general public consumption. The text of this letter merely refutes allegations made by a national radio and newspaper commentator without specifying what the charges were, and denies that Dr. Dahlberg is a Communist - a charge which, as stated

above, the Vestry Committee has never heard from any source. The Text of this letter follows:

"To Whom It May Concern:

"In reply to questions that have been raised in response to the Fulton Lewis attack on me as President of the National Council of Churches, I can conscientiously say that I have no Communist sympathies, have never had any connection with the Communist Party, and have never signed a petition which I knew to be sponsored by a Communist Front Group. Whenever I have suspected a petition to be by a Communist Front group - and like many other clergymen I have received dozens of them - I have rejected it. I would not knowingly lend my support to any group which was an agency of the Communist Party, since I am fully aware of the fact that Communism has as its ultimate aim the crushing of all our liberties.

"I did sign some petitions during the war period when Russia and the United States were military allies and during the 30's when as Americans generally we were not so alert to subversive Communistic activities as we are now. But I repeat, I have never signed a petition in behalf of a Communist Front organization when I knew it to be such.

"As for the Morton Sobell case, I interceded in that instance purely on the pastoral level. Mrs. Sobell came to my study, in tears for her children, and in a spirit of Christian compassion I wrote in behalf of a fair and just consideration of his case as I would write to the judge in behalf of an alcoholic or any other offender against the law whose wife came to me to make a plea for her husband.

"I trust that the above statement will clarify whatever questions may have arisen as a result of the Fulton Lewis article referred to.

/s/ Edwin T. Dahlberg

President, National Council
of Churches

"This statement is not for release to the public press but is made in answer to those who have made personal inquiries."

In reply to inquiries made in behalf of the Vestry Committee* March 29, 1961, the publication "Human Events" stated that Dr. Dahlberg never had denied to it the authenticity of the statement concerning the pacifist pledge as quoted above, never had requested a retraction, or taken any other step that it knew of in refutation.

* By the Shreveport Times

A similar inquiry from the same source to Fulton Lewis, Jr., the Washington columnist and radio commentator referred to by Dr. Dahlberg brought a telegraphic reply March 30, 1961, that Dr. Dahlberg never has requested equal air time to reply to whatever charges Mr. Lewis made — we point out again that Dr. Dahlberg's statement quoted above is so vague that one would have to go back and dig up the Lewis text to know what the reply was meant to cover. The statement from Mr. Lewis, March 30, 1961, ended with this sentence:

"Last year while he (Dr. Dahlberg) was in town (Washington) I offered him equal time on my broadcast then but was not accepted."

At the time revelations from Congressional Investigating Committees, Senate as well as House, and newspapers were bringing into prominence the matters presented above, Dr. Dahlberg was President of the National Council of Churches and its 34 Communions with 39,000,000 Protestant members. He was, because of his Protestant religious prominence and the fact that an organization of 39,000,000 American Protestants was his sounding board, a figure whose words and activities were spread to all parts of the globe. The scope of his prominence was amplified by his journey at that time to American military forces in foreign lands to carry Christmas cheer from American Protestantism embracing 39,000,000 persons (Christmas, 1958).

The gravity and the implications in the allegations concerning Dr. Dahlberg which the Vestry Committee presents above reflected on all 34 Communions and all 39,000,000 Protestants embraced by the National Council of Churches. We feel that he held solemn responsibility to clarify, deny, or confirm the allegations made. He held that responsibility as a sacred duty to the Protestantism of which he supposedly was representative. Yet he made no public explanation or detailed denial that the Vestry Committee can find. The vague statement from him to the National Council and placed before the Vestry Committee by Dr. Miller specifies that it "is not for release to the public press" and is for those "who have made personal inquiries."

In other words, for any of the 39,000,000 Protestants not part of the inner clique of executive direction of the National Council to know what Dr. Dahlberg said, it is first necessary for that person to learn in some mysterious way that a statement was made and that it is on file with the National Council; and then to get it from the National Council. This despite the fact that "the Dahlberg case" has been used as a foundation for attack on the National Council from both responsible and perhaps irresponsible sources and is the wellhead from which has sprung much criticism that the National Council is "left-wing", or "soft on Communism" and has among its higher echelon of guiding executives some who further un-American propaganda without intent. Use of the word "irresponsibility" as describing courses of those trusted with high responsibility in united

furthering of the cause of Christ is fully justified in description of this matter — and it applies not merely to an individual but to the National Council itself for failure to step actively into a situation reflecting on its constituent Communions and their 39,000,000 members.

APPENDIX

SECTION K

When the National Council's World Order Study Conference in Cleveland in 1958 recommended recognition of Red China by the United States and inclusion of it in United Nations, the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations conducted a poll of Protestant clergymen throughout the nation. This poll was directed by five nationally known Protestants. They were Rep. Walter H. Judd of Minnesota, nationally known as an authority on and former medical missionary to China; the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, the Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Bishop Herbert Welch and Bishop Fred Pierce Corson.

More than 8,000 Protestant clergymen responded to this poll by mail. Of this total, 87 per cent opposed both admission of Red China to United Nations and recognition by the United States. Only 11 per cent were in favor. Two per cent favored recognition but opposed admission, or vice versa, or said they could not make up their minds.

The Committee of One Million was organized about nine years ago and is an organization of recognized standing throughout the nation. Honorary Chairman is the Honorable Warren R. Austin, former United States Senator from New Hampshire and first Permanent American Delegate to United Nations. The Steering Committee includes the extremely liberal Democratic Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and the more conservative Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey. Other Steering Committee members are Joseph C. Grew, former American Ambassador to Japan; former Senator H. Alexander Smith, Rep. Judd, and Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania.

Membership in the Committee includes persons of every political complexion, Democrats and Republicans, and of many religious faiths. Numerous Republican liberal Senators and Representatives, as well as conservative Republican Senators and Representatives, along with numerous liberal Democratic Senators and Representatives as well as conservative Democratic Representatives and Senators, are active members.

In its own report on its poll (January 19, 1959, issued from the Committee's headquarters 17 Park Avenue, New York 16, New York), the Committee said in part:

"The press in this country and, in particular, abroad reported this (National Council of Churches World Order Study Group) Resolution widely as an indication of the sentiments of the American Protestant Com-

munity. Needless to say, these reports caused dismay among our allies in Asia who have valiantly withstood Communist pressures and aggression and who count on the people of our country to stand with them. Even more heartbreaking must be the effect on the millions of Chinese living under Communist slavery, many of them our fellow Protestants, when they read the reports of this Resolution in their communist-controlled press . . .

"We firmly believe that the (N.C.C. Study Group) action taken in Cleveland does not represent the thinking of the overwhelming majority of American Protestants, clergy and lay. We believe that it must be taken as merely the point of view of those delegates who voted for it. Further, we believe that this action is inconsistent not only with the standards of the United Nations, but also with the clear principles of morality and Christian faith.

"In passing this Resolution, not a word was mentioned about the relentless drive toward atheism conducted by the Communist masters of the Chinese Mainland; about the Peiping regime's continued programs which have slaughtered millions of the Chinese people; about Red China's torture and imprisonment of Protestants and other religious martyrs; about the continued imprisonment of young American servicemen; about its continued and open aggressive actions against its neighbors and our own country; and its defiance of the U.N.

"We believe it is important to set the record straight and to show the world where the American Protestant community stands. It is in this belief that we have conducted this sample poll of a cross-section of American Protestant clergymen."

APPENDIX

SECTION I

L-1 From the Arkansas Democrat, Monday, December 26, 1960. By Bob Sallee, Democrat Staff Writer.

"Dr. Joseph B. Hunter of Little Rock, executive secretary of the Arkansas Council of Churches and a state delegate to the National Council of Churches, asserted yesterday that in his opinion the film 'Operation Abolition' is a complete distortion of the facts and a deliberate propaganda move by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI.

"I think that the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities got together and subpoenaed a group of persons, hired a film company and then went out to San Francisco to make a propaganda movie in an effort to help the HCUA get their financial appropriations next month from Congress", Dr. Hunter declared.

Hunter continued, "Not very many people are in favor of this committee, you know, and they really don't have a very easy time of it

getting their appropriations."

"I don't think that Hoover (FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover) would approve if he knew all the facts concerning the demonstrations out in San Francisco and if he had seen the film itself."

(Hoover has released a report to Attorney General William F. Rogers concerning the San Francisco riots in which he referred to it as the most successful Communist coup on the West Coast in the last 25 years.)

Hunter said that he based his opinion on information that he received at the annual National Council of Churches meeting in San Francisco last month and on his own observations of the House Committee for Un-American Activities and the FBI.

"After all," Hunter said, "the FBI is just a secret police network which infringes on the individual rights of man."

"I think that by showing this film it would be a deliberate misuse of inaccurate information which is not fair to the students who were depicted in the movie as rioters."

"Maybe they were demonstrating against something that was un-American."

"If we deny persons their individual rights by using Communist tactics the objections and demonstrations will spread."

"There hasn't been such a revolution in over 400 years, sweeping across the world, as young people try to achieve for themselves, rights, freedoms and individual dignities."

Hunter expressed his views as follows:

"I don't think that communism is a threat in this country because the Communist Party is such a minor faction in America. I think it is insignificant as compared to our political system and I believe that the greatest bulwark against Communism is the Protestant Church."

"Our greatest threat comes from facism rather than communism, and I think a person should be free to discuss his own convictions no matter if they do conflict with the beliefs of others."

"I feel that there should be many "Hyde Parks" in America such as the one in London, where there are 30 or so speaker's platforms where a man can air his feelings."

"After all, those students were just voicing their opinions. They didn't steal anything or rob any stores, they were just exercising their rights."

"The persons who were responsible for making this film apparently are unaware of the effect that it will have on other countries. I think it will create a disrespect for and ridicule the American Congress because I feel that it will be shown as a comedy."

'After all, I cannot see the purpose of this committee in the first place because the Supreme Court of our country has ruled that it is not a crime to be a Communist.'

'So the demonstrations that went on in San Francisco were caused by the committee which had no business being there anyway.'

'They knew that since they had subpoenaed a young college boy who was a leader of one of the universities there, the other students would rally with him and create demonstrations.'

According to an FBI report on the San Francisco riots, called 'Communist Target - Youth', a known card-carrying Communist, who is an 18-year-old college sophomore and whose father is also a known Communist, were subpoenaed as witnesses. During the hearings, the student hurled a briefcase at one of the congressmen. Later both he and his father were ejected from the hearing room by police at the request of the committee chairman.

Hunter said: 'So they took advantage of a situation to make this movie.'

'The revolution against this committee by the students are typical of those by other students in other parts of the world. They are only searching for the truth.'

'The world doesn't know where it's going. We have got to prevent war or we are all sunk.'

'I think that the American people have enough sense and experience of freedom that they won't throw it away for atheistic principles.'

'Take Korea, China, Cuba and other places where students revolted against dictatorial principles.'

'The students in South Korea revolted against Rhee and kicked him out. The same occurred in Cuba and in China.'

'China, for example has a great record for peace. I cannot condone the invasion from the north during the Korean War but the Chinese people for the first time have a government that is working for the people.'

'I really would not consider China being Communist but rather a "state capitalistic" nation.'

'I would describe our own system as "corporation capitalism" rather than free enterprise.'

'I believe that our government would be ahead if it got into the struggles and helped those revolutionary governments. By working with them we could guide them from the inside rather than by being at odds with them from the outside.'

'The National Council of Churches has asked for recognition of China in the United Nations. The NCCC feels that it is time to recognize the official government.'

'The Nationalists on Formosa only serve to keep our Navy protecting it and our money going to feed those on Formosa.'

'You can't keep a nation out of the U.N. simply because its government shot its way into power. After all our own country set the example for other countries by our revolution.'

'I think that it is time for all countries to be represented in the U.N. regardless of the type of governments they might have.'

(Emphasis added)

L-2 The WASHINGTON POST, January 7, 1959, Page A-8 (Advertisement)

"The Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished, not reorganized and expanded."

Editorial "The Washington Post"

December 19, 1958

"We the undersigned, petition the 86th Congress to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Standing Committee. We believe that the U.S. Supreme Court has, in the United States vs. Watkins, made it clear that the Committee has habitually misused its mandate in unconstitutional ways for political purposes; that it has become an agency for repression; that it has usurped the functions of the executive and judicial branches of our government.

We are confident that only a return to constitutional procedures can protect us against subversion without at the same time subverting the very liberties we seek to protect.

For two decades the Congress has allowed the Committee to function. For two decades the Committee has condemned individual Americans, has wrecked the lives of some, and has denied them the due process of law that English and American courts have toilsomely evolved over many centuries. Now the nation is reaping the bitter harvest:

1. The Committee has perverted, and thereby imperiled, the proper and necessary powers of the Congress to conduct investigations.
2. The Committee has helped discourage free study and inquiry in working for peace while the world is threatened with destruction.
3. It has harassed Americans who work for racial equality and justice.
4. It has increased bitterness between racial and religious groups of our citizens, which in turn has imperiled our good relations with the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

APPENDIX

SECTION M-1

March 15, 1961

5. It has discouraged social and cultural contacts with our neighbors on this shrinking planet. It has discouraged U.S. students and scholars from studying in countries which we Americans desperately need to understand.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has in these ways weakened America. At no time in history have we needed to be stronger. At no time have we needed to be wiser. Let us rid ourselves of this agent of weakness and of folly.

REV. BENJAMIN ANDERSON	STEWART MEACHAM
DR. STRINGFELLOW BARR	PROF. ALEX MEIKLEJOHN
DEAN JOHN C. BENNETT	REV. A. J. MUSTE
JUDGE JOHN O. BIGELOW	REV. CLAUD D. NELSON
DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE	DR. REINHOLD NEIBUHR
BERNARDA BRYSON	LEO PFEFFER
JOHN M. COE	JUDGE JUSTINE W. POLIER
REV. RAY GIBBONS	CLARENCE E. PICKETT
JESSE W. GITT	PROF. ARNOLD W. ROGOW
JOHN HAMMOND	MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
PROF. FOWLER HARPER	PROF. DONALD H. RIDDLE
JAMES IMBRIE	BEN SHAHN
PROF. ERICH KAHLER	OTTO L. SPAETH
ROBERT W. KENNY	PROF. GEORGE F. THOMAS
BISHOP EDGAR L. LOVE	W. O. TILENIUS
DR. JOHN A. MACKAY	PROF. PAUL TILLET
DANIEL G. MARSHALL	AUBREY WILLIAMS
MRS. DOROTHY MARSHALL	

Fill in Coupon, Clip and Mail

H. W. Imbrie, Secretary
P. O. Box 333
Lawrenceville, New Jersey

I agree with the above petition and want to do something to help abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Standing Committee.

I enclose \$_____ to aid in this program, and for further publication of your advertisement.

Please print or type:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ State _____

The Honorable Francis Walter, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am chairman of a committee appointed by the Vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana to investigate the National Council of Churches of Christ. I have read the following resolution of the First Baptist Church, San Francisco, California, that they resolve to withdraw from the State and City Councils of Churches:

"The National Council of Churches adopted a resolution last April, 1960, demanding that the Chairman of the H.C.U.A. retract his statements and apologize to the members of the N.C.C. they should have been willing to respond to his telegram, sent to each signatory, which said 'Do you desire the opportunity to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in order to question the accuracy of the material which came from committee files and which appears in the Air Force Manual? If you desire such opportunity, we can arrange a time convenient to yourself.'"

Francis Walter, Chairman
H.C.U.A.

From April, 1960, to this date there has been no reply to this invitation."

I have no reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of this statement, but it would be helpful to me if you can confirm the authenticity of this telegram and the fact that none of the individuals addressed have accepted your invitation.

With best wishes for your continued success in your most patriotic work, I remain

Sincerely yours,
H. E. Linam

HEL/tg

APPENDIX

SECTION M-2

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington

March 23, 1961

Mr. Henry E. Linam
1401 Petroleum Tower
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Linam:

In response to your inquiry of March 15, 1961, the telegram which you quote in the body of your letter is correct. I later sent an individual letter to all of the signers of the initial telegram coming to my office, when I had not had a response to my invitation. Eventually I did receive answers from most of those individuals. However, there was no person who desired to testify before the Committee.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
Francis E. Walter
Chairman

APPENDIX

SECTION N

The Very Rev. Frank L. Carruthers, Dean of St. Matthews (Episcopal) Cathedral at Dallas, Texas, preached a sermon on March 12, 1961, criticizing the National Council's political propaganda activities and calling on it to keep within the framework of Article II of its Constitution, which contains 10 sections of "Objectives" of the organization as adopted when it was founded in 1950. All of these deal with Christianity in its basic tenets of Faith and Fellowship and Charity, except Numbers 3 and 10 which continue and extend the work of the Federal Council and authorize participation in the World Council.

In January of this year, the Annual Parish Meeting of All Saints Episcopal Church at Phoenix, Arizona, adopted resolutions condemning the National Council for taking positions "on controversial political issues" and filed an official protest to the Diocesan Convention with the Rt. Rev. Arthur B. Kinsolving, Bishop of the Diocese of Arizona. Study committees

now are at work in several other churches of the Diocese of Arizona investigating the National Council.

In 1958, a Resolution was introduced by a group of men before the Convention of the Diocese of South Carolina calling upon the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church to withdraw that Church from the National Council of Churches. This Resolution was defeated, but the Convention did pass a Resolution censoring the National Council for its political announcements.

In 1959, a Resolution was introduced by the Rev. Edward B. Guerry, Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Johns Island, Charleston, South Carolina, voicing disagreement with the findings of the National Council's World Order Study Report emanating from the Cleveland conference. This Resolution was passed. (Mr. Guerry was opposed to the 1958 Resolution for secession, but was a member of the committee which supported the 1958 Resolution which was passed and which censored National Council.) Mr. Guerry is the son of the noted Episcopal Bishop Guerry who was so instrumental in furthering the Episcopal University of the South in the early decades of this century. The Guerry family back through several generations has been noted for the quality and quantity of Episcopal clergymen it produced.

The Austin Statesman, Austin, Texas, Wednesday, April 5, 1961, at Page A-17, in an article titled "Lutheran Meeting Rejects NCC Ties", and subtitled "Denomination Gets Convention Decision", by Associated Press, stated:

"The 38th convention of the Texas District of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod has passed a resolution asking the denomination to break off completely with the National Council of Churches.

The Resolution requests the church body 'to sever all connections or ties with the National Council of Churches and/or departments thereof . . ."

The National Council's pamphlet, "The Truth," states that the largest Baptist American Convention church in the nation, at Wichita, Kansas, recently voted to withdraw its annual \$33,000 contribution to the Convention because it refused to withdraw from the National Council.

These are simply some activities that have come to the Vestry Committee's attention. None of those concerned can be considered as unintentional or intentional "handmaidens of Communist techniques," nor can criticism of the National Council from such sources be looked upon as uttered with other than the most sincere desire to further the teachings of Christ and to spread Christianity throughout the world. These are informed, intelligent, respected Christians - including Episcopalians - speaking. The pamphlet, "The Truth," in the haphazard manner in which it denounces critics of the National Council is another example of irresponsibility in the executive and administrative functions of the National Council itself.

APPENDIX

SECTION P

Correspondence Between Dr. Plumley, our Rector, and Dr. J. Quinter Miller, leading up to the Conference between the Vestry Committee and Dr. Miller, February 3, 1961:

BRITISH-AMERICAN PREACHERS EXCHANGE

475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Riverside 9-2200
General Secretary

September 12, 1960

The Rev. J. Lawrence Plumley
St. Mark's Episcopal Church
Shreveport, La.

Dear Dr. Plumley:

Although your letter of August 16 has been acknowledged in my absence, I wanted to add this personal word.

We regret exceedingly the circumstances which make your acceptance of our invitation inadvisable now. I, being a Southerner, and in light of my address in St. Mark's Church to the Council of Church Women of Shreveport, have some basis of understanding the causes of the antagonism with which you labor. Frankly, they are erroneous and I wish so much that I knew how to alleviate them. Wherever we can get through with the facts, these antagonisms seem to fade out. Would there be any way in which I could meet with your vestry or a group of representatives of St. Mark's Church where we could frankly deal with these questions? If so, I would do my best to fit into your schedule, perhaps some time in the early part of 1961, to try to achieve this kind of reconciliation.

I make this inquiry entirely irrespective of your inability to consider participating in our British-American Preachers Exchange. Perhaps if we could find a way to deal with this matter of alienation, we could at an appropriate time look to this other matter later. There is absolutely no ground on which to base the charges that communism has crept into the National Council of Churches. As one of its officers now for twenty-two years, I personally know whereof I speak. This I am sure you must sense. Perhaps you can help me find a way to help ameliorate these points of view with your own people.

With best wishes and God's blessings in your work, I am

Very sincerely yours,
(Rev.) J. Quinter Miller
Assistant General Secretary

JQM: by

Correspondence (Continued) between Dr. Plumley and Dr. Miller:

ST. MARK'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

908 Rutherford Street
Shreveport, Louisiana

November 30, 1960

Mr. J. Quinter Miller,
Assistant General Secretary,
The National Council of Churches,
475 Riverside Drive,
New York 27, New York.

Dear Dr. Miller:

I have delayed replying to your letter of September 12, 1960, with reference to the possibility of meeting with a group of representatives of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, until I had an opportunity to meet with the Committee which was appointed by our Vestry and charged with the duty of investigating the activities of the National Council of Churches. This Committee is composed of seven members including me as an ex-officio member and it was our unanimous opinion that a visit with you in the early part of 1961 might prove very helpful indeed. The Committee has instructed me to issue to you a most cordial invitation to meet with it.

The Committee assumed that you would be happy to answer questions about various matters which are of concern to its members and has requested that I ask whether your position with the National Council of Churches is such that your answers to these questions would be considered the official position of the Council.

Some of the things that concern members of the Committee are:

- (1) Whether the Council sends representatives to appear before, or addresses communications to, Congressional Committees to express the Council's view relative to governmental or secular affairs or proposed legislation, or, in any other way, directly or indirectly attempts to influence legislation;
- (2) Does the Council take any stand on right-to-work laws?
- (3) Does the Council take any stand on integration of the White and Colored races in schools, churches, or private business establishments?
- (4) Did the Fifth World Order Study Conference recommend recognition by the United States of Communist China, and, if so, why was this done?
- (5) What connection, if any, do Walter Russell Bowie, Henry J. Cadbury, George Dahl, Leroy Waterman, and Fleming James have with the National Council of Churches and what organizations other than those listed in the biographical

sketches presented in the pamphlet "Truth," if any, do they belong to? The Committee has been informed that the pamphlet "Truth" seemingly praises these individuals, while Mr. Arens, Staff Director of the Un-American Activities Committee, accuses them of various affiliations with Communist fronts and causes.

- (6) The Chairman of our Committee has been informed that Representative Donald Jackson, in a speech before the House of Representatives on April 20, 1960 (Congressional Record, Vol. 106, No. 72), made some very serious accusations relative to a 41-page pamphlet entitled "The Negro American - A Reading List" and that, according to Representative Jackson, this list of reading material was compiled in 1957 by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. Some of the members of our Committee think that if this information is correct The National Council of Churches should answer why it sponsors the works of some authors whom Representative Jackson brands as Communists or fellow travelers, or else submit evidence that Representative Jackson was in error in his statements relative to these authors.

In this connection, the Committee does not have this list of recommended books said to be compiled by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, and it would be appreciated if you would forward to me the works referred to, so that the members of the Committee may secure some of these books, and familiarize themselves with their contents prior to meeting with you.

I am sure that you will understand that the Committee must report back to the Vestry. In order to avoid any possibility of misinterpretation by the Committee of your remarks, and in order to insure the accuracy of its report to the Vestry, the Committee requests that a shorthand reporter be present or that your statements and your answers to questions be recorded. I feel you will have no objection to this, since I know it is your desire, as well as ours, that the members of the Committee take steps to insure that its report to the Vestry will be as accurate as is humanly possible.

Please let me know the date on which you can meet with the members of the Committee.

Cordially yours,
J. Lawrence Plumley

Correspondence (Continued) between Dr. Plumley and Dr. Miller:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Rev. J. Quinter Miller
Assistant General Secretary
For Field Operations

Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg
President
Rev. Roy C. Ross, General
Secretary

Riverside 9-2200

December 30, 1960

The Rev. J. Lawrence Plumley, D.D.
St. Mark's Episcopal Church
Fairfield at Rutherford
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Plumley:

Forgive my delay in replying to your letter of November 30. It seemed to be well for me to put in your hands some basic materials bearing on Questions 2, 3 and 4 and to make brief references to our policy on Questions 1, 5 and 6. This material is being sent to you under separate cover. My purpose in offering to meet with representatives of your Church was, of course, a still broader one than to answer specifically simply the questions which you have posed, though they are very helpful. I will be happy to deal with them as follows:

1. I will outline the policies governing the officers and staff of the National Council with regard to representing its judgments before Congressional Committees. It is clearly established that the only representative and speaking function which the National Council exercises is assigned to the General Board or the General Assembly. Officers, committeemen and staff who appear at Congressional hearings speak from within the policies that have been determined by the General Board and/or the General Assembly. In other words, we are interpreting what the representatives of the Churches have said on such matters.
2. The so-called "right-to-work" laws are dealt with in the leaflet, "Ethical Issues in Industrial Relations of Concern to Christians." See paragraph 4 on page 5. The pertinent sentence is, 'union membership as a basis of continuing employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law.'
3. This question is covered in such materials as, "The Churches and Segregation," "Non-Segregated Housing," "Meetings and Conventions," "Sit-In Demonstrations," "U.S. Supreme Court Decision on Segregation

in the Public Schools," "Statements Adopted by the Fourth General Assembly," and "Resolutions on Violence in New Orleans."

4. This question is dealt with in "Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet." See page 22.
5. We have statements from Drs. Bowie, Cadbury, Dahl and Waterman negating any Communistic affiliation. Fleming James our honored Episcopal teacher at Episcopal Theological Seminary in New Haven and Yale is now dead.
6. This list is completely out of print as are most of the books to which it refers. Perhaps your committee could get the best indication of the problem with which the issue deals if they could find in the Library the book, "Without Magnolias." This book is a realistic description of the moral climate within which many Negroes live and struggle for a better life.

I am sending you a copy of a little folder, "The Truth About the Churches, etc." which I wish your committee would read prior to my coming.

Now as to a possible time when I could meet with your committee. Would February 3 be a satisfactory time? What I would like to suggest is that I meet with your Committee on the afternoon of February 3 and that I meet with the Vestry and the committee when the committee reports Friday evening, February 3. I believe this would be much more satisfactory all around than to rely on a stenotype report of my meeting with the Committee. You are at perfect liberty to record said transaction if you wish, but I would much prefer dealing with the questions that may be in the minds of the Vestry as well as the committee if you think this has any merit. I will be coming into Shreveport from Enid, Oklahoma. I don't know what kind of transportation facilities are available, but I could leave Enid Friday morning, February 3, or, if necessary, Thursday night, February 2.

Please let me know your wishes thereon. Trusting that you will have a blessed and prosperous New Year, I am

Sincerely,
J. Quinter Miller
Assistant General Secretary

APPENDIX

SECTION Q

Q-1 MARGARET HALSEY

Margaret Halsey is listed as either a member or sponsor of or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)

- (2) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (3) Progressive Citizens of America (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (4) Listed as supporter of communist book shops
- (5) Signer of Communist Party nominating petition
- (6) Sponsor of the World Peace Conference
SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

Q-2 LANGSTON HUGHES

Langston Hughes is listed as either a member or sponsor of or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Cited as subversive by the California Joint Facts-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (2) The American League Against War and Fascism
- (3) The American League for Peace and Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (4) American Peace Mobilization (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (5) Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (6) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (7) American Labor Parties (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (8) American Youth for Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (9) Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (10) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (11) International Labor Defense (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (12) International Worker's Order (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (13) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (14) League of American Writers (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (15) Medical Bureau of North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)

- (16) National Citizens' Political Action Committee (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (17) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (18) National Negro Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (19) New Theater League (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (20) Peoples' Radio Foundation, Inc. (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (21) Peoples' Songs, Inc. (Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (22) Schools for Democracy (Cited as subversive by Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (23) Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (24) Voice of Freedom Committee (Defending Pro-Communist Radio Speakers)
- (25) Listed as a supporter of communist book shops
- (26) Listed as a member of the Communist Party in the United States of America
- (27) Called for the support of the Communist Party in national elections and its candidate
- (28) Listed as a member of the Committee of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford
- (29) Listed as a member of the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford
- (30) Listed as a member of the Committee for the re-election of Benjamin J. Davis, communist, 1945
- (31) Listed as a member of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee - (Declaration honoring Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary, Communist International)

SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

Q-3 HERBERT APTHEKER

Herbert Aptheker is listed as either a member or sponsor or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Sponsor of the New York Cultural Conference
- (2) Civil Rights Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (3) Jefferson School of Social Science (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)

- (4) Progressive Citizens of America (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (5) School for Democracy (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (6) Listed as a supporter of Communist book shops
- (7) Listed as a member of Citizen's Committee for Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis
- (8) Signer of letter defending open letter to Soviet Writers of Masses and Main Stream
- (9) Signer of statement supporting Soviet Union versus Current United States Leadership in Literary Gazette, Moscow 1948
- (10) Writer for Masses and Main Stream (Listed as a Communist publication)
- (11) Main Stream, the Negro Quarterly (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (12) New Masses
- (13) Listed as one of the Sponsors of the World Peace Conference

SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

Q-4 W.E.B. DUBOIS

W. E. B. DuBois is listed as either a member or sponsor or signer for the various organizations, committees and other activities following:

- (1) Win the Peace Conference (Congress) (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (2) Sponsor of the New York Cultural Conference
- (3) Sponsor of the World Congress for Peace in Paris (And listed as Co-Chairman)
- (4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (5) American Council for a Democratic Greece (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (6) American Labor Party (Cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (7) California Labor School (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (8) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (Cited as subversive by California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (9) National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (Cited as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (10) Civil Rights Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)

December 15, 1960

- (11) Jefferson School of Social Science (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (12) Progressive Citizens of America (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (13) Southern Negro Youth Congress (Cited as subversive by the Attorney General)
- (14) Voice of Freedom Committee (Defending Pro-Communist radio speakers) (Listed as a supporter of communist book shops)
- (15) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Signer of statement or speaker in defense of communist cases)
- (16) Signer of statement "We negro americans" defending Communist Party, April 26, 1947
- (17) Listed as one of 21 supported by the Communist Party, United States of America
- (18) Listed as one of 16 supported by individual communists
- (19) National Free Earl Browder Congress, 1942
- (20) Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, 1942
- (21) Civil Rights Congress participant in support of Gerhault Eisler
- (22) Citizens' Committee to Defend Representative Governments Supporting Seating of Gerson Communist, 1948
- (23) Signer of statement in behalf of communist party leaders, January 17, 1949
- (24) Signer protest against Anti-Soviet Film "The Iron Curtain"
- (25) Signed statement calling for conference with Soviet Union, June, 1948
- (26) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (Cited as communist enterprise by Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (27) Soviet Russia Today (Publication) (Cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities)
- (28) Contributor to Main Stream
- (29) Sponsor of the World Peace Conference

SOURCE: House Report No. 1954, April 19, 1949

APPENDIX

SECTION R

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST in the U.S.A.

476 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. Riverside 9-2200

Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President

Rev. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary

Dr. Henry M. Bullock
The Methodist Church
201 Eighth Avenue, South
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Bullock:

I write this letter in answer to your inquiry of November 2 concerning an inquiry, in turn, which you have received from the Rev. Elbert S. Morford of Mesa, Arizona. I am writing to you because I assume that you will wish to answer his questions yourself, but you are free to use this communication in any way that you wish.

First, let me answer the two questions which you, yourself, have asked. In reply to the first, as to which writers are known to be communists, I will have to say that neither I nor any member of the staff know of any of the writers who are communists. There have been allegations, some of which we know are untrue. We do know that one writer implied, in testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee that prior to 1953 his books had reflected a sympathetic attitude toward Communism, but definitely confirming that he no longer was so inclined and had no communist affiliations.

As to the purpose of this publication, it was the definite impression of the Director of the department when he agreed to the process of preparation, that it was to be a comprehensive reading list for mature leaders in the churches who would wish to know the viewpoints of all segments of American society with respect to Negro life. It was not intended to be exclusively a list of books which represented a Christian point of view. I must confess that the list, as it finally emerged, would imply that this book list was for further reading purposes, though it did attempt by age group classifications to protect children and youth from the type of material that would not be proper for them to have. The supply of the book list is exhausted and there is no plan to reprint it. Now, having answered your questions, let me say some additional things:

First: — I am very much embarrassed by the fact that this Book list was issued. I feel that it was very unwise and inappropriate. Because of that fact we have appointed a committee which is now preparing guide lines for staff with respect to the issuance of any book list in the future. We cannot, in an organization the size of the National Council of Churches, take responsibility in any one office for all of the detailed publications which grow out of seventy departments in any central office, but it is our thought that if we have proper guide lines, we can hold individual staff members responsible to their appropriate supervisory bodies in such matters.

Second: — As I have talked with Dr. J. Oscar Lee, the head of this department, I find that he is as much embarrassed as am I, even though he has been much closer to the situation out of which this book list emerged.

I know that he questioned the wisdom of what is called a comprehensive book list, lest people assume that we were endorsing all of the titles included, as representing a Christian point of view. I must say also that he was absent from the country while the list was being prepared. I am attaching copy of a statement which has been given me by Dr. Lee for such use as I may care to make of it. You will note that he attempts to explain the facts with respect to the issuance of the bibliography issued by his department, but accepts full responsibility for the list, as head of his department.

I hope that this letter gives you the data you need in order to reply to Mr. Morford. I am sure that you will feel as I do, that you cannot justify this book list but that at least it should be helpful for Mr. Morford to know that we recognize the lack of wisdom exercised in issuing the book list and are uneasy about it ourselves. I also want you to know that the Council has taken steps to avoid the unfortunate circumstances being repeated.

Along with this, I must say that I think the greatest harm that may have come out of the issuing of the book list is the mis-use of it by enemies of the Council who have distorted the nature of the list and who have misrepresented the purposes for which it was issued.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,
Roy G. Ross
General Secretary

RCR/dg
Encl.

APPENDIX SECTION 5

J. Edgar Hoover, in *Masters of Deceit*:

FROM PAGE 93:

"5. Dupes. The final area is that of the dupe, or innocent victim, the individual who unknowingly is under communist thought control and does the work of the Party. A tragedy of the past generation in the United States is that so many persons, including high-ranking statesmen, public officials, educators, ministers of the gospel, professional men, have been duped into helping communism. Communist leaders have proclaimed that communism must be partly built with non-communist hands, and this, to a large extent, is true.

Communist propaganda is tailored to attract noncommunists. Communism offers a bogus 'spiritual appeal,' a 'Kingdom of God on earth.' Its tactics and strategy are covered with attractive, appealing words, such as 'freedom,' 'justice,' and 'equality.' The communists claim they are working for a 'better world,' that they have the answer to discrim-

ination, exploitation, and economic want. To fight for communism, they say, is to become part of the most sacred crusade in the history of man."

FROM PAGE 96:

"Finally, we should not permit the use of our names unless we know the true identity of the soliciting group. We should use our right of petition to further the American way of life, and not allow the communists to steal it from us."

FROM PAGES 205-206:

"Mass agitation is most effective in capturing the support of noncommunists. By securing even the temporary allegiance of an individual, as in a testimonial, the Party gains. In this way communist propaganda enters the orbit of that individual's personal influence. 'Why,' a friend will say after reading the testimonial, 'if So-and-So endorses that organization (or issue), it must be OK.' The dupe becomes a communist thought-control relay station. That's why communists are always eager to secure the support of doctors, clergymen, teachers, and other persons highly respected in their communities. The more widely known the person, the better."

FROM PAGES 324, 325, 326:

"This 'practical approach' means attempting through deceptive tactics, to capture support from American religious groups for an atheistic Communist Party. As Foster put it in 1937:

In consequence, the anti-religious Communist Party is now to be found in close united front cooperation with dozens of churches and other religious organizations on questions of immediate economic and political interest to the toiling masses.

In line with these tactics, the Party is today engaged in a systematic program to infiltrate American religious groups. 'The Communist Party,' said the National Committee in 1954, 'declares that it seeks no conflict with any Church or any American's religious belief. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goal of peace, democracy and security to all regardless of religious belief.' Members are being told: 'Join churches and become involved in church work.'

The Party's objectives inside religious groups are several:

1. To gain 'respectability': '... a church is the best front we can have.' Comrades, by associating in church circles, secure an 'acceptable' status in the community, greater credence for their opinions, and the lulling of noncommunist suspicions.

2. To provide an opportunity for the subtle dissemination of communist propaganda. Churches are convincing places in which to identify

communist programs with such genuine religious values as 'peace,' 'brotherhood,' 'justice.' One member bragged how in a church talk he had 'plugged' for Marx. The communists are careful, however, not to overdo it. One fellow was too ambitious. He was challenged by alert church members and relieved of his leadership duties.

3. To make contact with youth: through class discussions, recreational affairs, etc. The object is not necessarily to recruit (although in one church several young people did join) but to plant a seed of Marxist-Leninist thought.

4. To exploit the church in the Party's day-to-day agitational program. In the 1930's and 1940's the approach was chiefly through 'immediate economic and political' problems, with Party attempting to exploit the church's legitimate interest in better housing and the elimination of social injustices.

Today this tactic is overshadowed by the 'peace' issue. Every possible deceptive device is being used to link the Party's 'peace' program with the church. One Communist Party section issued instructions that every clergyman in the community be contacted to give a sermon on 'peace'. Encourage 'Party church members' to organize discussion groups, perhaps showing a 'peace' film. If possible, circulate 'peace' literature. If you can't get inside, stand outside. One organizer said: 'We are to dress up like other people and stand outside churches in our neighborhoods and use the slogan, "Peace on earth, good will toward men."'

5. To enlarge the area of Party contacts. One Party section advocated. Join small churches (100 to 500 membership), so that one can more easily work himself into a position of leadership. Make as many personal contacts as possible. Learn where the church member works, what his hobbies are, etc. Someday he might be used. One Party member, active in youth work, learned that the parents of several young people were working in an industrial plant. Securing this information was most important, he said.

6. To influence clergymen. A dedicated clergyman, being a man of God, is a mortal enemy of communism. But if he can, by conversion, influence, or trickery, be made to support the communist program once or a few times or many times, the Party gains. If, for example, a clergyman can be persuaded to serve as sponsor or officer of a communist front, to issue a testimonial or to sign a clemency petition for a communist 'victim of persecution,' his personal prestige lends weight to the cause.

APPENDIX

SECTION I

From pages 60 through 64 of the Transcript of the Conference with Dr. Miller, February 3, 1961:

Q. Mr. Lyons: "Dr. Miller, my question has to do with the procedure involved in submitting to the lay committee for its consideration and any expression of opinion it wanted to make on any contemplated pronouncement on a political matter or any matter that the lay committee thought they should be consulted on and there was an implication in something someone said that to have done that would have made it possible for the lay committee to have exercised a veto or to have prevented the General Board from acting, and I don't think they -- it could be so set up but --"

A. Dr. Miller: "The decision of the General Board was not to allow that to happen."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "Allow what to happen, Dr. Miller?"

A. Dr. Miller: "The possibility of the lay committee thwarting the will of the total representative body of both clergy and lay."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "The lay committee was a committee responsible to the General Board, was it not?"

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "I just can't visualize a situation where a subcommittee, so to speak, of the larger group could be permitted to frustrate the larger group."

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, sir, exactly. That is how we eliminated the lay committee, because it was the express judgment of the representatives of the lay committee that that is exactly what they hoped would happen and then the General Board said, 'if that is the situation then we don't need a lay committee.'"

Q. Mr. Lyons: "I don't know how the General Board could have felt that its will would have been overcome by the lay committee to have granted what the lay committee seemed to desire from what I gather which is only to be permitted to see and express their views of these things."

A. Dr. Miller: "Much stronger than that."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "What was it?"

A. Dr. Miller: "I would be glad to try to interpret it off the record, but not for the record."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Read this." (Indicating Pew Report)

A. Dr. Miller: "I think I should say this, sir. That which you are reading has absolutely no standing with the lay committee, only with the chairman, and that is the basic issue which the General Board dealt with in disbanding the lay committee. Many of the members of the lay committee were also members of the General Board and were completely out of harmony with the chairman of the lay committee."

Q. Mr. McCord: "If we are going to stay on this I will have to have one more shot at it because this lay affirmation to my mind notes the whole attitude of the committee."

A. Dr. Miller: "Written by the chairman."

NOTES

Q. Mr. Lyons: "There were 168 members and only 15 voted against it. There were some that abstained and some absent but only 15 voted against it."

A. Dr. Miller: "The date of that is what was the decisive policy decision for not reappointing the lay committee. It was not disbanded."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Sir?"

A. Dr. Miller: "It wasn't disbanded, but it wasn't reappointed. Isn't that correct?"

Q. Mr. McCord: "It says that the National Lay Committee was disbanded officially by action of the Council's General Board on June 30, 1955."

Q. Mr. Lyons: "But the fundamental thing here is that Dr. Miller questioned whether or not that report embodies everything considered from the point of view of the committee as a whole and I would judge on that one vote of the lay affirmation that it would. The general sense of the whole committee would be largely the same as that report."

Q. Mr. McCord: "Let's put it in the record further as long as we are going to go into it, because the lay committee vote is set forth here, and whether or not we are going to call this a Pew report or a National Council laity report is insignificant. Here is what is quoted in the Pew report and for the record on the approval of the lay affirmation there were 168 members present or voting of which 115 members approved the lay affirmation and 15 refused approval and 11 were away and 10 members abstained and 17 members were not heard from. Now, there is the lay affirmation."

A. Dr. Miller: "Does the book say this was done in committee?"

Q. Mr. McCord: "Well, I will read it to you."

A. Dr. Miller: "The 'not heard from' brings back what I think is the truth; namely, that the committee never met to consider it. It was a mailed vote and the not heard from I think is the key there to verify my memory."

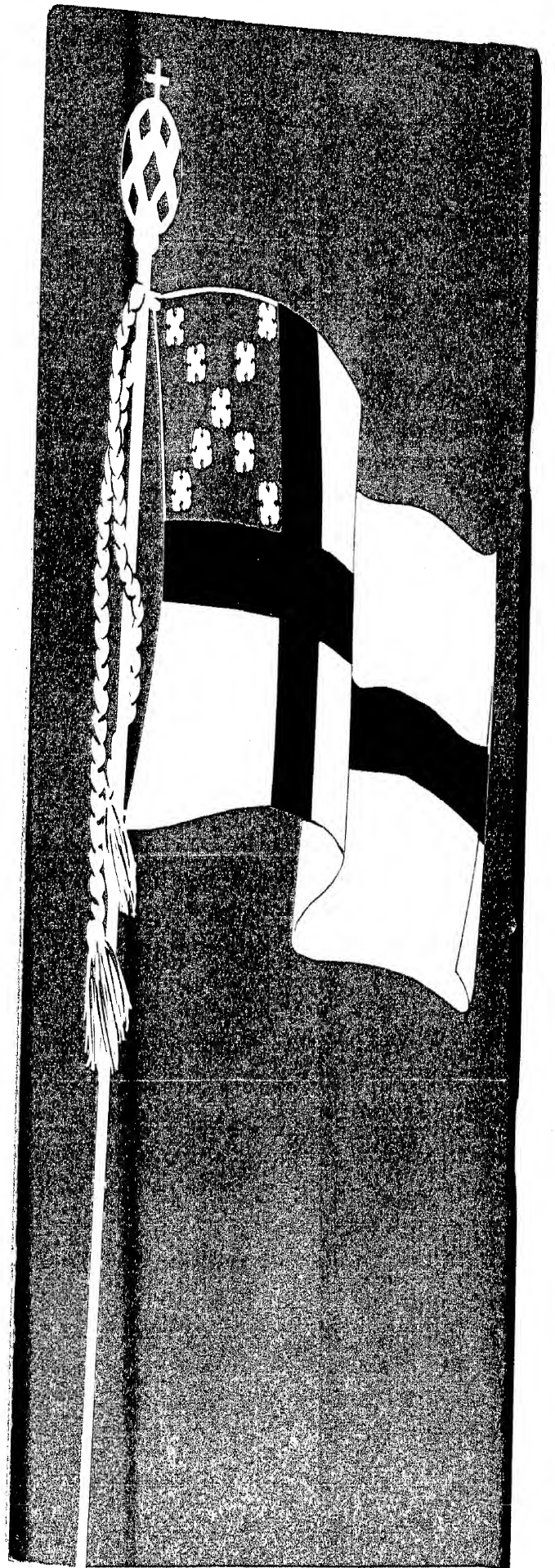
Q. Mr. McCord: "Would that make any great big difference if you had 115 members that approved it. That would tend to express to me that this is not a Pew report, as you say it is, but a report reflecting the opinions of at least 115 members of the lay committee."

A. Dr. Miller: "Yes, Sir."

Q. Mr. Madison: "I think that is particularly emphasized since some of them refused to go along and some of them abstained."

NOTES

Third Printing
June 15, 1961
The Drake Company
Shreveport, Louisiana



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. SULLIVAN

DATE: September 14, 1961

FROM : R. O. LALLIER 9/19SUBJECT: EDGAR C. BUNDY
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

My previous memorandum indicated that the

Referral/Consult

Edgar Bundy is the head of the American Church Service League, an organization which he uses to promote his own interests. He was reported in the past for impersonating an FBI Agent but no evidence was developed to establish a case and it was closed. He is a former Baptist minister who now in the main makes his living as an anticommunist accusing large numbers of Protestant clergymen of being under the control of the Communist Party of the United States. He is known to secure Government pamphlets including those of the FBI from the Government Printing Office and elsewhere and selling them at a price higher than that which he paid for them. Just recently the Bureau authorized two Agents to interview Bundy and to instruct him to

JOC:WCS:jad/hcw

64 SEP 22 1961 83

1-Mr. DeLoach

REC-26

62-104576 52

22 SEP 20 1961

5-0. Conrad

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

Referral/Direct

desist from selling our pamphlets for a price higher than designated. Mr. Bundy has been critical of both the Director and W. C. Sullivan, charging in effect that they have not opposed communism with sufficient zeal, etc. [REDACTED]

Assistant Director C. D. DeLoach has informed us that Mr. Bundy is an unscrupulous, deceitful profiteer and one not to be trusted in any respect. Mr. DeLoach knows him as a result of some American Legion activities a few years ago.

ACTION:

For information.

gmc

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

✓

my
94-5-48
REC-92

September 19, 1961

62-104576-53X

SEP 19 11 24 AM '61
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

[redacted]
[redacted] Illinois

b6
b7C

Dear Mrs. [redacted]

Your letter of September 13, 1961, has been received, and it was kind of you to give me the benefit of your observations concerning my book, "Masters of Deceit."

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the FBI being strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In view of the foregoing, it would be against my policy to make any comments on the subjects of your inquiry. I am sure you will understand my position.

I am enclosing some material on the general topic of communism you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 30

SEP 19 1961

COMM-FBI

Enclosures (4)

- "Faith in God--Our Answer To Communism"
- What You Can Do To Fight Communism
- The Communist Menace (Christianity Today Series)
- One Nation's Response to Communism

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent. Edgar Bundy is Chairman of the Church League of America, claims to have been a Major in Air Force Intelligence, and has been the subject of a closed Impersonation case.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

56 SEP 25 1961

JCF:ch (3)

TRUE COPY

Wednesday, September 13, 1961

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

As a result of reading your book, "Masters of Deceit; and discussing it with friends, my husband and I have become aware of a number of people's apathy in regard to communist activity in this country! This is why I am writing, to ask your help!

During the last six months we have received and read much anti-communist literature, in the way of Pamphlets, Articles, News-letters and several books. Most, of which we would like to pass on to others.

This literature etc. has been received by us from
'The Church League of America' 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois
(a community adjacent to ours) whose Chairman is Major Edgar C. Bundy.

We wish to support Mr. Bundy in his work against communism but before we do so we would appreciate your stamp of approval on the following: 1) The man, Edgar Bundy

2) The organization, Church League of America
1407 Hill avenue
Wheaton, Illinois

3) The book 'Collectivism In The Churches' By Edgar Bundy - in which he quotes, in part, passages of your book 'Masters of Deceit.'

4) The John Birch Society.

In short, are these authentic and worthy American Anti-Communist rganizations? Do they deserve our membership, financial support and are we safe in becoming informed thru them in the fight against communism? Please advise us on these matters as promptly as possible. Thank you,

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]
[Redacted Address]
Illinois

b6
b7c

ack: 9-19-61
JCF: lch
1-TC
9-18-61 lch

Tuesday, September 13, 1961

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dear Mr. Hoover,

As a result of reading your book
'Masters of Deceit', and discussing it with
friends, my husband and I have become
aware of a number of people's apathy in
regard to Communist activity in this
country! This is why I am writing to ask
your help!

During the last six months we have
received and read much anti-Communist
literature, in the way of pamphlets, articles,
news-letters and several books. Most
of which we would like to pass on
to others.

This literature etc. has been received
by us from 'The Church League of America'
1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois (a
community adjacent to ours) whose chairman
is Major Edgar C. Bundy.

We wish to support Mr. Bundy in
his work against Communism but
before we do so we would appreciate
your stamp of approval

1-TC 9-18-61 lch

(over)

(2)

- the following:
- 1) The man, Edgar Bundy
 - 2) The organization, 'Church League of America'
1407 Hill Avenue
Wheaton, Illinois
 - 3) The Book 'Collectivism In The Churches'
By Edgar Bundy - in which
he quotes, in part, passages of
your book 'Masters of Deceit.'
 - 4) The John Birch Society.

In short, are these authentic and
worthy American Anti-Communist
organizations? Do they deserve our
membership, financial support and
are we safe in becoming informed
thru them in the fight against
Communism? Please advise us on
these matters as promptly as
possible. Thank you,

Sincerely,

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

WLB:vic

b6
b7C

REC-13

62-10457653

September 18, 1961

EX - 102

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida

b6
b7c

Dear Mrs [Redacted]

Your letter of September 12, 1961, has been received, and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

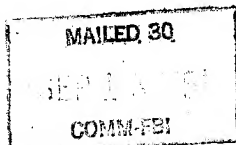
Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry.

Enclosed is some literature dealing with the general subject of communism which may be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (5)

Communism::The Bitter Enemy of Religion

A View of Reality

"Faith in God - Our Answer To Communism

4-17-61 Internal Security Statement

Christianity Today Series

SEE NOTE NEXT PAGE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM (3) TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 30
SEP 18 1961
COMM-FBI

SEP 18 1961

SKH
DEM
Prest

Handwritten signature/initials

Handwritten initials

SEP 19 4 30 PM '61

FBI READING ROOM

b6
b7c

Mrs.

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Edgar C. Bundy, General Chairman of the Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois, claims to have formerly been a major in Air Force Intelligence. He represented himself in 1950 as a former FBI Agent but this allegation was not substantiated. In 1954, Bundy deliberately tried to mislead the Bureau by attempting to get a Bureau speaker, the then Inspector C. D. DeLoach, to appear before a political meeting. Bundy's scheme was discovered in time to thwart it and the Chicago Office was instructed to be most circumspect in subsequent dealings with him, (100-54070-6; 100-158864-9; 47-39431-18) and W. C. Sullivan to Belmont memo 5-2-61. Bundy is also a former Baptist minister who does much lecturing around the country on communism, and the Bureau received frequent citizens' inquiries concerning him. Address per her return address on envelope.

TRUE COPY

[redacted] Fla.
September 12, 1961

Dear Sir:

As [redacted] of our local Episcopal Churchwomen,
I have been given the book "Collectivism in the Churches" written
by Major Edgar C. Bundy to read and clear for study in our
organization. I find it necessary to find out about Major Bundy
before doing this.

b6
b7c

Would you please send me any information you
might have that will be of help. The book has been also suggested
study in our local Project Alert Organization.

Yours truly,

/s/

[redacted]

Fla-

REC-13 62-104576-53

SEP 20 1961

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Cub
9-18-61
est
more

Ala.
September 17, 1961

Dear Sir:

As [redacted] of our local Episcopal Churchwomen, I have been given the book "Collectivism in The Churches" written by Major Edgar C. Bundy. to read and clear for study in our organization. I find it necessary to find out about Major Bundy before doing this.

b6
b7c

Would you please send me any information you might have that will be of help. The book has been also suggested study in our local Project Alert Organization.

sub
9-18-61
EPL
[initials]

y. [unclear]
[unclear]

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 19, 1961

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: A MANUAL FOR SURVIVAL, PUBLISHED 1961 BY THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA, EDGAR C. BUNDY GENERAL CHAIRMAN, BOOK REVIEW, CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Bundy is professional anticommunist. Church League of America is, for all practical purposes, Bundy. This book another self-promotional scheme. Rehash of old public source material on communism exploited to develop theme: (1) greatest danger to country from communist sympathizers rather than hard-core members; (2) public exposure best remedy; (3) exposure is task of House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and organizations like Bundy's. Sales pitch climaxed by appeal for funds and subscriptions to Bundy's News and Views. FBI references generally commendatory though FBI called "private detective arm" of Department of Justice and statement was made, in effect, that it was not the FBI but HCUA which should be given credit for discovering Alger Hiss. Letter from Director to Wayne Murphy (formerly) of National Americanism Commission, American Legion, 3-26-56, reprinted to stress confidential nature of FBI files. Letter appeared in Legion paper "The Firing Line." Attack on Supreme Court for legal hair-splitting included reference to such FBI cases as those of [redacted]. Errors include: (1) liberties in paraphrasing Director's statements to give seeming support of argument that primary danger to country is from communist sympathizers and non-members who do the work of the Party; (2) actual communist objectives confused with Party line by citing primary objective of communism as cessation of nuclear testing; (3) obsolete term, "C. I. Rep.," used; (4) undefined epithets used to describe persons and organizations suspected of communist connection or aid to cause; (5) unidentified American citizen described as having served as Soviet spy may be Arvid Werner Jacobson, jailed in Finland in 1930's. If so, account factually incorrect in ways which again emphasize incompetence of self-styled spokesmen on communism such as Bundy.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosure (File in Bureau Library)

CBP:maj/bbb

(11)

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Mr. Mohr

1-Mr. DeLoach

1-Mr. Hanning

1-Mr. Suttler

1-Mr. Sullivan

1-Mr. Branigan

1-

1-Section Ticker

1-

SEP 26 1961

Rum

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: "A Manual For Survival, Published 1961 By The Church League Of America,
Edgar C. Bundy General Chairman, Book Review, Central Research Matter"

PURPOSE OF MEMO

The purpose of this memo is to furnish a review by Central Research Section of captioned book.

PUBLISHER

The Church League of America is, for all practical purposes, Edgar C. Bundy. Bundy is a professional anticommunist who, by writings, lecture tours, seminars, and other promotional schemes, is attempting to capitalize on the menace of communism. His previous book, Collectivism in the Churches, as well as his bulletin, News and Views, and other writings have relied heavily on outdated public source material and nebulous terms to convey the impression of current communist affiliation or infiltration on the part of individuals or groups whom he has singled out for attack. Chief among Bundy's targets is the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America with which he has a theological dispute.

THE BOOK

A Manual For Survival professes to be a "Counter-Subversive Study Course" for use at the local level. It is arranged in the form of lessons with questions and recommended reading at the end of each chapter. Review reveals it to be another self-promotional scheme of Bundy and his group. Old public source materials on communism are exploited to develop the book's theme: (1) the greatest danger to this country is posed by communist sympathizers rather than hard-core members; (2) public exposure is the best remedy; (3) exposure is the job of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and organizations like Bundy's. In the last chapter, "What You Can Do," the sales pitch is brought to its peak with an appeal for financial contributions and subscriptions to Bundy's periodical News and Views. The book bears no data as to its price and it is not on sale at principal bookstores in this area.

REFERENCES TO DIRECTOR AND FBI

Over forty references are made to the Director and the FBI. They are generally commendatory. On page 157, however, which concerned the work of the FBI and Congressional investigative committees, emphasizing the HCUA's function in exposing communism as contrasted with the FBI's limitations in the field, the FBI was referred to as the "private detective arm" of the Department of Justice. On page 162 it was stated, in effect, that it was not the FBI but the HCUA which should be credited with discovering Alger Hiss.

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: "A Manual For Survival, Published 1961 By The Church League Of America, Edgar C. Bundy General Chairman, Book Review, Central Research Matter"

An attempt was made to impress the reader with the inaccessibility to him of FBI file information (and thus to build up the importance of organizations like Bundy's) by reprinting, on page 160, a letter from the Director to Wayne Murphy dated 3-26-56 when the latter was Research Director of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion. The letter pointed out that it is not within the prescribed authority of the FBI to issue clearance of any type to individuals or organizations, and stressed the confidential nature of our files. Permission was given in the letter to publish it in the American Legion publication, "The Firing Line," and it was so published in the April 15, 1956 issue, thus passing into the public domain. Attempt was made to discredit Central Intelligence Agency as a possible source, or so it appeared, with the statement on page 44 of the book that Inspector General Lyman Kirkpatrick of that Agency "does not know very much about communism." The reason given was a statement by Kirkpatrick in April, 1961, to the effect that poverty and intolerable social conditions breed communism, which, according to the book, is a fallacy.

Chapter VI is devoted to an attack against the Supreme Court for allegedly aiding the communist cause with legal hair-splitting. On page 71 it was stated with reference to the [] case: "The Supreme Court had little trouble finding a microscopic flaw in the otherwise carefully prepared case. While [] was on trial, the FBI innocently contacted three jurors seeking some information on an entirely unrelated case. The FBI did not know that the three interviewed people were jurors. The Supreme Court deemed this an 'unwarranted intrusion into the privacy of the jury' and by a four to three majority ordered a new trial. The government threw up its hands in helpless disgust and announced it was dropping further prosecution." On page 74, the case of [] accused of harboring communist fugitives [] was cited to show the lengths to which the Supreme Court would go in challenging the admissibility of evidence seized by FBI.

LIBERTIES TAKEN IN PARAPHRASING DIRECTOR'S STATEMENTS

On April 22, 1954, the Director addressed the Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Washington, D. C. Included in his remarks was this statement, as shown in the transcript of his address, page 2, paragraph 4:

"The pseudo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites."

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: "A Manual For Survival, Published 1961 By The Church League of America,
Edgar C. Bundy General Chairman, Book Review, Central Research Matter"

On page 138 of A Manual for Survival this statement is distorted in such manner as to imply a possible lack of concern about known communists on the part of the FBI. The book's paraphrase follows:

"J. Edgar Hoover in Addressing the Daughters of the American Revolution in their 1954 national convention in Washington, D. C. stated emphatically that we are not so much concerned with the hard-core members of the Communist Party as we are with the self-styled pseudo-liberals. "

On page 132 of the book the Director is alleged to have taken the position that we are not so much concerned with the hard-core members of the Communist Party, who don't even carry cards anymore, but that we are concerned with the fact that for every actual member of the Communist Party, there are ten others outside the party ready and able and willing to do the Party's work. Again the implication of a possible lack of concern with reference to the Party. An actual statement of the Director on this matter was made before HCUA on 3/26/47. The transcript, page 5, bottom of page, contains his words:

"What is important is the claim of the Communist themselves that for every Party member there are ten others ready, willing and able to do the Party's work. Herein lies the greatest menace of Communism. For these are the people who infiltrate and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist Party the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate. "

Other references to the Director and FBI were made chiefly in connection with the use of old public source material relating to communist infiltration of broad phases of American life.

OTHER ERRORS AND WEAKNESSES

Confusion On Communist Objectives

On page 183 the book sets forth alleged communist objectives at the present time. The primary objective was listed as general and universal disarmament beginning with nuclear disarmament and "cessation of all nuclear testing. " This is an obvious confusion of the Party line with actual communist objectives.

Use of Obsolete Term

On page 182 of the book the phrase "C. I. Rep. " is used as though it were up-to-date terminology applicable to persons currently responsible for the passing

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: "A Manual For Survival, Published 1961 By The Church League Of America,
Edgar C. Bundy General Chairman, Book Review, Central Research Matter"

of orders and instructions from Moscow to Communist Parties abroad. The term "C. I. Rep." no longer was accurate after the dissolving, in 1943, of the Communist International to which its initial letters referred.

Use of Nebulous Phrases

On page 180, the reader is warned not to call a person a communist because of the danger of a libel suit. Elsewhere in the book, however, the reader encounters other phrases whose use presumably recommends them as fitting epithets. These include especially the word "radical," for example, radicals, a radical organization, radical religious leaders, radical theologians; as well as "left-wing," for example, left-wingers, left-wing press, and another combination known as "radical left-wing." Also used as epithets are the words: liberals, self-styled liberals, religious vigilantes, Social Gospellers, modernists, and even "modernist-radical-socialist theologians."

Spy Story

On page 151 there appears an account of Soviet espionage activities by an unnamed American in an unspecified country in Europe. Dr. J.B. Matthews, while on the Dies Committee, was said to have interviewed this young American whose story has never been published. After consultation in Espionage Section and check of pertinent references, the individual has been tentatively identified as Arvid Werner Jacobson, who was jailed in Finland from 1933 to 1936 for Soviet espionage activities and whose background closely resembles that of the person described. (61-7219)

If the individual mentioned in the book is, in fact, Jacobson, the book contains these additional errors of fact: (1) versions of Jacobson's "story" have previously appeared in print, for example, in the book Witness by Whittaker Chambers; and (2) Jacobson admitted to FBI that he was a Communist Party member. The first fact would indicate lack of acquaintance with the published literature on espionage and communism; the second goes to prove all over again the incompetence of persons such as Bundy to make statements relative to an individual's Communist Party adherence. In the connection used in this book, such a mistake would be particularly pertinent, for the reference was intended to prove the potential of non-Party members for espionage recruitment.

Slanted Bibliography

In the last chapter a list of 12 books is set out, selected by the Church League of America as being "basic to any understanding of the nature of communism." Bundy's book Collectivism in the Churches appears in this selected list while the Director's book "Masters of Deceit" is relegated to the general bibliography.

200, Cincinnati

November 24, 1961

REC-122

Director, FBI (62-104576) 55

PERSONAL ATTENTION

EDGAR C. BUNDY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Harrington

Reference is made to your letter dated November 8, 1961, to Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan.

Edgar C. Bundy, head of the American Church Service League, Wheaton, Illinois, has been extremely critical of statements by the Director and Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan of the extent of communist penetration into our religious organizations. It has been reported that Bundy has been selling United States Government pamphlets at a higher price than he originally paid for them at the United States Government Printing Office and also reprinting and selling Bureau pamphlets.

b6
b7C

Your letter advised that [redacted]

[redacted]
of Bundy. You are instructed to have two mature and experienced Agents interview [redacted] using as a pretext the fact that [redacted]

[redacted] Bundy at lectures that Bundy delivers in various sections of the United States.

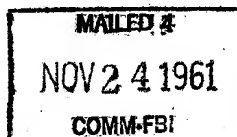
[redacted] any additional background information he may possess concerning Bundy.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated 11/22/61, JTH:cdb.

JTH:cdb
(6)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____



62 DEC 8 1961

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

November 8, 1961

Mr. William C. Sullivan
Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I recall how nasty Bundy was with you.

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] etc., etc.

I do not know whether the incident in which Bundy was involved is known to the Bureau.

On the other hand, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The thought occurred to me that it might be well

[REDACTED]

Handwritten note: [REDACTED] (encs)

[REDACTED]

Sincerely yours,

E. D. Mason
E. D. Mason

REC-122

NOV 22 1961

62-104576-55
[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DL*

DATE: 10-24-61

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT: "GODLESS RED TYRANNY"

LEN J. WAGNER, PUBLISHER
 ARTICLE DEROGATORY OF DIRECTOR
 ASSISTANT DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN
 AND THE FBI

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Malone ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Ingram ☒
 Gandy ☒

BACKGROUND:

On 10-17-61, we received a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Facts For Freedom," a supplement to "In A Nutshell," published in 1961 by Len J. Wagner, 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Illinois. The pamphlet contained an article captioned "Godless Red Tyranny."

ANALYSIS OF ARTICLE:

Captioned article consists of an attack upon the Director's position, as reflected in recent speeches by Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, that American religious groups have not been substantially penetrated by communists.

An examination of this article reflects that it is practically a paraphrase of a letter to the Director, dated August 2, 1961, from Edgar C. Bundy, General Chairman of the Church League of America, 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois.

You will recall, that the Bundy letter was a seven-page diatribe reflecting the fact that the Director's realistic and unemotional position, concerning alleged penetration of American churches by communists, has hurt Bundy's professional anticommunist activities, and that it has taken the wind out of the sails of Bundy's self-serving, emotional and alarmist position. ^{that} substantial penetration of American churches has been accomplished by the communists.

ENCLOSURE *pamphlet*

In addition to the obvious evidence that a side-by-side comparison of the Bundy letter and captioned article produces disclosing their joint origin, Wagner, in a note at the end of his article, states: "We are indebted to the Church League of America, from whose recent 'Special Report' some of this material was derived."

Enclosure *sent 10-26-61*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

GGL:jf
 (4)

NOV 29

NOV 3 1961

Hiddy

XEROX

NOT RECORDED

148 NOV 3 1961

CRIME RESEARCH
 CRIME RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILE IN

Jones to DeLoach memo
Re: "GODLESS RED TYRANNY"
LEN J. WAGNER

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Bufiles disclose that Bundy and his Church League of America are well known to the Director for the irresponsible professional anticommunists they are. (62-104576) Bundy's long-winded letter of August 2, 1961, was thoroughly analyzed and its erroneous nature exposed in the memorandum of Mr. R. W. Smith to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated August 11, 1961. Bundy's letter was, of course, not acknowledged.

We have had good relations in the past with Mr. Len J. Wagner, Publisher of "Facts For Freedom" and "In a Nutshell." Bufiles reflect limited but cordial correspondence with him and no derogatory data appears in Bufiles concerning him. Some of the Director's photographs were sent to Wagner, at his request, in 1950. (62-93298) Wagner's previous publications have supported the Director and the FBI.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is apparent that Wagner has, in this instance, been reached by Bundy and duped into spreading Bundy's emotional and alarmist propaganda. It is feasible to have Wagner contacted by a representative of the Chicago Office to set him straight as to the Director's position in this matter and the spurious nature of Bundy's position.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That a mature and experienced representative of the Chicago Office contact Mr. Len J. Wagner and explain to him the Director's position that there has been no substantial communist penetration of American churches, and expose Bundy's alarmist and irresponsible propaganda for what it is.

2. That the attached letter to SAC, Chicago, be approved and forwarded.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: November 22, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
 1 - Mr. Harrington

SUBJECT: EDGAR C. BUNDY
 INFORMATION CONCERNING
 (INTERNAL SECURITY)

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

SAC E. D. Mason, Cincinnati, Ohio, advised Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan by letter 11/8/61 that [redacted]

[redacted] Edgar C. Bundy

b6
 b7C
 b7D

[redacted] Edgar C. Bundy is the head of the American Church Service League, Wheaton, Illinois, an organization which he uses to promote his own interests. Bundy is extremely critical of statements by the Director and Assistant Director Sullivan in regard to the extent of communist penetration into our religious organizations. Bufiles disclosed that Bundy has been the subject of an impersonation case; however, a violation was not established. It was also reported that Bundy had been selling United States Government pamphlets issued by the United States Government Printing Office at a higher price than they cost him and reproducing and selling Bureau-issued pamphlets. Bundy on interview 9/1/61 advised that he would be more careful in the future regarding resale of items obtained from the United States Government Printing Office and reproduction and sale of Bureau pamphlets. He was severely admonished concerning this and Bundy advised he would cease reproducing and selling the Bureau pamphlets.

[redacted] Bureau Agents in 1954 and was cooperative. Since Bundy has been critical of statements made by the Director and Mr. Sullivan, it is believed that [redacted] be interviewed for any additional information he may possess concerning Bundy.

RECOMMENDATION:

EX-115 REC-25 62-104576-56
 That the attached letter be sent to Cincinnati authorizing interview of [redacted] for any information he may possess concerning Edgar C. Bundy.

Enclosure *11-24-61*
 62-104576
 JTH:cdh (4)

64 DEC 1 1961

EX - 131

62-104576-57

November 28, 1961

REC-75



Dallas 8, Texas

Dear



b6
b7C

Nov 28 4 19 PM '61
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Your letter of November 21, 1961, has been received, and I am most appreciative of the interest which prompted you to write to me.

While I would like to be of service, the FBI, as an investigative agency of the Federal Government, does not furnish comments or evaluations concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. Consequently, it is not possible for me to be of assistance, and I hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files concerning the individual you mentioned.

In view of your interest, I am enclosing some literature on the subject of communism you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (5)

Internal Security Statement 4-17-61

Communist Party, USA (Social Order)

The Deadly Contest

The Communist Party Line

"Christianity Today" series -- The Communist Menace

CJH:mew (3) (see NOTE next page)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Gram _____
Ingram _____

4 DEC 5 1961

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Handwritten notes and signatures:
J. Edgar Hoover
DEC 1961
CJH



NOTE: Bufiles contain no information concerning correspondent and her organization. Edgar C. Bundy is Chairman of the Church League of America, claims to have been a Major in Air Force Intelligence, and has been the subject of a closed Impersonation case.

Cliff Christians For Freedom

P.O. Box 4125 Sta. A - Dallas 8, Texas

November 21, 1961

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Our club was formed about nine months ago in order to better acquaint ourselves with the ideology of Communism in comparison to our American ideology.

One of the books we have been reading is Collectivism in the Churches by Edgar C. Bundy. This is a documented account of the political activities of the Federal, National and World Councils of Churches. In discussing this book with my pastor, I belong to a Baptist Church, he told me not to believe anything Mr. Bundy said because he was a fanatic, radical, and not to be trusted under any circumstances. It seems that Mr. Bundy's ideas caused a rift in one of the large Baptist Churches in Houston and that he is held in poor esteem by most of the Baptist in Nashville. Upon inquiry of the Executive Secretary of the Baptist Sunday School Board in Nashville, we were told that Mr. Bundy used the wrong methods to obtain information for his book, and that he used statements out of context through out the book. Also that he misquoted a statement made by one of the Sunday School Board members when he used it for publicity purposes.

Most of the authorities on Communism seem to agree with Mr. Bundy. Also I find many of the facts in his book in literature I have obtained from the United States Government Printing Office.

EX - 131

REC-75

NOV 24 1961

CORRESPONDENCE

62-104576-57

1961

Cliff Christians For Freedom
P.O. Box 4125 Sta. A - Dallas 8, Texas

November 21, 1961

Page 2

Could you please send me some information on Mr. Bundy?
I have looked in our Public Library and could find no reference
whatsoever concerning him. I would like to know who is correct
in this matter. If my Pastor is correct, I want him to know
we stand behind his stand against Mr. Bundy. If he is not
correct, I want to explain to him why I cannot take the same
stand as he.

We value your opinion in this matter and hope you are
able to help us. Thank you in advance for your courtesy and
helpfulness.

Sincerely yours,



b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-104576) DATE: 12/8/61
ATT'N: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN
FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI - C -
SUBJECT: EDGAR C. BUNDY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

b6
b7C

ReBulet to Cincinnati, 11/24/61.

In accordance with instructions contained in
referenced letter, the [redacted]

[redacted]
3865 N. High Street, Columbus Ohio was interviewed by SAS
[redacted] and [redacted]

He was approached on the pretext as suggested in
referenced letter but denied knowledge of this type of activity
on the part of BUNDY. [redacted] into a
discussion of BUNDY in which he described him as a tremendous
egotist, a highly effective speaker on the subject of subversion,
an intelligent man, but a person who would stray from facts if
pinned down.

He said BUNDY, in about 1950, was accepted into the
American Council of Churches by [redacted] and was used
by [redacted] as a speaker for that organization. This
affiliation was discontinued in the early to mid-1950 period
and approximately this time BUNDY became associated with the
American Church Service League.

[redacted] said he has had no personal contact
with BUNDY for the past eight or nine years and expressed his
personal dislike for BUNDY because of BUNDY'S questionable
character. [redacted] stated he once protested to
[redacted] concerning his using BUNDY as a speaker and was
"vilified" by BUNDY for this action.

3 - Bureau
1 - Cincinnati

RFM:MJH

SENT DIRECTOR
12-15-61

REC-54

4 DEC 11 1961

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During the course of interview, while discussing the character of BUNDY. [REDACTED] BUNDY

[REDACTED] He said this is well known to the American Council of Christian Churches and to several hundred ministers throughout the United States.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] dated November 16, 1953, stated in one part of the letter that BUNDY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated this referred to [REDACTED] BUNDY.

[REDACTED] further related that about 1952 or 1953, [REDACTED] Pennsylvania, informed [REDACTED] identified, was [REDACTED] BUNDY when [REDACTED] conducting a crusade [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] June 21, 1954, written to him by EDGAR BUNDY, 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois, in which he states in part. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In this letter BUNDY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to try "to live my life with my wife by making a living in the secular world".

According to [REDACTED]

BUNDY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
BUNDY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
background if BUNDY persisted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BUNDY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

and has set himself up as an authority on Communism.

For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED]
was very friendly and cooperative and displayed a great quantity
of anti-Communist type literature which he has in his possession.
He is apparently very much opposed to the National Council of
Churches and believes that many Protestant clergymen are
sympathetic toward Communism.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 14, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: EDGAR C. BUNDY
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Harrington

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 11/22/61 with letter to Cincinnati authorized Cincinnati to interview [redacted] for any additional background information on Edgar C. Bundy, head of the Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois, regarding alleged [redacted]

Cincinnati letter 12/8/61 disclosed that [redacted] volunteered that Bundy is [redacted] and this fact is well known to the American Council of Christian Churches and to several hundred ministers throughout the United States. [redacted]

but neither of these individuals [redacted] Also Bundy allegedly [redacted]

According to [redacted] Bundy operated by [redacted] gaining [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted] Bundy [redacted] Bundy resumed his egotistical and arrogant attitude and has set himself up as an authority on communism.

RECOMMENDATION:

This is an atrocious situation wherein a man, who advised Agents of the Miami Office during an interview in February, 1953, [redacted]

Some steps should, if possible

Enclosure

62-104576

JTH:blw:mar

SENT DIRECTOR
12-15-61

67 JAN 4 1962

REC-65

25 JAN 4 1962

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-104576-9

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
Re: Edgar C. Bundy
62-104576

be taken to determine if this is true and, if so, to isolate him. Of course, the FBI has no jurisdiction in this matter and, therefore, is not in a position to investigate this. However, Mr. DeLoach may have contacts in church circles, or other sources, who are in a position to run this out and if determined to be true take the necessary steps to isolate him.

In this connection, there is attached a blind memorandum setting forth the allegations against Bundy for Mr. DeLoach's use.

JFK
JFK *R* *W* *D.H.*
V. K. *J* *W* *J*
C *J* *Certainly agree.*

EDGAR C. BUNDY

Bundy is General Chairman of the Church League of America, 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois. He is a former minister of the Southern Baptist Convention.

In the 1946-1947 period, Bundy [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(possibly San Diego) because of the above.

In the Summer of 1953 Bundy [REDACTED]

In 1952 or 1953 Bundy [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
who supposedly has all the details regarding this.

b6
b7C
b7D

~~ENCLOSURE~~

January 15, 1962

REC-72
EX-103 72

62-104576-60

b6
b7C

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of January 9, 1962, has been received, and I appreciate the interest prompting you to write.

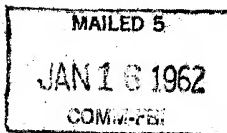
While I would like to be of service, the FBI, as an investigative agency of the Federal Government, does not furnish comments or evaluations concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. Consequently, it is not possible for me to be of assistance, and I hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files concerning the publication you mentioned.

In view of your interest, I am enclosing some literature on the subject of communism you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (5)

Communist Party, USA (Ave Maria)

4-17 Internal Security Statements

Faith in God - Our Answer to Communism

NOTE: Bufiles reflect our last outgoing to correspondent was on 3-10-52, at which time [Redacted]

in Florida. Our files contain no derogatory information concerning him.

Edgar C. Bundy is Chairman of the Church League of America, claims to have been a Major in Air Force Intelligence and has been the subject of a closed (SEE NOTE NEXT PAGE)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

64 JAN 21 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RLR:pdh
(5)

JAN 15 5 23 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

WAI
per [unclear]
[Signature]
[Signature]

[Signature]

Mr. [REDACTED]

Impersonation case. Allegations have been received from an associate of
Buddy's that [REDACTED]
years 1946 - 1953.

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7c

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Fla.
Jan. 9th 1962

J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover;

I have before me a book "Collectivism in the Churches" by Edgar C. Bundy that was passed on to me in good faith by a relative. After reading the preface I feel that it was designed to confuse and disrupt moral and political progress, and serve the communist strategy to divide. What are your views about the book?

yours truly

[Redacted Signature]

EGB/ed

EXP-105
JAN 11 1962

nmml
REC-72
1-15-62
REC/yadd

EX-105

REC-72

62-104576-60

17 JAN 11 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

b6
b7C

18-62

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

REC-65 62-104576-61

TO SAC TAMPA

EX-108

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 18 1962
TELETYPE 2-1

MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY, GENERAL CHAIRMAN, CHURCH LEAGUE OF

AMERICA, WHEATON, ILLINOIS, RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND

TOURS), BUDED JANUARY THIRTY, ONE NINE SIX TWO. FOLLOWING

TELEGRAM DATED JANUARY SEVENTEEN RECEIVED FROM RAY

RUESTER, NEWS DIRECTOR, WLOF-TV, ORLANDO, FLORIDA:

"MAJOR EDGAR BUNDY HOLDING SEMINAR IN ORLANDO 26TH THRU

28TH THIS MONTH. THIS RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICER CLAIMS TO

BE FRIEND OF TOURS WHO WORKS CLOSELY WITH YOUR OFFICE. CLAIMS

EXPOSE' OF FLA. CITIZENS AND/OR ORGANIZATIONS AIDING COMMUNISM.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES PLANNING TO ATTEND SEMINAR. TO

BENEFIT FACTUAL NEWS COVERAGE AND TO SUPPORT OR REFUTE

BUNDY'S CLAIMS, PLS. ADVISE & CLARIFY." FOR YOUR INFORMATION

BUNDY IS FORMER BAPTIST MINISTER WHO HAS BEEN LECTURING

AROUND THE COUNTRY ON COMMUNISM AND IS TYPICAL OF IRRESPON-

SIBLE PROFESSIONAL ANTICOMMUNISTS WHO MAKE LIVING CHARGING

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Tele. Room

CHICAGO

NOTE: See page 3

JH:ncr (6)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Follow up for 1-30-62
Killed on Tampa tel 1/19/62

INITIALED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

2-55243-70
655

TELETYPE TO TAMPA
MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY

FEEES FOR THEIR LECTURES ON THIS SUBJECT. HIS LITERATURE AND TALKS ARE EMOTIONAL AND FILLED WITH BROAD AND INACCURATE STATEMENTS AND WITHOUT DOCUMENTATION. HE HAS BEEN SUBJECT OF AN IMPERSONATION CASE BUT VIOLATION NOT ESTABLISHED. HE RECENTLY HAS BEEN SELLING U. S. GOVERNMENT LITERATURE AT A PRICE HIGHER THAN COST TO HIM. UNLESS YOU HAVE INFORMATION PRECLUDING SUCH ACTION, YOU SHOULD CONTACT RUESTER AND ADVISE HIM BUNDY IS NOT A FRIEND OF MINE AND IS NOT WORKING WITH THE BUREAU. EXPLAIN CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF BUREAU FILES AND CLEARLY STATE THAT BUNDY DOES NOT HAVE ACCESS TO DATA IN OUR RECORDS. DISCREETLY DETERMINE BASIS FOR ALLEGATIONS AND SUTEL RESULTS. YOU ARE TO FOLLOW BUNDY'S ACTIVITIES AND IF ALLEGATIONS SET FORTH BY RUESTER ARE CORROBORATED, YOU OR ASAC CONTACT BUNDY AND TELL HIM TO CEASE STATING OR IMPLYING HE HAS ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH ME OR THE FBI OR THAT HE HAS ACCESS

Jdr
504/pw
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 1 8 1962
TELETYPE

TELETYPE TO TAMPA
MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY

TO ANY INFORMATION IN OUR FILES. THIS MATTER SHOULD BE
THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED WITH HIM, AND YOU SHOULD BE CERTAIN HE
UNDERSTANDS WE NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE OF HIS
ACTIVITIES AND THAT WE DO NOT WANT ANY IMPLICATION THAT HIS
VIEWS AND STATEMENTS REPRESENT FBI IN ANY WAY. FURNISH
RESULTS RE BUNDY TO REACH BUREAU BY JANUARY THIRTY NEXT.
COPY MAILED CHICAGO.

NOTE: In addition to information set forth above, Bundy has come to Bureau's attention on numerous occasions. His most recent contact with the Bureau was in August 1961 when he wrote a 7-page letter which was extremely critical of statements by the Director and Assistant Director Sullivan regarding communist penetration into religious organizations. It was recommended and approved that Bundy's letter not be acknowledged.

504/Jan
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 18 1962
TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 17 1962

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Evans ✓
Mr. Malone ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Ingram ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

BIA009 218P EST JAN 17 62 AA154

A ORA340 PD FAX ORLANDO FLO 17 208P EST

J EDGAR HOOVER DIR

FBI WASHDC

MAJOR EDGAR BUNDY HOLDING SEMINAR IN ORLANDO 26TH THRU 28TH

THIS MONTH. THIS RETIRED INTELLIGENCE OFFICER CLAIMS TO BE
FRIEND OF YOURS WHO WORKS CLOSELY WITH YOUR OFFICE. CLAIMS

EXPOSE' OF FLA. CITIZENS AND/OR ORGANIZATIONS AIDING COMMUNISM.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES PLANNING TO ATTEND SEMINAR. TO BENEFIT
FACTUAL NEWS COVERAGE AND TO SUPPORT OR REFUTE BUNDY'S CLAIMS,

PLS. ADVISE & CLARIFY. RESPECTIVELY

RAY RUESTER WLOF-TV NEWS DIRECTOR ORLANDO FLORIDA

MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

62 MAR 18 1962
28 28.

EX-101
REC-65 62-104525-101
8 JAN 24 1962
Teletype to Tampa
1-18-62
JH/mcr

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 19 1962
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Evans ✓
Mr. Malone ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Ingram ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

URGENT 1-19-62 9-36 PM EST VED

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, TAMPA /100-NEW/ 3-PAGES

MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY, GENERAL CHAIRMAN, CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA, WHEATON, ILLINOIS, RESEARCH / CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS/. REBUTEL JAN. EIGHTEEN. RAY RUESTER, NEWS DIRECTOR, WLOF TV, ORLANDO, PERSONALLY CONTACTED BY ME EVENING JAN.

EIGHTEEN. TELEGRAM TO DIRECTOR ACKNOWLEDGED AND HE WAS

ADVISED BUNDY NOT FRIEND OF DIRECTOR AND NOT WORKING WITH

BUREAU CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF BUFILES WAS EXPLAINED TO

RUESTER AND IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT BUNDY DOES NOT HAVE

ACCESS TO DATA IN OUR RECORDS. RUESTER SAID CHIEF OF POLICE

CARLISLE JOHNSTONE, ORLANDO, HAD INDICATED TO HIM HE WAS

VERY MUCH IMPRESSED WITH PREVIOUS TALKS BUNDY MADE AND SENT

HIM A COPY OF A BOOK THAT IS PUT OUT BY BUNDY CONCERNING

COMMUNISM. HE SAID HE HAD NO DEFINITE OR SPECIFIC

INFORMATION FROM ANY SOURCE THAT BUNDY HAD MADE A STATEMENT

END APGE ONE

62 MAR 13 1962

MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

8 JAN 24 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

PAGE TWO

TO ANYONE INDICATING FRIENDSHIP WITH THE DIRECTOR OR
RELATIONSHIP WITH BUREAU, BUT THAT HE HAD CONCLUDED THIS
FROM HEARING THAT BUNDY HAD BEEN IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH
THE DIRECTOR AND SINCE IN HIS BOOK HE QUOTED FROM
INFORMATION PUT OUT BY THE DIRECTOR. I TOLD RUESTER
THAT ANY INDIVIDUAL WOULD OR COULD HAVE ACCESS TO ANY
INFORMATION RELEASED TO THE PUBLIC BY ANY OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS ISSUED
BY THE BUREAU, PUBLIC ADDRESSES OF THE DIRECTOR, ETC.,
WHEREIN INFORMATION CONCERNING COMMUNISM IS SET FORTH,
AND THAT THIS WOULD NOT INDICATE THAT ANY PERSON USING
SUCH INFORMATION HAD ACCESS TO OUR FILES. HE SAID HE
UNDERSTOOD THIS AND THAT IF HE HEARS ANYTHING TO THE
EFFECT THAT BUNDY IS REPRESENTING HIMSELF AS BEING A
FRIEND OF THE DIRECTOR OR HAVING ACCESS TO OUR FILES , HE
WILL IMMEDIATELY CONTACT ME. ON JAN. NINETEEN, DURING A
ROUTINE CONTACT WITH THE CHIEF OF POLICE JOHNSTONE ON OTHER
MATTERS BY SRA ~~SENIOR RESIDENT AGENT~~ [REDACTED] REFERENCE WAS MADE TO BUNDY-S
FORTHCOMING APPEARANCE IN ORLANDO. JOHNSTONE SAID THAT ON
THREE PREVIOUS OCCASIONS DURING EARLY PART OF THIS MONTH
END PAGE TWO

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b7c

PAGE THREEE

HE HAD ARRANGED FOR BUNDY TO ADDRESS CIVIC GROUPS IN ORANGE COUNTY, THAT VIRGIL STUART, CHIEF OF POLICE, ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF FLORIDA PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, HAD RECOMMENDED BUNDY TO HIM AS BEING AN OUTSTANDING INDIVIDUAL IN HIS FIELD. JOHNSTONE SAID THAT IN THE THREE TALKS BUNDY MADE IN ORANGE COUNTY THIS MONTH , NO INDICATION WAS GIVEN BY BUNDY THAT HE HAD ANY FRIENDSHIP WITH THE DIRECTOR, NOR WAS ANYTHING SAID ABOUT ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FBI OR ACCESS TO FBI FILES. JOHNSTONE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT BUNDY, TO POINT UP THE CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF THE FBI FILES, READ TWO LETTERS ADDRESSED TO HIM AT SOME PREVIOUS UNSPECIFIED DATES, WHICH WERE SIGNED BY THE DIRECTOR, WHEREIN BUNDY WAS ADVISED THAT THE BUREAU, BECAUSE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF OUR FILES, COULD NOT FURNISH HIM WITH ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT PERSONS PRESENT AT THESE MEETINGS WHO HEARD BUNDY READ THESE LETTERS FELT THAT SINCE BUNDY WAS IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BUREAU HE WAS FRIENDLY WITH THE DIRECTOR. INSTRUCTIONS IN REBUTEL BEING FOLLOWED AND BUREAU WILL BE APPROPRIATELY ADVISED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

APR 8 3 13 PM '65

END AND ACK PLS

9-47 PM OK FBI WA RAM HOLDING

cc: Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson

UNITED STATES (

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: January 30, 1962

FROM : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

SUBJECT: EDGAR BUNDY
AMERICAN CHURCH SERVICE LEAGUE1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Mohr
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. DeLoach
1-Mr. JonesTolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Dr. Ralph Eastwood, faculty member of the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, called me on January 29 to advise as follows: Edgar Bundy, well known to the Bureau, has been lecturing in Florida. He now is attempting to set up a three-day seminar on communism and is attempting to get it sponsored by the Reserve Officers Association in which Dr. Eastwood holds the rank of colonel. Dr. Eastwood told me he is skeptical of Bundy and wanted to know if I could give him some guidance. He said that Bundy appears to be interested in the money which he makes from lecturing and also interested in selling his literature. He questions this kind of patriotism.

I know Dr. Eastwood well, having met him in connection with my lecturing. There is nothing derogatory identifiable with him in the Bureau's files. He impresses me very favorably as a reliable, sincere person. I told him that I could not discuss the matter over the telephone but that an Agent of the Jacksonville Office would be out to see him. He expressed his appreciation for this very much and he mentioned that time was of the essence.

I called SAC D. K. Brown of Jacksonville and gave him the background on Bundy and suggested that he have an experienced Bureau Agent contact Dr. Eastwood and, while not being too specific, and in complete confidence, give Dr. Eastwood guidance as to the character of Bundy and his questionable activities. SAC Brown said he knew exactly how to handle this matter and would do so with discretion.

I think it is well to nip Bundy's activities in the bud. There can be no doubt that he is trying to exploit anti-communism in Florida. I have been told by Florida educators that he has been trying to get them to use his book on "Collectivism in the Churches" in the Florida schools. This man, as we know, is somewhat of a scoundrel and this is one occasion in which we can stop him in his tracks.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

WCS:jdd
(6)

FEB 8 1962

REC-101

FEB 2 1962

62-104576-103
W.E.

REC-71

62-104576-64

February 23, 1962

[Redacted]

South Carolina

Dear Mrs. [Redacted]

I have received your letter postmarked February 19, 1962 with enclosures, and want to thank you for your interest in writing.

With regard to the matter you mentioned, I would like to point out that the Communist Party in this country has attempted to infiltrate and subvert every segment of our society. However, the Party's efforts are being thwarted by the FBI's internal security programs, by investigation, arrest and prosecution of Party functionaries, and by widespread, intelligent public opposition to the communist philosophy. These achievements have been accomplished through orderly, legal procedures.

Too many self-styled experts on communism, without valid credentials and without any access whatsoever to classified factual data regarding the inner workings of this conspiracy, have engaged in rumor-mongering and hurling false and wholly unsubstantiated allegations against people whose views differ from their own. This is dangerous business. It is divisive and unintelligent, and makes more difficult the task of the professional investigator.

In view of your concern, enclosed is some material on the menace of communism I hope will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 20

FEB 23 1962

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures (6)
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
4-17-61 Internal Security Statement
4-1-61 LEB Intro.

The Communist Party Line, Let's Fight Communism Sanely

Note next page.

NOTE: Bufiles contain only one reference to [REDACTED] which reflects that in January, 1959, she signed a petition calling for the removal of the stigma of communism from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

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b7c

TRUE COPY

b6
b7c

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Chief of Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Edgar C. Bundy

Do Major Bundy's remarks as reported in the enclosed news story, accurately reflect your position? If not, may we who believe in freedom of thought and speech respectfully request that you or some appropriate public relations official send a clarifying statement to the Editor of the News and Courier, Thomas R. Waring, and a copy to either Miss Virginia Gourdin or to me.

In this community at times in the past those who have advocated the addition of one city playground for Negroes to the existing single playground could be and were called communist inspired. At this time those who speak for the segregation of Negro citizens' rights and for their economic advancement, those who believe in supporting our country's role in the UN, those who uphold the maintenance of due processes of law in trials and investigations are labelled by the editorials in the local press and by such groups as the Bundy sponsors as pro-Communist, "Communist-inspired," if not Communist. Is it really patriotic, in the best interests of our country, to sow suspicion and fear, to reduce to silence those who in honest disagreement voice concern and seek to remove the causes of fear, poverty, racial discrimination, and international tensions? The "pseudo-liberal", maligned by Bundy either as stupid or treacherous, may well rather be a man of keener conscience, kinder heart, deeper perceptions than these self-appointed vigilantes who would smother criticism of existing evils in the social fabric under a blanket of fear. Except for the spokesmen of those in favor of the status quo regarding race and property and in favor of the most belligerent, uncompromising attitudes in foreign affairs Charleston

ENCLOSURE

REC-71

62-104576-64

5 MAR 1 1962

ITC 2-20-62

Oct: 2-23-62

RE: [illegible] EX-119

8/8

is intolerant and becoming more so. Is that a trend which the weight of your office and the honor of your name should further?

Thank you very much for any attention you can give the matter.

Sincerely yours,

A rectangular box with a black border, used to redact a signature.

b6
b7C



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington
D.C.



Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Evans ☒
Mr. Malone ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Ingram ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

b6
b7C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

do Major Bundy's remarks as
reported in the enclosed news story
accurately reflect your position?

not, may we who believe in freedom of
thought and speech respectfully request
that you or some appropriate public
relations official send a clarifying

~~ENCLOSURE~~

1 to 2-20-62

Act. 2-23-62
BS: jpp

38

FEB 20 1962

statement to the Editor of the News and
Carrier, Thomas R. Waring, and a copy
to either Miss Virginia Gaudin or to me.

In this community at times
in the past those who have advo-
cated the addition of one city
playground for Negroes to the existing
single playground could and
were called communist inspired.

At this time those who

speak for these

Negro citizens rights and for

29-08-2
8 DIRECTOR

[REDACTED]

their economic advancement, those
who believe in supporting our
country's role in the UN, those
who uphold the maintenance of
due processes of law in trials
and investigations are labelled
by the editorials in the local press
and by such groups as the
Bundy sponsors as pro-Communist,
"Communist-inspired", "hot
Communist". Is it really

patriotic, in the best interests of
our country, to sow suspicion
and fear, to reduce to silence
those who in honest disagreement
voice concern and seek to remove
the causes of fear, poverty, racial
discrimination, and international
tensions? ~~discrimination~~? The "pseudo-
liberal", maligned by Bundy & the
as stupid or teacher one, may
well rather be a man of
Keener conscience, kinder heart,

deeper perceptions than these
self-appointed vigilantes who
would smother criticism of existing
evils in the social fabric under a
blanket of fear. Except for the
spokesmen of those in favor of
the status quo regarding race and
property and in favor of the most
belligerent, uncompromising attitudes
in foreign affairs Charleston is

intolerant and becoming more so.

Is that a hand which the

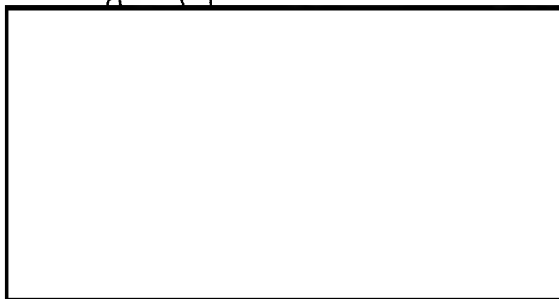
weight of your office and the

Honor of your name should

justify?

Thank you very much for any
attention you can give the matter.

Sincerely yours,



b6
b7C

Three-Day Study Rally Opens

Lecturer Cites Dangers Of Communist Infiltration

By BARBARA J. STAMBAUGH

There is a serious internal security problem in the United States, Maj. Edgar C. Bundy assured some 60 Charlestonians attending a study rally last night on the communist menace.

Maj. Bundy is general chairman of the Church League of America, a group concerned chiefly with compiling records on communist front activities. His three-day lecture series is being sponsored by the Concerned Churchmen For the Faith.

"I'm not retired," the major told his study group participants,

"but I'm not gagged. I'm in the reserve, and there haven't been any orders issued where I'm concerned."

The major said he doesn't lecture on personal opinions, but from documents. He produced these documents last night in making his point on the internal security threat.

He read from testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, who stated:

"They (the communists) have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity — youth, the church, schools, press, national minority groups, pacifists . . ."

Maj. Bundy said he prefers to believe the man charged with maintaining our internal secur-

ity, rather than the press and others in the United States who say such a threat is non-existent.

He referred to more Hoover testimony before the Senate Internal Security Committee where the FBI director emphasized that the Communist Party is "heartened by the atmosphere of continuing public complacency . . ."

Maj. Bundy then made these points derived from the Hoover testimony:

"The internal security problem can't be measured in the numerical strength of the Communist Party. There are 10 persons outside subject to being duped for every one inside.

"The true value of the party is weighed by its ability to influence and infiltrate.

"There is a higher percentage of communists in the United States today than when the party took over Russia in 1917.

"There has been no such thing as a card-carrying communist since 1947 when all cards were ordered burned by party officials.

"Party members, sympathize fellow - travelers enlist support from duped persons."

Maj. Bundy told the group that Mr. Hoover once told a gathering, "it is unbelievable the manner in which respectable, seemingly intelligent persons have aided the communist cause more

than the communists themselves. The pseudo liberal is more dangerous than the communist because he wears the cloak of respectability."

The tall, no-nonsense, lecturer told his audience:

"It's high time Americans in the grass roots — despite the smears and attacks by communist helpers and dupes — took time out from television and other entertainment to find out how these forces work against this country."

He told his "students" that by the end of the seminar they would be able to start their own home file and recognize the propagandists for who and what they are.

"We don't draw conclusions," he said, "we just state the record."

Maj. Bundy explained his own organization — Church League of America—as research headquarters. "We bring together state and federal government hearings, as well as church and school publications and index them. The organization was begun in 1937 and we now have the largest files on subversive organizations of any group outside the federal government."

He warned the group, however against "charging at windmills and calling people communists."

"Don't use that word," he said sternly, "unless you are ready

to place a person in party membership."

"Members of the party aren't the greatest threat," he emphasized, "but how many helpers, fellow-travelers and dupes there are."

During the second - part of nearly three hours of lecturing, Maj. Bundy explained that the Communists resorted to the old "trojan horse theory" of infiltration in the early 1920's.

"The American people weren't joining the party," he said, "and they decided on this method at a conference in Moscow."

"The communists fronts came into their own in the 1930's during the New Deal. There are now 12,000 such fronts in the

United States. This has become their most successful tactic."

These fronts have given rise to the Senate and House investigative committees, he explained. "The FBI couldn't touch them because they don't openly advocate overthrow of the government by force."

During the question and answer session, one participant asked the major what he would do about the communist threat if he were president.

He answered:

"I would make a major address recommending that everyone read these testimonies telling the seriousness of the internal threat. Either that, or I would get J. Edgar Hoover to do it for me."

62-10416-64

ENCLOSURE

The News and Courier
February 18, 1962
Charleston, South Carolina

'Breeding Ground In Washington'

2/18/62

Also from
page 2

Bundy Tells Of Infiltration

By-CHALMER L. RANDALL

A former Air Force intelligence officer yesterday warned of the establishment of a "breeding ground for Communist infiltration in Washington."

Reserve Maj. Edgar C. Bundy, presenting a series of lectures here on the internal threat of communism, pointed out similarities of the "New Deal" and the "New Frontier" to an audience of about 60 people at the County Library.

"It was not until 1934 when the New Deal came into being that there is evidence of communists infiltrating the government," he said.

"The many agencies created in the New Deal concept became the center of communist infiltration," he added.

The major traced the history of men, some of whom were eventually convicted and imprisoned because of their sub-

versive activities, along their way to highly sensitive positions in the government.

Maj. Bundy estimated that at least half of Russia's development of nuclear weapons was the result of information being smuggled to the Kremlin.

"Russian officials knew as much about the atomic bomb when it was first exploded as did the people in Washington," he said.

He went on to say that decisions made in the division of post-war Germany, the communist take-over in China and the Korean conflict were results of communists in policy-making positions in the U. S. government.

Quoting the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, the major said Mr. Hoover estimated in testimony given in 1961 that there are more than 300,000 espionage agents from Russia

and Red China working all over the world.

However, he added, "as Mr. Hoover says, 'It's not how many there are that's important, but where they are located'.

"The last hope of fighting communist infiltration in the government lies with the peoples' representatives," the major said.

He listed the main forces of the legislative branch in fighting the menace as the power of investigation, approval of appointments and control of appropriation of funds.

"However, we must be sure we send the right people to Washington to use these powers," he said. "There are too many of our representatives in Congress now who are jumping like puppets for political patronage."

The Congressional investigating committee was listed by the major as one force the commu-

nists fear most.

"That is why there is so much pressure on the committees by the communists," he said. "The committee is able to put the individual on the stand under oath and make public his activities. Nothing is feared more by the communists."

Referring to some criticism that such committees violate an individual's civil rights, the major said:

"A person testifying before a committee has more privileges than an individual in our courts. Have you ever seen a witness in court confer with his lawyer before answering a question?"

In the question and answer session, Fred J. Attaway Jr., a member of the audience of about 60 persons, told Maj. Bundy that some of his statements were in direct conflict with statements made here recently by the Rev. Dr. Albert

(See BUNDY, Page 2)

Continued From Page 1-A

T. Mollegen, an Episcopal priest.

Mr. Attaway said:

"Dr. Mollegen said the communist party in this country was shriveling, with now less than 20,000 members and that the intellectuals had fled the party. He said as far as he was concerned, it was an impotent force."

Maj. Bundy answered:

"Dr. Mollegen's statements are in direct contrast with those of J. Edgar Hoover — I prefer those of Mr. Hoover."

The major also warned of groups infiltrating the schools with communist literature and teaching.

He urged enactment of a law in every state that would establish a board of qualified persons to screen the textbooks used in the schools.

A course in high school on Americanism versus communism was advocated by the major. He read a law requiring such a course which he said was recently passed by the Florida legislature.

George E. Campsen Jr. and Miss Virginia Gourdin, members of the Charleston County Legislative Delegation, requested that the major supply them with copies of the bill for their study.

Today at 3 p. m. Maj. Bundy will present the final session of his series on communist infiltration in churches.

He described the final session as "the most important" of the series.

62-104576-64

ENCLOSURE

The News and Courier
February 17, 1962
Charleston, South Carolina

February 28, 1962

EX-105

REC-56

62-104576-65

b6
b7c

South Carolina

Dear Dr. [redacted]

I have received your letter dated February 21, 1962, with enclosure.

In response to your inquiry, may I point out that information in FBI files is maintained as confidential through a regulation of the Department of Justice. I can assure you that Major Edgar C. Bundy has never had access to the files of this Bureau.

The film, "Operation Abolition," is distributed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and we have had no connection with its preparation. You may wish to direct your inquiry to the Committee located in Room 225, Old House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

I might point out, however, that this Committee did cause to be published a report based on the FBI's investigation of Communist Party activities, statements of eyewitnesses on the scene, and official records of local authorities involved. It outlined the agitational tactics used by communists during the May, 1960, hearings to build the emotional pitch of the demonstrations to an explosive point--the point at which an effort was made to supplant the rule of law with mob action. These facts speak for themselves. Despite confusing and contradictory statements which have been made about the affair, the truth is that a riot occurred and lawful authority was flouted.

1 - Savannah Enclosures (2)

CJJ:js* (4)

2 [redacted]

LETTER CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

62 MAR 16 1962

TELETYPE UNIT

Dr.

b6
b7c

In view of the subsequent additional publicity in this matter, a responsible eyewitness to the riot wrote to me and in part summarized:

"To sum it all up, there was a fracas on the Hearing Room side of the barricade involving a young man whose identity I do not know, triggering the mob violence immediately preceding the police use of the hoses. There is no question as to this sequence of events."

Enclosed is some literature dealing with the general subject of communism which I hope will be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (5)

Communism: The Bitter Enemy of Religion (Christianity Today Series)
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

"Faith in God--Our Answer to Communism"

4-17-61 Internal Security Statement

The Communist Menace: Red Goals & Christian Ideals (Christianity Today Series)

NOTE: Edgar C. Bundy, General Chairman of the Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois, claims to have formerly been a Major in Air Force Intelligence. He represented himself in 1950 as former FBI Agent but this allegation was not substantiated. In 1954, Bundy deliberately tried to mislead the Bureau by attempting to get a Bureau speaker, the then Inspector C. D. DeLoach, to appear before a political meeting. Bundy's scheme was discovered in time to thwart it and the Chicago Office was instructed to be most circumspect in subsequent dealings with him, (100-54070-6; 100-158864; 47-39431-18) and W. C. Sullivan to Belmont memo 5-2-51. Bundy is also a former Baptist minister who does much lecturing around the country on communism, and the Bureau received frequent citizens' inquiries concerning him.

Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.

Circular Congregational Church

FOUNDED 1681

136-150 MEETING STREET

WILLIAM R. BARNHART, D. D.,
MINISTER

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 21, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F. B. I.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is a newspaper clipping from the Feb. 19, 1962 issue of The News & Courier, Charleston, South Carolina, reporting an address by Major Bundy. It includes this marked paragraph: - EDGAR C.

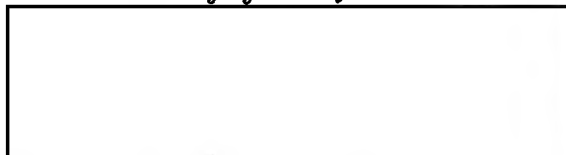
"Documented figures concerning some of the Protestant clergyman who have aided subversive causes in the U.S. show 2,109 are Methodists, 1,411 are Episcopalians, 1014 are Congregational, 660 are Baptists and 649 are Presbyterian, the major said. He used government records as documentation."

Is that last sentence made by the newspaper - "He used government records as documentation" true ?

Do you consider "Operation Abolition" to be an accurate account of what happened at San Francisco ?

I thank you for this information.

Sincerely yours, -



EX-105
REC- 56

62-104576-65

5 MAR 6 1962

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CORRESPONDENCE

ENCLOSURE

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Airtel to Chicago 2-25-62 CDD: doc

News + Courier, Charleston, S.C. Feb. 19, 1962

Bundy Strikes Out At Churchmen

Churches, theological seminaries, church supported universities and church publishing houses in the U. S. have been infiltrated by subversives, a former Air Force intelligence officer and anti-communist lecturer said here yesterday.

Winding up a study rally at County Library — sponsored by Concerned Churchmen for the Faith—Maj. Edgar C. Bundy of Wheaton, Ill. said that every building called a church isn't necessarily the genuine article. Nor is every man who adopts the title "minister," "pastor," or "reverend" a true servant of Christ, he said.

Documented figures concerning some of the Protestant clergymen who have aided subversive causes in the U. S. show 2,109 are Methodists, 1,411 are Episcopalians, 1,014 are Congregational, 668 are Baptists and 649 are Presbyterian, the major said. He used

government records as documentation.

"This is not all," said Maj. Bundy, "There are nearly 2,000 more, plus a number of Jewish rabbis."

"The question is," said Maj. Bundy, "what kind of churches and pastors support communism? In the answer to this question lies the reason why more than 8,000 pastors in the U. S. have aided the Kremlin conspiracy in some way or another."

"In every case involving a minister in communist activity in the U. S., you will find that he is what we call a 'modernist' or radical in the field of theology," said the major.

"For example, there is a part in the Bible that says Christ chased the money-changers out of the temple. This is interpreted that Christ is an anti-capitalist."

Maj. Bundy said this strategy (See BUNDY, Page 7-A)

*News + Courier
Charleston, S.C.
Feb. 19, 1962*

... Bundy

Continued From Page 1-A

of the living church movement is being carried out today in the U. S. "They have substituted the 'social gospel' for the Christian Gospel."

The "social gospel" has been challenged to produce its credentials and it has none. "It is a hypocritical, humanistic, paganistic philosophy which has as its roots the teachings of Marx and the skeptics of the ages, not Jesus or the historic Christian Church," he said.

Maj. Bundy explained the reason for the inroads into the churches by communist propaganda was because many ministers have departed from the doctrines of historic Christianity and have turned to the preaching of the "social gospel." Many unsuspecting church people have been duped into the support of the subversive movements through this social gospel, he said.

Their aims, said the major, are to undermine faith in the American system and to poison the minds of religious people with destructive ideology "cloaked in social action and the Social Gospel."

"He is on record as denying every major doctrine of the Christian faith. He dislikes the supernatural, the divine and the miraculous. He seeks to explain all of life and history from the humanistic, rationalistic and materialistic point of view. What he cannot see with his own human eyes or accept with his own human brain, he rejects."

Maj. Bundy said that these "modernists" are in control of the religious life of U. S. Protestantism. Their leaders have banded together in the organization known as the National Council of Churches and that almost all of the major Protestant groups are affiliated with this "radical" organization.

"The members of these denominations were not asked by their leaders whether or not they wished to join the council, they just committed the people arbitrarily," he said.

Maj. Bundy said the leaders of this council are "among the most blatant deniers of the Christian faith."

"To them, Jesus Christ was not and is not the divine Son of God. He was not conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary; He performed no miracles as recorded in the Scriptures; He did not die for man's sins on the cross, He did not arise from the tomb, nor did He ascend into heaven to sit on the right hand of God."

The modernists, said Maj. Bundy, sweep away the foundations of Christian belief in the name of "scholarship," and "science." For this they substitute materialism, the same foundation upon which Communism was built.

"The strategy for changing the entire character of the Christian churches was devised in Moscow," he said.

In July of 1953, said the major, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee, told of the infiltration methods used by the communists.

"They created a thing that became known as the living church movement. This was based on the idea of interpreting the teachings of Christ and the Apostles that would serve communist purposes," he said.

62-104570-65

March 6, 1962

REC-1 62-104576-66

MAR 6 3 22 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

[Redacted]
St. John's Episcopal Church
Court R and Ensley Avenue
Ensley Highlands
Birmingham 8, Alabama

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

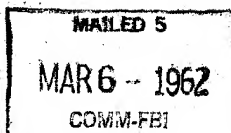
Your letter dated February 28, 1962, has been received, and in response to your inquiry, Mr. Edgar C. Bundy has never been associated in any manner with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I am enclosing material available for distribution by this Bureau I hope you will find informative.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (5)

4-17-61 Internal Security Statement

Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?

"The Courage of Free Men" Director's 2-22-62 Speech

One Nation's Response to Communism

Series from "Christianity Today" - The Communist Menace

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. "Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?" expresses the Director's views regarding self-styled experts on the subject of communism which are appropriate regarding inquiries concerning Edgar C. Bundy. He claims to have been a Major in the Air Force Intelligence. He is also a former Baptist Minister who has lectured throughout the country on communism. He is subject of a closed Impersonation case (100-158864).

DCL:lch (3)

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MAR 12 1962

St. John's Episcopal Church

COURT R & ENSLEY AVENUE
ENSLEY HIGHLANDS
BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

February 28, 1962

The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Sirs:

As a matter of information I want to
know the answer to the following question:

What was and/or is the relation of Edgar C.

Bundy to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

This refers to the Edgar C. Bundy who
became a major in the Air Force Reserve some-
time after September 1948 - in case there is
a confusion of names.

Respectfully yours,

[Redacted Signature Box]

62-104576-66

9 MAR 24 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

EX-110
ack: 3-5-62
DCL: lch

REC-1

b6
b7c

March 5, 1962

REC- 53

62 - 104576 - 67

MAR 5 4 46 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

107

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

Your telegram dated February 28, 1962, has been received.

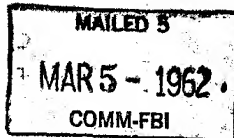
Although I would like to be of service, the FBI, as an investigative agency of the Federal Government, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Also, information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. In view of this policy, I have not written a letter containing a statement such as mentioned in your communication. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will understand my position.

Enclosed is some literature dealing with the general topic of communism I thought would be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (3)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Gandy _____

4-17-61 Internal Security Statement

4-1-61 LEB Introduction

The Communist Party Line

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. Ray Ruester sent a telegram to the Director 1-17-62 making inquiry concerning

(note cont'd. next page)

APR 23 1962

TELETYPE UNIT

Mr.

Major Edgar Bundy who was to hold a seminar at Orlando, Florida, January 26-28, 1962. Telegram alleged Bundy was claiming to be close friend of Director and working closely with FBI. SAC, Tampa was instructed to contact Ruester, unless information in the files precluded such action, and advise him that Bundy was not a friend of the Director and not working with the Bureau. Ruester was also to be advised of confidential nature of Bureau files and assured that Bundy had not had access to our files. SAC reported contact had been made and that Ruester's information concerning Bundy was based on rumors and not statements by Bundy. Bufiles do not indicate that the Director has written Ruester in this regard and most certainly no letter to him which disclaimed any knowledge of Bundy.

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEB 28 1962

WESTERN UNION

BIA004 1252P EST FEB 28 62 AB091 A

CJA071 PD AR COCOA FLO 28, 1230P EST

J EDGAR HOOVER, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHDC

IN AN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT, IT HAS BEEN STATED TO
ME BY MR. RAY RUESTER, NEWS DIRECTOR OF STATION WLOF-TV ORLANDO,
THAT HE HAS A LETTER FROM YOU DISCLAIMING ANY KNOWLEDGE OF
MAJOR EDGAR BUNDY, CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA, AS BEING IN THE
MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES. MR. RUESTER IS CARRYING
ON A TV EDITORIAL SMEAR CAMPAIGN AIMED AT STIRRING UNWARRANTED
PUBLIC FEAR OF EXTREME RIGHTWING ACTIVITY IN CENTRAL FLORIDA.
HE HAS ADMITTED ON THE PHONE THAT TWO RECENT EDITORIALS WERE
AIMED AT MAJOR BUNDY AND THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA. I WOULD
APPRECIATE FACTUAL INFORMATION AS TO MAJOR BUNDY'S SERVICE
RECORD AND COMMENT ON THE MERITS OF HIS PRESENT ANTI-COMMUNIST
ACTIVITIES

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Ingram	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

b6
b7c

EX 101

MCT - 41
REC- 53

12 MAR 7 1962

REC- 53

MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

cc: Mr. DeLoach

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
Attention: CENTRAL RESEARCH

DATE: 3/1/62

b7D

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-0)

SUBJECT: *EB* ~~MANUAL FOR SURVIVAL~~
Published by Church League of America
SM - C *2*

On February 1, 1962, Richmond Confidential Source (RAC) furnished to SA JOHN E. FREESE the attached ~~Manual for Survival~~, published by the Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois of which EDGAR C. BUNDY, is general chairman.

The source stated that he had in the past

He stated that this booklet need not be returned.

This booklet is being furnished to the Bureau for its information.

2-Bureau (Enc.1) (RM)
2-Richmond (100-0)

JEF/bjs
(4)

ENCLOSURE

REC-3

62-104576-68

MAR 8 1962

CENTRAL RESEARCH
62-104576
INT. SEC.

1 cc filed with encl.
57 MAR 15 1962

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/31/62

FROM : SAC, Tampa (100-430) (C)

SUBJECT: MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY
General Chairman
Church League of America
Wheaton, Illinois
RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)

ReButel 1/18/62 and TPtel same date.

For information of Bureau, there are transmitted herewith newspaper clippings appearing in 1/25/62 issue of "The Corner Cupboard" and 1/27/62 issue of "The Evening Star," both published at Orlando, Florida. As will be noted from the latter clipping, only approximately 75 persons attended the seminar conducted by captioned individual. There was no indication during the seminar that BUNDY made any statements alleging association with the Bureau or access to Bureau files.

2 Bureau (enc.-2)
1 Chicago
1 Tampa
JFS:KH *m*
(4)

ENCLOSURE

EXP. PROC.

FBI - TAMPA
REC-69

FBI
REC.D - NY/CNE

17 FEB 2 1962

62 MAR 19 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

Police Chief Using City Stationery to Boom 'Alert' Rally

Police Chief Johnstone has been using official City of Orlando "Office of the Chief of Police" stationery to announce, and perhaps promote, an anti-Communist "seminar" planned for the Cherry Plaza Hotel this week-end.

Speaker for the three-day, \$10 registration fee, invitation only affair is the now highly controversial Major Edgar C. Bundy who so far has gone unchallenged from a local floor when he charges that the National Council of Churches is riddled with Communist-inclined clergymen of all Protestant faiths.

Asked whether he felt Council knew and approved the chief's use of letter-heads that lent at least some authority to the affair, Mayor Carr said "As long as the chief is acting only for, in this case, the Florida Peace Officer's Association of which he is a member,

or some friends or other whom he highly regards, I don't think Council will object. As long as the chief doesn't get himself into the position of being a sponsor or promoter, I'm sure of it."

The mayor said the chief had explained to him that he heard Major Bundy speak at an Association meeting in Clearwater recently. Before he left, the secretary of the group

(Continued on page 16)

Police Chief

(Continued from page 1)

asked him to help arrange a meeting in Orlando, the mayor said he understood.

Cherry Plaza officials say the chief called and reserved the Azalea room for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, Jan. 25-28.

The chief told Corner Cupboard

that he is not a sponsor of the affair. "I am only helping the local people who are sponsoring it", he said.

Asked who might be called as a "local" person, he said, "Contact Colonel Hughey at Geneva."

Colonel Hughey, when asked if he could give any data as to the meeting, or the number of persons who had accepted invitations to attend, said "You'll have to call Chief Johnstone, he arranged it."

Hughey said he knew of no one else in Orlando who could be called to give any information if the chief did not have it.

The chief said his interest in the entire affair was in "awakening the people of Orlando to the menace of communism".

The letter-head he used, apparently in mailing out "invitations" to a select list since Hughey said he knew nothing about it although the chief said he did, gave the complete program for the three days and concluded with:

"There is a registration fee of \$10. Each person attending will receive from the Headquarters a packet of material (special reports and etc..) and will be placed on their mailing list for monthly publication "News and Views", for one year. Checks should be made payable to the Church League of America--a tax deductible. The Text--"Manual for Survival" will cost \$3 extra."

Bundy is a pet of "Project Alert" groups, and has several civic club engagements hereabouts for the next few weeks.

RE: MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY:
SM - C

From "The Corner Cupboard"
(Weekly newspaper)
Orlando, Florida
1/25/62

ENCLOSURE

62-104576-69

75 Attend Seminar

Some 75 persons attended opening sessions of a three-day, \$10-a-seat "Anti-Communist Seminar" held at the Cherry Plaza hotel yesterday afternoon and last night.

Maj. Edgar C. Bumby was guest speaker for the opening session and will conduct five more sessions, which are open by invitation only running through tomorrow afternoon.

Remaining sessions were to be held today at 10 a.m., 2 p.m. and 8 p.m. Tomorrow's meeting will be at 3:45 p.m., according to Cherry Plaza reservations.

RE: MAJOR EDGAR C. (BUMBY)
SM - C

From The Evening Star,
Orlando, Florida
1/27/62

JBH

62-104576-69

March 13, 1962

REC-116

62-104576-70

MAR 13 4 45 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

b6
b7C

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Michigan

Dear Mrs. [Redacted]

Your letter dated March 6, 1962, has been received.

Although I am most appreciative of the motives prompting your inquiry, I am unable, as a matter of policy, to offer suggestions or recommendations regarding the specific programs citizens might adopt in combating communism. Also, this Bureau is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any publication, organization or individual.

I am enclosing, however, material on the general topic of subversive forces which I hope you and your friends find of interest and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAR 13 1962
COMM-FBI

edm

Enclosures (5)

Mr. Tolson_____
Mr. Belmont_____
Mr. Mohr_____
Mr. Callahan_____
Mr. Conrad_____
Mr. DeLoach_____
Mr. Evans_____
Mr. Malone_____
Mr. Rosen_____
Mr. Sullivan_____
Mr. Tavel_____
Mr. Trotter_____
Tele. Room_____
Miss Holmes_____
Miss Gandy_____

Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
Time of Testing
4-17-61 Internal Security Statement
The Courage of Free Men (Director's Speech 2-22-62)
The Communist Party Line

(See note next page)

DCL:bsp
MAR 13 1962
RECEIVED

(card)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. "A Manual For Survival" is published by The Church League of America, headed by Edgar C. Bundy. He claims to have been a Major in the Air Force Intelligence and is a former Baptist minister lecturing around the country on communism. "A Manual For Survival" professes to be a "Counter-Subversive Study Course" for use at the local level. It is arranged in the form of lessons with questions and recommended reading at the end of each chapter. Review reveals it to be another self-promotional scheme of Bundy and his group. In the last chapter, "What You Can Do," the sales pitch is brought to its peak with an appeal for financial contributions and subscriptions to Bundy's periodical, "News and Views." (62-104576-54 and 100-158864)

TRUE COPY

[redacted] Mich,
March 6, 1962

ihc
2-1

J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

I am a school teacher instructing a group of local citizens on Communism. I do not belong to any group such as the newspapers are calling "extreme right." I am merely interested in being informed and informing others about the dangers of Communism and wish to avoid falling into an extremist position.

We are using as a basic text A Manual for Survival compiled and published by The Church League of America Wheaton, Illinois. We are supplementing this by material from the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate.

Since I am in a vulnerable position as a public school teacher please advise me if the above program in any way is contrary to the best interests of the community.

Recent statements in the newspapers about amateur anti Communists is causing much confusion about the value of any program to become informed.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

Yours truly,

10 MAR 19 1962

[redacted]
[redacted] Mich.

REC-116

ack-3-13-62
DCL-bug

17c-bug
3-12-62

b6
b7c

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much,

b6
b7C

March 6, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am a school teacher instructing a group of local citizens on Communism. I do not belong to any group such as the newspapers are calling "extreme right." I am merely interested in being informed and informing others about the dangers of Communism and wish to avoid falling into an extremist position.

We are using as a basic text

A Manual for Survival compiled and published by The Church League of America Wheaton, Illinois. We are supplementing this by material from the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate.

Q-3-13-62

Ch- bag
name

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12-17-72

Since ~~WFO~~ ⁸ ~~and~~ ² ~~was~~ a vulnerable position as

public school teacher please advise

if the above program in any ~~correct~~ ^{correct} is

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CORRESPONDENCE
of NO WAR 9

contrary to the best interests of the community.

Recent statements in the newspapers about amateur anti Communists is causing much confusion about the value of any program to become informed.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

Yours truly,

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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62-104576-71

March 16, 1962

MAR 16 12 05 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

I have received your letter of March 7th and want to thank you for your interest in writing. I certainly appreciate your kind remarks concerning my administration of the FBI.

It was good of you to afford me your comments and observations regarding the matters you discussed. It is always reassuring to hear from citizens who demonstrate an awareness of the evils of communism and who desire to combat this threat to our freedoms. A broad knowledge of the ideology and operations of the communist movement is essential if the American people are to effectively resist its eroding influence.

In view of your concern, enclosed is some material I hope will be of assistance to you.

MAILED 5
MAR 16 1962
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5)
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
"The Faith To Be Free"
Expose of Soviet Espionage

NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning [Redacted] who furnished information to the Bureau from 1945 to 1947 at which time [Redacted] - He

(continued next page)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Winterrowd _____

MAR 27 1962

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sent the Director a telegram on 2-28-62 which was acknowledged by letter of 3-5-62. He was given 3 reprints on communism at that time, none of which are identical to those being sent now. His telegram was signed [redacted] and he now advised that his last name is spelled [redacted]

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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

[Redacted] Florida
March 7, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I was very grateful for your reply of March 5, 1962 to my telegram of inquiry for certain information. I am appreciative of the study material for which I thank you very much.

As a fairly well informed citizen I think I am fully aware of the dangers of internal Communism in this country, and the insidious infiltration and subversion of our American way of life.

I appreciate the fact that as an investigative agency the F.B.I. has no power to make pronouncements as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication, or individual. Even were it legally possible, to do so this would be a hazardous undertaking, which could backfire.

Apparently there is no authority or legally appointed agency in this country empowered to investigate and act in the whole vast area of Communist activity encompassed by the so-called "left-wing", or liberal socialist element in our political and economic life. This appears to be an area, where as you said in your analysis "The Communist Part Line" the Communists work along side many groups and on many issues.

It is this area of activity, which does not constitute a crime, nor break a law, that the Communists seem to be gaining the most headway. I am alarmed at the lies, distortions, and colorations creeping into our mass media today. At every turn we find Americans duped into following the "line" and taking action in local and national affairs based on these distortions. The sum total of these actions, whether it be voting an extreme liberal into political office, or smearing the film "Operation Abolition", or promotion of smut books and films, and so on and on, is the weakening of this nation.

You must know, as well as anyone that Communist activity is so entwined in our way of life after all these years that no one can really tell who is who. That being the case what alternative does the average citizen, who wants to fight this thing and save our precious country, have except to take individual action to counter the subversion. Your statement that we must stand for something, rather than just be against Communism is well taken, but I will bet that not one person in a thousand has read that statement nor would understand the importance of it.

There are many of us like myself who understand what you are saying, and will put this into practice, but at the same time there are a preponderance of the enemy and their dupes, who will continue to make progress.

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In the final analysis I am not satisfied to just be for all the American principles and ideals - I have been for them all my life and have tried to live up to them, yet Communism still progresses. Something is wrong.

Somewhere along the line people like myself have to form study groups, Conservative political organizations, and so forth in order to inform ourselves and work for the highest objectives of our country. It is this particular area, which is the muddiest.

Please ponder, for a moment, the possibility that Communists and their dupes, and sympathizers have already gained enough of a foothold in our publishing houses, our schools, our press, our radio and TV, our courts, and even our government that mass indoctrination and brainwashing is taking place. They have had forty years in which to consolidate their positions - whole generations in which a son brought up in a Communist home has had time to run for congress, or be admitted to the bar, or be appointed a judge. Who would suspect this man in such a responsible position. Do you not think that the Communists as clever as they are, and as dedicated, have not placed just such people in many key places? The utterances of these people are assimilated by the public - sometimes our own friends and relatives. The cumulative effect of many dedicated agents working in such positions not only influences and subverts our way of life, but makes it possible for even more of these agents to infiltrate on an accelerated scale. A child brought up and educated under these influences lives and believes that America is really the way it is painted, by these Communist dupes.

Now, over a period of many years people like us who really know America for what it is are dying out. Our dream may die with us unless the tide is turned. Communism as I understand it doesn't necessarily have a timetable. It can wait for us to die, in the meantime progressing relentlessly forward. It is a cancer of the human race, and a monster feeding on human dignity and freedom.

Now in this muddy area of social activity, where the Communists seem to be working with immunity - the area where they can work without violation of law - citizens awakened to the danger are acting. Where progress is made to counter the socialistic trends of today, the Communists and others wage insidious war to divide and confuse us. A case in point is the following:

Recently, a Major Edgar Bundy, of the Church League of America, was scheduled to speak at a school auditorium in Orlando. His subject was the National Council of Churches and the Communistic record of some of its key officials. I have tried to research for myself and determine the integrity of Mr. Bundy and his Church League of America, and as a citizen with limited facilities for such research I nevertheless determined to my present satisfaction that this man is a dedicated American fighting a brilliant campaign. I could be wrong.

The night prior to Mr. Bundy's speech in Orlando, station WLOF TV carried an editorial "in the public interest" in which central Floridians were warned against extreme right wing meetings of this type, which were likened to Fascist activities.

Based on my suspicions of long standing concerning the integrity of this editorialist I made it a point to attend this meeting at my own time and expense, and see for myself. I was pleasantly surprised at the orderliness of the speech, the wealth of factual references presented, and the logic of the conclusions. Nothing appeared to be out of order.

Two nights later I was astonished and shocked to see another editorial on this TV

station in which the speech was reported 180 degrees out of phase from what it really was. For example it was reported that " on one side of the room were several people dressed alike. It reminded me of storm-troopers " In reality the only people dressed alike were the men, since they had on mens clothes, and the women, since they had on women's clothes.

It was reported that the reporter was too embarrassed by the proceedings - indicating something shady was going on - to ask a loaded question during the question and answer session. In reality there was no such session, for the speech lasted three hours, and upon finishing the speaker said he would answer written questions by mail, since it was so late.

The entire speech was made to look ridiculous and dangerous. To listen to the editorial one would gather that a Nazi Party meeting had taken place under the very eyes of Central Florida - and had used a public school as a fund raising place.

Now, I have taped both editorials on my personal tape recorder, and tapes of the speech are available. I have played them for friends who were at the auditorium that night, and they are as shocked and dismayed as I am at the lies and distortions. I called [redacted] on the phone, and talked with him for a full half hour, and pointedly discussed the discrepancies, but to no avail. It was at this time that [redacted] indicated he had a letter refuting Mr. Bundy.

I mention this incident because it is typical of what is happening all over this country today both in the press and other media. What conclusion can we, as citizens draw, when an outstanding, and apparently dedicated anti-Communist is smeared? Not once by the same party, but continuously. What conclusion can we draw, when a certain news medium constantly peddles the very Communist Line described in your pamphlet? Maybe not every night, but alternately with perfectly innocuous subjects - as one would ladle doses of poison.

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I dont expect an answer to my letter, nor desire any action against anyone. But I am concerned - deeply concerned that we cannot fight this insidious monster in our midst. Who can we turn to for advice or council if not you ?

P.S. My name was mis-spelled [redacted] in the original telegram.

P.P.S. I realize that your office is very busy with mountainous tasks, so I am a little dubious about taking your time with this subject. I hope I have touched on an area of vital concern today.

Please accept my gratitude and heartfelt thanks for the wonderful work you are doing and have done for America.

April 16, 1962

REC-49

62-104576-72

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida

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REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

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Dear Mr. [Redacted]

Your letter dated April 3, 1962, and enclosure have been received. It was kind of you to give me the benefit of your observations, and the information you furnished is being made a matter of record in our files.

I have always encouraged citizens to educate themselves to the true nature and methods of the communist movement in order that they may intelligently resist the zealous efforts of its adherents to destroy our form of government. The thought you have given to this problem and the research you have done are most reassuring.

The Communist Party in this country has attempted to infiltrate and subvert every segment of our society. However, the Party's efforts are being thwarted by the FBI's internal security programs, by investigation, arrest and prosecution of Party functionaries, and by widespread, intelligent public opposition to the communist philosophy. These achievements are being accomplished through orderly, legal procedures.

The menace of world communism looms large, and I know you will agree with me that the only effective answer to combating it within our Nation lies in a program based on a realistic, rational, and analytical appraisal of the threat which the communist movement presents. I would like to direct your attention to my book, "Masters of Deceit," in the event you are not already familiar with it, as an easy-to-read text on the history, aims and techniques of the communist apparatus. A copy is probably available through your local public library.

(Continued next page)

NOTE and enclosures next page

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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COMM-FBI

Mr. [REDACTED]

Too many self-styled experts on communism, without valid credentials and without any access whatsoever to classified factual data regarding the inner workings of this conspiracy, have engaged in rumor-mongering and hurling false and wholly unsubstantiated allegations against people whose views differ from their own. This makes more difficult the task of the professional investigator.

I am enclosing publications on the general subject of communism.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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Enclosures (4)
Deadly Duel
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
4-17-61 Internal Security Statement
One Nation's Response to Communism

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. After having heard a two hour lecture by Edgar C. Bundy, correspondent spent four days in the University of Florida library doing a research on communism in the churches. He wrote to Bundy then pointing out certain errors in Bundy's remarks and received a reply from Bundy labeling [REDACTED] as being either a communist, sympathizer, or just plain dupe or dope needing psychiatric treatment. [REDACTED] now encloses a copy of his reply to Bundy again picking numerous flaws in Bundy's facts.

Mr. Bundy replied in a 2½-page letter dated March 7, 1962. The character and tone of Mr. Bundy's reply is perhaps best described by quoting the second and third sentences contained therein:

"If this is the type of your thinking processes then I am afraid you are in need of either psychiatric treatment or confession to God Almighty of the untruth in which you are engaged in writing.

"You use the tactics of the Communist Party all the way through, and I am wondering if you are a communist, a fellow-traveler, or sympathizer, or just plain dupe or dope."

Mr. Bundy then proceeds to (1) deny making the erroneous statements I attributed to him or (2) call my information erroneous on the basis of documents in his possession at Church League of America headquarters in Wheaton, Illinois. Commenting on Liston Pope and Reinhold Niebuhr, he says: "They have extensive records of affiliation with communist enterprises and causes in this country They lack the qualities of leadership." And commenting on me, he says: "I know what it is to appear under oath before committees of the United States Congress; and after checking into your background, I know that you do not know what it means to do this." (My underlining.) He had at most six days in which to "check into" my background.

I have replied to Mr. Bundy in a letter dated 21 March 1962, a copy of which I am enclosing, as it may be of interest to you. I would be amused at Mr. Bundy were I not aware that his method of attempting to deal with the Communist threat at best promotes only discord within the United States and, in the long run, can only be detrimental to the preservation of American freedom.

Yours very truly,



b6
b7C

Florida

21 March 1962

Mr. Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary
Church League of America
1407 Hill Avenue
Chester, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bundy:

Your letter of March 7, 1962, contains a number of factual errors as well as a number of sweeping statements which could not be sustained in a court of law or before a committee of the United States Congress.

You have placed yourself in the anomalous position of refuting a statement of the House Committee on Un-American Activities when you state that Methodist Bishop G. Bronley Oxnam "was not cleared of anything" by the Committee, which in 1953 investigated the alleged Communist connections of the Bishop. On 21 July 1953 the Committee members present at the close of the Oxnam hearing unanimously adopted a motion saying that the Committee had "no record of any Communist Party affiliation or membership by Bishop Oxnam", as recorded on page 3801 of "Testimony of Bishop G. Bronley Oxnam", Hearing Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1953. I trust that this statement of the Committee is in your possession.

A careful reading of pages 3736 and 3746 of that same document would reveal to you the Bishop's attitude toward Jack McMichael and the latter's role as Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Bishop Oxnam said he believed McMichael was "so tied up with the Communist group whether or not he were a Communist . . . that that organization (MFSA) ought not to be under that (McMichael's) leadership."

Most Methodist leaders have shared Oxnam's attitude and deplored McMichael's activities. The 1952 General Conference of the Methodist Church revoked denominational support of the MFSA, an action which has not been rescinded since. The statement that McMichael "has not been repudiated by the officials of the church who are still actively participating in the work of cited Communist front organizations" is meaningless unless you can identify the officials involved as well as the organizations cited.

You stated: "It so happens that Harry P. Ward was a leader in the Federal Council of Churches from the time it was formed. He headed their first major committee which was the one dealing with social action." If by this you mean that Harry P. Ward was

ENCLOSURE

62-104576-72

the first chairman of the Council's Commission on the Church and Social Service, you are in error. The Report of the First Meeting of the Federal Council, Philadelphia, 1910, lists Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D., as the first chairman of the Commission. Furthermore, the name of Harry F. Ward does not appear on the list of members (twenty-five in all) of the first Commission. The influence Harry F. Ward did have with the Council during the 1910's and early 1920's declined markedly when it became evident that Ward was parroting the Kremlin line, as is indicated by the statements of Ward's former associates (Bishop Gann included) who broke with him over his pro-Soviet sympathies.

Your statement that "Harry F. Ward has had more influence on the thoughts of seminarians who later became ministers and leaders in the National Council of Churches, than any one professor or former professor of theology in the United States" cannot, as you allege, in any sense be "proven", not even "before the Committees of the United States Congress." Furthermore, it neglects to mention what kind of influence Ward has had on the thoughts of seminarians. To take an extreme example: You, Mr. Sandy, have had a great influence on my thoughts lately; but it has been a wholly negative influence, as you have probably guessed by now.

You called Pablo Picasso's 'Guernica' a "propaganda piece against the Spaniards who were defending their country against the communists." You might note that the "Spaniards" who bombed the Basque community of Guernica were Germans--members of the 'Condor Legion' sent by Adolf Hitler to aid the Spanish Nationalists. This fact has been documented by the German air ace Adolf Galland, who was himself a member of the 'Condor Legion'.

May I say that I am truly amazed at the efficiency of an operation which allows you to check into my background in six days.

In closing, I would like to quote the motto emblazoned on the letterhead of the Church League of America: "Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom". Just don't forget that eternal vigilance forever demands careful, intelligent research.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

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[Redacted]
[Redacted] Florida
5 April 1962

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b7C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

2-1 *Red*
you

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I have read with great interest your recent remarks to the effect that while we must be ever alert to the danger of Communist infiltration we must also not make the mistake of identifying every proposal for reform or change as a Communist proposal. I concur heartily with this view. Thus I become very annoyed whenever someone makes irresponsible public statements about the "pro-Communist", "fellow traveling", or "Communist-sympathizing" activities of people whose political, social, and religious views are different from those of the speaker.

Such was the case when Edgar C. Bundy, Executive Secretary of the Church League of America, spoke to a group of Gainesville citizens on 21 February 1962 about "Communism in the Churches". Careful not to place himself in a position where he could be sued for slander, Mr. Bundy nevertheless described the activities of such prominent theologians as Liston Pope of Yale and Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary and prominent church leaders such as Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as "sympathetic to" or "aiding" the aims of the Communists. He explicitly denied calling any of the above-mentioned churchmen "Communists", since, in his words, "One cannot call someone a Communist who is not a card-carrying member; and since 1947, when the Party ordered all cards destroyed, there has not been a card-carrying member of the Communist Party." He added, however, that all these men were theological "modernists", implying of course that religious "modernism" is a sign of dangerous, if not Communist, tendencies. In addition to this casuistry, Mr. Bundy stated a number of factual errors, and at the same time cast suspicion on the National Council of Churches. He concluded his two-hour talk with a call to return to "the Word."

Following his talk, I spent four days in the University of Florida library doing research on Communism in the churches and on the personalities Mr. Bundy referred to. On 26 February 1962, I wrote Mr. Bundy and called his attention to a number of factual errors he had made in his presentation. I also expressed my annoyance at what I considered a shabby, somewhat less than ethical performance and, rather ungraciously, called him a "charlatan" and a "wolf in sheep's clothing" whose method of exposing the Communist menace would only create unwarranted suspicion and division among the American people, and would in that way only succeed in aiding the Communist cause.

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25 APR 18 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum
RE: MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY

Bundy also criticized Father Cronin of the National Catholic Welfare Council for his recent booklet which defended Protestant churches against allegations of communist infiltration. Bundy also stated that the "Milwaukee Journal" had carried an item alleging that Mr. Hoover had recently given a speech in St. Louis and referred to the John Birch Society as extremist; Bundy read from a letter Mr. Hoover had written to an individual (name not given) indicating that he had not given a speech in St. Louis in January and had not referred to any specific organizations. Bundy emphasized that he would take Mr. Hoover's word in this regard in preference to the "Milwaukee Journal" which he said was lying. Bundy also quoted briefly from the Director's speech before the DAR in 1954 in which he stated that patriotic groups who dared to speak against communism were subject to character assassination. The Director's statement before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in March, 1947, mentioning the danger of fellow travelers and communist sympathizers was also quoted by Bundy. He next stated that J. B. Matthews had offered to prove before Congress that 8,000 clergy were serving the communists, and when the NCC was invited to appear before the HUAC to refute such charges, its officials refused to appear. Bundy told the DAR Convention that he was letting them in on the secret that the Air Force manual on communist influence among the clergy would be coming out in the very near future. Bundy castigated the Methodist Church for sponsoring communist-inspired literature for its young people, and also the Methodist Federation for Social Action, which has been cited by a Senate committee as a communist front. Bundy stated that several Methodist preachers had indicated that they were "cleared by the FBI" and, therefore, could not be communists. In this connection, Bundy read letters from the Director to unknown individuals stating that the FBI does not give clearances. Bundy also criticized the NCC and Methodist Churches for favoring Red China's admission into the United Nations and for the attacks on the HUAC. He was particularly vehement in stating that communist speakers had been allowed on church campuses in the recent past. Bundy concluded by stating that the DAR must be a vital force in helping to drive out the religious frauds of today.

It should be noted that Bundy's references to the FBI and the Director were all most favorable, and also evoked applause from the audience. It was obvious, of course, that he was using the Director's writings and statements in support of his allegations that the NCC is under communist influence. He is adept in the use of emotional appeals in claiming that our churches are failing in their mission.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

[Handwritten signature: Bundy]
[Handwritten signature: DeLoach]
[Handwritten signature: Mohr]
[Handwritten signature: Bishop]
[Handwritten signature: Casper]
[Handwritten signature: Callahan]
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[Handwritten signature: Gandy]
[Handwritten signature: V.]
[Handwritten signature: K.]

FBI



1962 APPROPRIATION



TESTIMONY OF JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BEFORE THE
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS ON
MARCH 6, 1961

62-104576-73



Preface

There follows a reprint of the "on-the-record" transcript of testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on March 6, 1961, in justification of the FBI's appropriation request for the fiscal year 1962. The work throughout the Bureau's field service has continued its upward trend. In fact, for the past several years' period the actual volume of work has increased far beyond the levels originally contemplated and on the basis of which funds were made available. The growing volume of crime, the increasing responsibilities, and the Federal Government's coordinated and accelerated investigative activity in connection with organized crime are among the items detailed in the testimony which point to the anticipated receipt of heavier workload volumes throughout the fiscal year 1962. At the same time, our service-function work concerned with name checks, fingerprint checks, and the scientific examinations performed by the FBI Laboratory continues to increase.

The testimony shows the effective cooperation that exists among law enforcement agencies in meeting the onslaught of crime. It is as the result of the high degree of cooperation in American law enforcement that there exists an extensive and effective exchange of criminal intelligence data between the FBI and other law enforcement agencies on all levels on a day-to-day basis.

A few charts which graphically portray various aspects of the narrative presentation have been inserted in the transcript so that the reader may have a better understanding of the testimony. These charts were utilized during the Hearing, although they were not reproduced in the original transcript of the record as printed by the Subcommittee.

June 5, 1961

J. Edgar Hoover

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MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SUBCOMMITTEE
ON DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND JUSTICE, THE JUDICIARY,
AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS FOR
THE FISCAL YEAR 1962

Hon. John J. Rooney, New York, Chairman

Hon. Robert L. F. Sikes, Florida

Hon. Frank T. Bow, Ohio

Hon. Don Magnuson, Washington

Hon. Glenard P. Lipscomb, California

Hon. Fred Marshall, Minnesota

Hon. Elford A. Cederberg, Michigan

Jay B. Howe, Staff Assistant to the Subcommittee



STATUS OF FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APPROPRIATION REQUEST

The Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, in reporting out the appropriations bill for the fiscal year 1962 for the Departments of State and Justice, The Judiciary, and Related Agencies, on May 29, 1961, said in regard to the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

The Committee recommends a total of \$127,216,000, the full amount of the budget estimate, for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This amount is an increase of \$1,666,000 over the appropriation for the current fiscal year. Included in this increase are funds for 75 additional employees, 50 special agents and 25 clerks, all of which are to be utilized to discharge growing investigative responsibilities in the field.

The confidence which the Committee has in the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the highly capable and efficient leadership of Director J. Edgar Hoover is best illustrated by the fact that this is the tenth consecutive year that not one penny of the funds he has requested of the Committee has been denied.



The appropriation bill containing the FBI appropriation request passed the House of Representatives on June 1, 1961.

MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1961.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WITNESSES

HON. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
 CLYDE A. TOLSON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
 J. P. MOHR, ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

Object classification

[In thousands of dollars]

	1960 actual	1961 estimate	1962 estimate
11 Personnel compensation:			
Permanent positions.....	88,291	97,354	99,190
Positions other than permanent.....	15	20	20
Other personnel compensation.....	6,403	6,435	6,097
Total personnel compensation.....	94,709	103,808	105,306
12 Personnel benefits.....	5,676	7,192	7,289
21 Travel and transportation of persons.....	4,402	4,437	4,477
22 Transportation of things.....	532	518	522
23 Rent, communications, and utilities.....	2,540	2,518	2,644
24 Printing and reproduction.....	164	157	158
25 Other services.....	1,613	1,704	1,588
26 Supplies and materials.....	1,628	1,624	1,616
31 Equipment.....	2,920	3,830	3,611
42 Insurance claims and indemnities.....	111	5	5
Total costs.....	114,295	125,793	127,216
Costs financed from obligations of other years, net (-).....		-243	
Obligations incurred for costs of other years, net.....	259		
Total obligations.....	114,554	125,550	127,216

Personnel summary

	1960 actual	1961 estimate	1962 estimate
Total number of permanent positions.....	13,728	13,975	14,050
Full-time equivalent of other positions.....	3	4	4
Average number of all employees.....	13,262	13,504	13,579
Number of employees at end of year.....	13,593	13,745	13,820
Average GS grade.....	8.0	8.0	8.1
Average GS salary.....	\$6,646	\$7,196	\$7,290

Program and financing

[In thousands of dollars]

	1960 actual	1961 estimate	1962 estimate
Program by activities:			
1. Security and criminal investigations:			
(a) Coordination.....	4,512	4,804	4,828
(b) Maintenance of investigative records and communications system.....	5,676	6,412	6,450
(c) Field investigations.....	87,088	95,506	96,726
2. Identification by fingerprints.....	9,072	10,519	10,561
3. Criminal and scientific laboratory.....	2,324	2,531	2,619
4. Training schools and inspectional services.....	703	803	819
5. General administration.....	4,920	5,218	5,213
Total program costs ¹	114,295	125,793	127,216
6. Relation of costs to obligations:			
Costs financed from obligations of other years, net (-).....		-243	
Obligations incurred for costs of other years, net.....	259		
Total obligations.....	114,554	125,550	127,216
Financing: Unobligated balance lapsing.....	46		
New obligational authority.....	114,600	125,550	127,216
New obligational authority:			
Appropriation.....	114,600	118,000	127,216
Proposed supplemental due to pay increases.....		7,550	

¹ Includes capital outlay as follows: 1960, \$2,778,000; 1961, \$3,652,000; 1962, \$3,449,000.

Mr. ROONEY. The committee will please come to order.

This morning we shall commence consideration of the request for the coming fiscal year for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This item appears beginning at page 104 of the committee print, and it is to be found in book II under tab 25 of the justifications. We shall at this point insert in the record pages 25-1 through 25-33 of the justifications.

(The pages referred to follow:)

Summarization—Funds, fiscal years 1961 and 1962 (direct plus reimbursements)

[In thousands]

	Direct	Reimbursements	Total
1961 approved.....	\$118,000		
1961 proposed supplemental due to pay increases.....	7,550		
1961 total.....	125,550	\$1,610	\$127,160
1962 requested.....	127,216	1,345	128,561
1962 increase or decrease.....	+1,666	-265	+1,401

Detail justification—Salaries and expenses, Federal Bureau of Investigation

[Dollar amounts in thousands]

	1960 actual		1961 estimate		1962 estimate		1962 versus 1961	
	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost
DIRECT OBLIGATIONS								
Personnel compensation.....	13,262	\$94,709	13,504	\$103,808	13,579	\$105,306	+75	+\$1,498
Personnel benefits.....		5,676		7,192		7,289		+97
Travel and transportation of persons.....		4,402		4,437		4,477		+40
Transportation of things.....		532		518		522		+4
Rent, communications, and utilities.....		2,540		2,518		2,644		+126
Printing and reproduction.....		164		157		158		+1
Other services.....		1,613		1,704		1,583		-116
Supplies and materials.....		1,645		1,607		1,616		+9
Equipment.....		3,162		3,604		3,611		+7
Insurance claims and indemnities.....		111		5		5		
Total other objects of expenditure.....		19,845		21,742		21,910		+168
Total direct obligations.....		114,554		125,550		127,216		+1,666
Estimated savings.....		46						
Total funds available.....		114,600		125,550		127,216		+1,666
OBLIGATIONS PAYABLE OUT OF REIMBURSEMENTS								
Personnel compensation.....	148	1,265	134	1,240	118	1,041	-16	-199
Personnel benefits.....		73		85		71		-14
Travel and transportation of persons.....		121		102		50		-52
Transportation of things.....		6		5		5		
Rent, communications, and utilities.....		15		14		14		
Printing and reproduction.....		1		1		1		
Other services.....		19		18		18		
Supplies and materials.....		15		13		13		
Equipment.....		155		132		132		
Total other objects of expenditure.....		405		370		304		-66
Total obligations payable out of reimbursements.....		1,670		1,610		1,345		-265
Included in equipment item above are proceeds from the sale of personal property.....		(151)		(125)		(125)		
TOTAL DIRECT AND REIMBURSEMENTS								
Personnel compensation.....	13,410	95,974	13,638	105,048	13,697	106,347	+59	+1,299
Personnel benefits.....		5,749		7,277		7,360		+83
Travel and transportation of persons.....		4,523		4,539		4,527		-12
Transportation of things.....		538		523		527		+4
Rent, communications, and utilities.....		2,555		2,532		2,658		+126
Printing and reproduction.....		165		158		159		+1
Other services.....		1,632		1,722		1,606		-116
Supplies and materials.....		1,660		1,620		1,629		+9
Equipment.....		3,317		3,736		3,743		+7
Insurance claims and indemnities.....		111		5		5		
Total other objects of expenditure.....		20,250		22,112		22,214		+102
Total obligations.....		116,224		127,160		128,561		+1,401
Estimated savings.....		46						
Total funds.....		116,270		127,160		128,561		+1,401

Obligations by activities

[In thousands]

	1960 actual	1961 estimate	1962 estimate	1962 versus 1961
Direct obligations:				
1. Security and criminal investigations:				
(a) Coordination.....	\$4,523	\$4,794	\$4,828	+\$34
(b) Maintenance of investigative records and communications system.....	5,680	6,408	6,450	+42
(c) Field investigations.....	87,251	95,353	96,726	+1,373
2. Identification by fingerprints.....	9,127	10,467	10,561	+94
3. Criminal and scientific laboratory.....	2,346	2,510	2,619	+109
4. Training schools and inspectional services.....	707	799	819	+20
5. General administration.....	4,920	5,219	5,213	-6
Total direct obligations.....	114,554	125,550	127,216	+1,666
Estimated savings.....	46			
Direct funds available.....	114,600	125,550	127,216	+1,666
Obligations payable out of reimbursements:				
1. Security and criminal investigations:				
(a) Coordination.....	58	143	108	-35
(b) Maintenance of investigative records and communications system.....	1	1	1	
(c) Field investigations.....	1,605	1,464	1,234	-230
5. General administration.....	6	2	2	
Total obligations payable out of reimbursements.....	1,670	1,610	1,345	-265
Total obligations incurred.....	116,224	127,160	128,561	+1,401

REPLACEMENT OF AUTOMOBILES

The FBI is authorized to operate 3,104 passenger carrying vehicles. These cars must be in good operating condition since the Bureau's investigative responsibilities require cars capable of providing adequate service in combating criminal activities involving "hot pursuit" and in investigations concerned with espionage and security operations.

The appropriation request for the fiscal year 1962 contains funds to replace 501 of the cars which meet the minimum replacement standards as to age and mileage and which are inefficient and uneconomical to operate.

APPROPRIATION LANGUAGE CHANGE

The one change in the Bureau's appropriation language for the fiscal year 1962 deletes the language providing for the " * * * construction of a storage building at the Federal Bureau of Investigation Training Center, Quantico, Virginia ;" This construction will be completed during the current fiscal year.

INTRODUCTION

The appropriation request for the fiscal year 1962 totals \$127,216,000. This will provide for 75 additional employees (50 special agents and 25 clerks) when compared to the number provided for the current fiscal year. All of the additional employees are to be utilized to discharge growing investigative responsibilities in the field.

There has been a continuing rise in nearly all major criminal offenses. Broadened jurisdiction occasioned by the enactment of new legislation—such as the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (approved May 6, 1960) and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (approved September 14, 1959)—has considerably increased our workload commitments. To date, no funds have been provided for the enforcement of these two statutes.

Additionally, the Bureau's overall security operations have demanded unusually heavy assignments of manpower to investigative and surveillance programs directed against internal threats of communism, espionage, subversive, and Communist-infiltrated front organizations and nationality groups.

Supplementing the continued intense espionage activities directed against the United States by Soviet Russia and her satellites, are the operations of elements in our country interested in the Cuban situation. These developments have been responsible for substantial increases in many phases of the Bureau's security work.

The request for the fiscal year 1962 does not provide for any increase in our seat of government staff although there has been an appreciable rise in all essential seat of government service functions, including name checks, fingerprint checks, and scientific examinations. Wherever possible the FBI will endeavor to absorb this additional work with its present staff.

CHANGE IN METHOD OF FINANCING FOR OFFICE SPACE

Beginning with the fiscal year 1962, the Bureau of the Budget changed the method of financing for new or additional space needed by the individual agencies. Up to this time, the General Services Administration (GSA) requested a lump-sum appropriation to provide for all space needs of all agencies. Under the new method of financing, beginning with the fiscal year 1962, the individual agencies are to include in their request for funds the initial fiscal year cost of all additional general-purpose space. As the space is acquired by GSA, the funds are to be transferred to that agency. Thereafter, GSA will be responsible for providing the space as well as securing the funds therefor.

For the fiscal year 1962, the FBI had previously requested space for resident agencies in 31 locations throughout the country as well as for additional space at four of our present field headquarters offices. Additionally, GSA had previously indicated they would be paying the rental cost for our new field office being opened at Las Vegas, Nev., to better serve that growing area. However, under the new change in method of financing we are required to include the item in our request for the fiscal year 1962.

This change in method of financing increases our rental cost for the fiscal year 1962, when compared with our prior year costs, by \$116,000.

BASIC STATUTORY AUTHORITY

The fundamental authority for its basic original functions was vested in the Federal Bureau of Investigation pursuant to the following legislation:

Authority for the activities of the Bureau is contained in section 360 of the Revised Statutes, derived from 16 Statute 164, an act to establish the Department of Justice, dated June 22, 1870. Section 360 reads as follows: "The Attorney General may require any solicitor or officer of the Department of Justice to perform any duty required of the Department or any officer thereof."

Section 361 of the Revised Statutes further bestows authority upon the Attorney General to direct any of the Divisions, Heads, or Departments under the Department of Justice to perform any duties which he shall direct and in the Appropriation Act for the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1872 (16 Stat. 497), an appropriation was provided for the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States.

Title 18, section 3052, United States Code (formerly sec. 300A of title 5, United States Code), as amended January 10, 1951, by Public Law 915, provides that "* * * The Director, Associate Director, Assistant to the Director, assistant directors, inspectors, and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice may carry firearms, serve warrants and subpoenas issued under the authority of the United States and make arrests without warrant for any offense against the United States committed in their presence, or for any felony cognizable under the laws of the United States if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the person to be arrested has committed or is committing such felony."

Under authority contained in 5 U.S.C. 340, Supp. IV there was established under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice a division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be known as the Division of Identification and Information. Pursuant thereto, the Bureau shall be vested with the duty of acquiring, collecting, classifying, and preserving criminal identification and other crime records and the exchange of said criminal identification records with the duly authorized officials of governmental agencies, of States, cities, and penal institutions; and the cost of maintenance and operation of said Bureau shall be paid from the appropriation "Detection and prosecution of crimes" for the respective

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fiscal years concerned, as otherwise provided. The 85th Congress changed the Bureau's appropriation language for the fiscal year 1958 to provide that the exchange of identification and other records was for official use of the receiving departments or related agencies, such exchange to be subject to cancellation if dissemination is made outside the receiving departments or related agencies.

The FBI, as the investigative arm of the Department of Justice, has also been vested with subsequent authority for certain auxiliary specific and general investigative responsibilities by the Congress, the Attorney General, and the President of the United States. Many of these responsibilities play a direct part in defense matters affecting the Nation's security. Specific authority therefor is set forth under the immediately following section designated "objectives."

OBJECTIVES

There are summarized below the principal objectives and responsibilities upon the basis of which funds will be utilized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

1. *General criminal investigations.*—The investigation of violations of Federal criminal statutes; collecting evidence in which the United States is or may be a party in interest; and performing other duties imposed by law.

Under this authority, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has investigative jurisdiction over some 160 Federal investigative matters. This authority covers all Federal statutes except those specifically assigned to another agency. Included in this group are various statutes concerned with kidnaping, extortion, bank robbery, white slavery, automobile theft, impersonation, illegal wearing of the uniform, crimes on Indian and Government reservations, theft and embezzlement of Government property, bribery, violations of the Selective Service Act, as well as those pertaining to civil rights, frauds against the Government, anti-trust matters, and others in the general criminal and civil fields of activity. Investigations to locate deserter fugitives are also conducted by the FBI upon request of the respective branches of the Armed Forces.

2. *Domestic intelligence.*—The FBI's responsibilities in the domestic intelligence field are authorized under legislative enactments, Presidential directives, and instructions of the Attorney General. They include investigative jurisdiction over matters relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, treason, sedition, subversion, and related internal security functions.

Various laws of the United States bring within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI the activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; its members and sympathizers; Communist front groups; totalitarian organizations; as well as any other subversive individuals or groups which are alleged either to seek the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence or to conspire against the rights of citizens. The FBI has primary responsibility for investigating matters of these types in the United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

3. *Coordination and dissemination of security data.*—By reason of various Presidential directives, the FBI has the responsibility of correlating information regarding espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and related matters on a national basis and of referring matters under the jurisdiction of any other Federal agencies in these fields to the appropriate sources. Under these Presidential directives the FBI disseminates a large volume of information to other agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. During the course of the Bureau's investigations, particular attention is given at all times to information indicating any Soviet-Communist hostile action. As a part of this overall program, the FBI makes name checks of its files for the various agencies of the Government. By reason of these functions, the FBI is inescapably tied in with all defense matters.

The FBI also conducts considerable research in all phases of communism and the intelligence operations of the Soviets and their satellites in order to determine the tactics of Soviet Russia and the satellite countries. Many of the various studies prepared in this field are furnished to other intelligence agencies who have, on a number of occasions, commented favorably concerning the value of these research studies in their own agencies.

The FBI has certain specialized defense functions in respect to which it operates as a member of the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference and the U.S. Intelligence Board and other bodies created by the National Security Council. In connection with its participation in the work of such bodies, the FBI makes plans and recommendations on various problems concerned with strengthening the internal security of the Nation.

4. *Specialized security programs.*—FBI responsibilities in the field of specialized security programs are largely concerned with various sensitive types of applicant and employee investigations. The bulk of the work derives from legislative enactments and Presidential directives requiring the FBI to ascertain facts pertinent to the loyalty and security risk of employees and applicants for positions in the Government service or in activities incident to which the Government has an official interest.

5. *Identification functions.*—To gather, maintain, classify, and preserve identification data received from cities, States, penal institutions, Federal agencies, and private citizens. To furnish information concerning such records to duly authorized agencies of Federal, State, and local governments and institutions in the interest of law enforcement.

6. *Scientific crime detection.*—To maintain a well-equipped technical laboratory as an aid in scientific crime detection. The facilities of the FBI Laboratory are made available on a cost-free basis to local law enforcement agencies as well as Federal Government circles. The FBI's scientific personnel are made available to testify in court upon the request of prosecuting officials.

7. *Uniform crime reporting.*—To maintain a program of uniform crime reporting on a countrywide basis for the compilation of statistics concerning the extent of crime, arrests, convictions, and related crime data. This information is coordinated by the FBI and published in the form of four quarterly reports to demonstrate current crime trends as well as a comprehensive annual report which are furnished to all law enforcement agencies.

Summary of investigative accomplishments

	Fiscal year		1960, increase (+) or decrease (—)	
	1959	1960	Number	Percent
Convictions.....	11,719	11,914	+195	1.7
Total sentences:				
Death sentences.....				
Life sentences.....	6	8		
Years.....	32,019	33,458	+1,439	4.5
Fugitives located.....	9,090	9,527	+437	4.8
Automobiles recovered.....	16,957	17,430	+473	2.8
The following money statistics reflect the amounts assessed or saved through court or other legal action or physically recovered in cases in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation expended investigative effort:				
Fines, savings, and recoveries.....	\$135,408,100	\$142,822,244	+\$7,414,144	5.5

Percentage of convictions—Summary comparison, fiscal year 1959 versus 1960

	Fiscal year 1959		Fiscal year 1960	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number of persons brought to trial.....	12,038	100	12,341	100
Convictions.....	11,719	97.4	11,914	96.5
Acquittals.....	319	2.6	427	3.5
Convictions on guilty pleas.....	10,902	93.0	11,020	92.5
Convictions upon trial before judge or jury.....	817	7.0	894	7.5

JUSTIFICATION: SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

IDENTIFICATION BY FINGERPRINTS

Established with less than 1 million sets of fingerprints over 36 years ago by congressional action, the FBI's centralized fingerprint file has grown over the years by reason of the Bureau's responsibility for acquiring and preserving identification and other records and their exchange with authorized Government agencies, and local, municipal, and State law enforcement organizations

and penal institutions. As of December 1, 1960, sets of fingerprints in possession totaled 157,689,816.

The centralized fingerprint collection serves not only the Federal Government but all law enforcement agencies on all levels throughout the Nation, such service ranging from the identification through fingerprints of victims of disasters and unknown deceased persons to the location, through fingerprints, of many fugitives from justice. During the fiscal year 1960, 1,987,933 sets of fingerprints of persons arrested or incarcerated which were submitted by law enforcement agencies, were searched through the FBI fingerprint file. Identifications were made with prior arrest records on 1,529,968, or 77 percent of such fingerprints and resulted in the identification of 17,153 fugitives—an all-time high record of accomplishment. The identification of fugitives by this means saves all law enforcement much investigative time and expense, and it is often the only means by which the local law enforcement agency can locate the fugitive who has fled far from the place of his crime. The 89,025 wanted notices outstanding in our fingerprint file at the close of the fiscal year 1960 indicate the value placed on this service on the part of law enforcement throughout the Nation.

During the fiscal year 1960 the Bureau received for handling 5,202,907 sets of fingerprints of all types from a record high 13,339 contributors. Predicated substantially upon workload volumes furnished by other Federal agencies for whom the great bulk of the work will be performed—and over which we have no control—an estimated 5,275,000 sets of fingerprints will be received for handling during the fiscal year 1962, up 72,093 sets of fingerprints over the actual receipts during the fiscal year 1960, as follows:

Fiscal year	Volume	Increase compared to 1960
1958 actual.....	4,989,332	-----
1959 actual.....	4,987,362	-----
1960 actual.....	5,202,907	-----
1961 revised estimate.....	5,225,000	22,093
1962 estimated.....	5,275,000	72,093

The estimate for the fiscal year 1961, originally shown as 5,200,000, has been revised upward to 5,225,000 to more nearly conform to the actual trend of receipts.

The work of the Identification Division must be maintained in a current status to be of maximum value to the contributor. The Bureau proposes to handle the estimated increased workload volume on a current basis with its present staff by a continued streamlining of our procedures. Likewise, the personnel made available during the fiscal year 1961 to make a start on our urgently needed file rehabilitation work will continue on with this task which encompasses such things as (1) a consolidation of the civil fingerprint records; (2) an extension and refinement of the classification divisions presently existing in the active fingerprint files; and (3) a thorough check of the fingerprint files for cards to be transferred to the reference and presumptive dead files. As a result of this work, additional space will be made available to house the fingerprint files and the productivity and efficiency of our fingerprint operations will be increased.

TRAINING SCHOOLS AND INSPECTIONAL SERVICES

Training is vital in keeping our investigative operations effective. It is by this means that new responsibilities, new investigative techniques, the use of new equipment, and the like, are brought before our investigative staff. This training enables them to continue to carry out their increasing responsibilities in an efficient manner and to keep pace with the ever-changing tactics of the criminal and the subversive.

Training in the FBI includes the training of the newly appointed agents, the followup inservice training given from time to time for the experienced investigative staff and the specialized training schools which are held to meet the needs as they arise.

It also includes the cooperative assistance which the Bureau provides, upon request, in the training of police officers of local law enforcement organizations throughout the Nation. During the fiscal year 1960, the FBI participated in

3,115 police training schools throughout the country in this cooperative training activity for the benefit of local law enforcement organizations throughout the Nation.

The FBI also conducts law enforcement conferences on a nationwide basis dealing with pressing law enforcement problems confronting law enforcement as a whole. During the fiscal year 1960 a series of such conferences was conducted on the important problem of auto theft. There were 197 of these conferences held throughout the Nation attended by 13,036 persons representing 5,014 agencies. Such conferences as these enable a cooperating law enforcement profession to exchange ideas and to develop more effective programs to combat mutual criminal problems.

Another cooperative training activity which the Bureau conducts is the FBI National Academy, which marked the 25th anniversary of its founding on July 29, 1960. The graduation of the 66th session on November 2, 1960, brought the total number of Academy graduates to 3,943. More than 28 percent of the graduates now actively engaged in law enforcement occupy positions as the executive heads of their respective departments.

Much of the training for the police officers attending the FBI National Academy and for the training programs for Bureau personnel at the seat of government is conducted at the Bureau's facilities located at the Marine Corps Schools base, Quantico, Va. These facilities include the Bureau's modern firearms ranges which are used to provide firearms training of new agents; agents attending inservice schools; those agents assigned to the Bureau headquarters, Washington field office and the Richmond, Va., office; as well as those law enforcement officers attending the FBI National Academy.

MAINTENANCE OF INVESTIGATIVE RECORDS AND COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

The Files and Communications Division has the responsibility for maintaining the data which this Bureau gathers as a result of its investigative and auxiliary responsibilities. It also has the responsibility for the Bureau's extensive communications system.

During the fiscal year 1960 a total of 1,571,834 name checks were received for handling, an increase of 29,525 name checks over the volume received during the prior year. According to official estimates, furnished primarily by outside sources for which such work will be performed, it is anticipated 1,600,000 name checks will be referred for handling during the fiscal year 1962, an increase of 28,166 name checks, or 2 percent over the actual receipts during the fiscal year 1960, as follows:

Fiscal year	Name checks received	Increase over 1958	Increase over 1960
1958 actual.....	1,423,976		
1959 actual.....	1,542,309	118,333	
1960 actual.....	1,571,834	147,858	
1961 estimated.....	1,600,000	176,024	28,166
1962 estimated.....	1,600,000	176,024	28,166

The great bulk of the name checks are from other agencies. FBI estimates are based upon actual workload experience. Other agency figures are based upon official estimates furnished by them and over which we have no control.

The Bureau's central record file serves many Federal agencies as a result of various Presidential directives and other authority vesting the Bureau with the responsibility of coordinating and disseminating security and intelligence data, particularly as it concerns espionage, sabotage, and related subversive matters affecting the domestic internal security. Of the 1,571,834 names received for search through our files during the fiscal year 1960, a total of 1,332,647 were from other agencies of the Government.

CRIMINAL AND SCIENTIFIC LABORATORY

A new alltime high of 210,745 scientific examinations were received for handling during the fiscal year 1960 by the FBI Laboratory, a service agency of the FBI which stands as one of the Nation's great bulwarks against the criminal and the subversive in the cooperative fight by all law enforcement.

The workloads of the Laboratory have been on a steady rise for the past decade and reflect the growing importance of physical examination of evidence in the many investigations conducted not only for the FBI, but for other Federal agencies as well as local agencies on all levels across the country.

The work of the FBI Laboratory is expected to continue to increase with the number of scientific examinations reaching an estimated 212,000 during the fiscal year 1962—an increase of 1,255 examinations over the recordbreaking volume received during 1960. No increase in Laboratory personnel has been requested for the fiscal year 1962 to handle this growing volume of work. Our existing staff has been absorbing a tremendous amount of work and we will continue to endeavor to absorb the anticipated growing volume through research and the development of improved scientific techniques, the use of improved equipment, and the like.

The growing volume of scientific examinations for the fiscal years 1958 through 1962 is shown by this tabulation:

Fiscal year	Number	Increase over 1958		Increase over 1960	
		Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
1958 (actual).....	165,462				
1959 (actual).....	184,993	19,531	12		
1960 (actual).....	210,745	45,283	27		
1961 (revised estimate).....	211,000	45,538	28	255	
1962 (estimated).....	212,000	46,538	28	1,255	

The estimate for the fiscal year 1961 was revised upward from 191,000 to 211,000 to more nearly conform to the actual trend of receipts.

The facilities of the FBI Laboratory are available, free of charge, to other Federal agencies and to local law enforcement agencies. Modern scientific aids are thus available to all law enforcement agencies regardless of size or location, in their cooperative fight against crime. The Laboratory technicians who performed the examination of the submitted material are available for expert testimony in State as well as Federal courts.

FIELD JUSTIFICATION

GENERAL STATEMENT

The Bureau's work throughout the field has been on a steady increase for a number of years. The growing amount of lawlessness throughout the country coupled with additional responsibilities occasioned by new legislation indicates that the upward trend of our work will continue throughout the fiscal year 1962.

The new legislation which adds further burdens on our field staff includes such items as:

Public Law 86-257, Approved September 14, 1959

Substance: Has as its purpose the prevention of improper practices on the part of labor organizations, employers, labor relations consultants, and the like. An agreement was entered into between the Departments of Justice and Labor placing numerous investigative provisions of the new law under the jurisdiction of the FBI.

Public Law 86-449, Approved May 6, 1960

Substance: Increases the responsibilities of the FBI in the field of interference with court orders, flight to avoid prosecution for damaging property, illegal transportation of explosives, false information concerning bomb threats, the maintenance of election records pertinent to election of Federal candidates, and the extension of voting procedures to provide for appointment of a Federal voting referee when a pattern is established of denying certain individuals their right to register and to vote because of race or color.

Public Law 86-701, Approved September 2, 1960

Substance: Amends United States Code, broadening the FBI's jurisdiction with respect to the transfer or concealment of assets in contemplation of bankruptcy.

As a result of such factors as these, there is an urgent and critical need for a sufficiently adequate field staff so that we may keep pace with the mounting volume of work, security as well as criminal.

Overall picture.—On December 1, 1960, there were pending in the entire field service 100,133 investigative matters of all types, of which 7 percent were in a delinquent status.

Based upon current trends, an estimated 563,000 investigative matters in the criminal, civil, and security classifications will be referred for action under our direct appropriation request for 1962. This represents an increase of 25,665 matters, or 5 percent, when compared to actual investigative receipts of 537,335 experienced during the fiscal year 1960.

During the past several years' period our actual work in the field has increased far beyond the levels originally contemplated. In each instance funds were approved on the basis of the lesser figures. For example, our original estimate for 1959 was 501,000 investigative matters, while 513,855 were actually received. For 1960 our estimate was 519,000 matters, but receipts actually totaled 537,335. For 1961 our original estimate was 530,000. Since this figure was likewise obviously understated, it has been revised upward to 545,000 to more nearly conform to the true picture in terms of our actual experience to date.

Over the past many years the services of FBI employees have consistently exceeded the normal 40-hour workweek. This has enabled the FBI to absorb additional work without commensurate increases in personnel or funds. During the fiscal year 1960 the overtime of our investigative staff amounted to an aggregate 3,411,424 hours.

Public Law 763, approved September 1, 1954, provides, among other things, that certain employees whose duties require unscheduled and administratively uncontrollable overtime duty may be paid up to 15 percent of the entrance salary of grade GS-9 as a salary differential where they qualify for this benefit. The Attorney General approved payment of these benefits to investigative personnel of this Bureau. This permitted the partial reimbursement for these 3,411,424 hours of overtime during fiscal year 1960, which overtime represents the equivalent of 1,640 special agents on a full-year basis. Had it been necessary to employ the additional 1,640 agents represented by this overtime, the cost would have been an estimated \$15,791,790. However, under Public Law 763, this overtime service during the fiscal year 1960 was compensated only to the extent of \$5,378,992, representing, in effect, a net salary savings to the Government of \$10,412,798 when compared with the value of the total overtime performed.

The 1962 appropriation estimate contains funds to continue these payments for unscheduled and administratively uncontrollable overtime duty which averaged 2 hours and 30 minutes a day per agent throughout the fiscal year 1960.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is the largest subversive organization in existence in our country today. As a member of the international Communist family, it poses a grave menace to our internal security for it is an acknowledged fact that the ultimate goal of international communism is the domination and control of all nations on the face of the globe. With the United States standing as the greatest bulwark of freedom in the world, it is understandable why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is so vitally interested in the progress being made by the Communist Party, U.S.A.—the organization which the Soviets are counting on to retain a toehold for international communism in this land of freedom.

There has never been a time since its founding in 1919 that the Communist Party, U.S.A., has not taken direction and guidance from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The line followed by the Party in the United States parallels the Moscow line with sickening consistency. Every move made by the Communists in the United States is calculated to further the ultimate aims and purposes of the Party; namely, the overthrow and destruction of our Government, by force if necessary.

Accordingly, to carry out our responsibilities regarding the internal security of our Nation we must closely follow all phases of activity of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in this country so that the U.S. Government will be aware of all of the plans, tactics, and programs of this subversive organization operating within our midst.

This requires the heavy expenditure of manpower to cover a broad range of activities. For example, the Communists, foreign agents, and potential saboteurs operate behind a masquerade of stealth and deception. The extent of this activity is shown by the fact that the FBI has approximately 200 known, or suspected, Communist front and Communist-infiltrated organizations under investigation. Many of these fronts are national in scope. They represent transmission belts through which the Communist Party furthers its conspiratorial designs.

All activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A., must receive complete coverage if we are to be aware of the full extent of the Communist menace in this Nation.

ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

The Soviet intelligence services have reorganized, multiplied their contacts with the American people, and become aggressively bolder in spearheading their espionage offensive against the United States. The intelligence organizations of the satellite countries, carefully coordinated under Soviet leadership and control, have gained increasingly in experience and ability.

The coverage which must be afforded to the widespread ramifications of the Soviet-bloc espionage networks results in a heavy drain on our available manpower and points up the vital need for adequate manpower to handle the tremendous volume of work in this area of our operations.

GENERAL CRIMINAL OPERATIONS

During the calendar year 1959, based on reports from the Nation's police, an estimated 1,592,160 serious crimes were committed in this country. This is a new alltime high and is 69 percent more than the crime volume in 1950 and 128 percent over 1940. For a number of years crime has been rising four times as fast as population. This ominous rise in crime has continued at an accelerated pace into 1960. Preliminary crime figures, based on reports of cities over 25,000 for the first 9 months of 1960, show that serious crime registered an increase of 11 percent, as compared with the same period last year.

The growing amount of lawlessness is reflected in the growing volume of work experienced in many criminal offenses within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI. The 1960 fiscal year witnessed 753 violations of the Federal bank robbery statute. This total of 753 violations is second only to the alltime high record of 764 violations which was established in the preceding 12 months. The tremendous jump that this type of crime has taken over the past years is shown when compared with the 248 violations of this Federal statute during the fiscal year 1950.

Under the destruction of aircraft or motor vehicles statute, the majority of the cases received for handling are of the false report type and these increased alarmingly during the fiscal year 1960. During that fiscal year, 484 cases were opened as compared with 275 during 1959.

Our growing volume of work is also reflected in our investigative accomplishments which reached several new peaks of achievement:

Convictions.—During the 1960 fiscal year, there were 11,914 convictions in cases investigated by the FBI, the largest number for any peacetime year and an increase of 195 over the 11,719 recorded during the fiscal year 1959.

Sentences imposed.—Actual, suspended, and probationary sentences imposed in these cases during the fiscal year 1960 totaled 33,458 years, or 1,439 years in excess of the 32,019 recorded for the similar period in 1959. Eight terms of life imprisonment resulted from convictions in cases investigated during 1960 as compared to six during the prior year.

Fines, savings, and recoveries.—During the fiscal year 1960, fines, savings, and recoveries in FBI-investigated cases totaled \$142,822,244, the highest ever achieved by the FBI. This is \$7,414,144 more than the previous alltime high of \$135,408,100 recorded in 1959.

Fugitives located.—There were 9,527 fugitives located in cases investigated by the FBI during the fiscal year 1960, an increase of 437 over the 9,090 located during 1959. Included among the fleeing criminals were 16 members of the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives" list as well as 1,361 criminals (another alltime record) whose apprehensions were being sought at the request of State and local authorities after they had fled State lines in violation of the Fugitive Felon Act.

Automobiles recovered.—17,430 stolen motor vehicles were recovered in FBI cases during the fiscal year 1960 as compared with 16,957 during the prior year. This sets a new alltime high as does the total of 5,217 convictions in Federal court for transporting stolen automobiles across State lines.

SPECIFIC INCREASES: CRIMINAL AND CIVIL WORK

The following tabulation indicates specific increases in several classifications of general criminal and civil work during fiscal year 1960.

Investigative matters received

Classification	Fiscal year		1960 increase
	1959	1960	
			<i>Percent</i>
Destruction of aircraft or motor vehicles	523	1,201	130
Copyright matters	121	202	67
Assaulting or killing Federal officer	74	112	51
Bribery	422	603	43
Obstruction of justice	128	178	39
Interstate transportation of fireworks	95	128	35
Interstate transportation of gambling devices	342	398	16
Thefts from interstate shipments	19,888	22,383	13
Interstate transportation of stolen motor vehicle or aircraft	76,882	86,416	12
Federal Reserve Act	3,082	3,449	12
Interstate transportation of stolen property	55,757	62,023	11
Antitrust	1,207	1,337	11
Extortion	3,085	3,377	9
Theft or embezzlement of Government property	7,715	8,433	9
Unauthorized publication or use of communications	333	358	8
National Bankruptcy Act	1,138	1,222	7
Court of Claims	374	399	7
Crimes on Government reservations	6,293	6,680	6
Ascertaining financial ability	4,417	4,623	5
Pardon and parole matters	800	837	5
Kidnaping	1,280	1,332	4
Civil rights	2,164	2,246	4
Unlawful flight violations	16,326	16,590	2
Interstate transportation of obscene matter	1,568	1,579	1

CONCLUSION

The FBI's appropriation request includes only the bare minimum funds felt necessary to handle the increasing workloads in the general criminal field; to provide the needed coverage to insure the maintenance of the domestic internal security and to insure adequate investigative coverage and control of clandestine groups who aim at the subversion of the U.S. Government, particularly those associated with the international Communist movement and foreign-inspired enemy espionage. This is also the situation in regard to the increasing workloads in regard to name checks, fingerprint checks, and scientific examinations.

The estimates for the fiscal year 1962 do not provide for potential contingencies resulting from additional investigative duties conferred upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation by new legislation or that may accrue through departmental or other official sources, after the preparation of our initial estimates.

INCREASE REQUESTED FOR 1962

Mr. ROONEY. The request is in the amount \$127,216,000, an increase of \$9,216,000 over the amount appropriated to date for the current fiscal year, and an increase of \$1,666,000 when the anticipated pay act supplemental is taken into consideration.

We are again pleased to have with us the distinguished and highly competent Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, accompanied by the Associate Director, the Honorable Clyde Tolson, and the Assistant to the Director, the Honorable John Mohr.

You may proceed as usual, Mr. Director.

GENERAL STATEMENT

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, our direct appropriation request as indicated, exclusive of reimbursements, approved by the Bureau of the Budget for the fiscal year 1962 totals \$127,216,000. This includes \$7,800,000 to cover the cost of the Federal pay raise occasioned by Public Law 86-568 approved last July. It will provide for 13,579 full-year employees.

The direct funds, exclusive of reimbursements, for the fiscal year 1961 total \$125,550,000, including \$7,550,000 for costs attributable to the Federal pay raise. It will allow 13,504 full-year employees.

ADDITIONAL POSITIONS

Our request for 1962 represents an increase of \$1,666,000 when compared with the \$125,550,000 required for 1961.

Our personnel request for 1962 represents an increase of 75 full-year employees, 50 special agents and 25 clerks, when compared with the 13,504 which we had for this year.

Mr. ROONEY. I should like to interpolate a question at this point, if I may, Mr. Director.

Mr. HOOVER. Certainly.

Mr. ROONEY. What is the entrance grade and salary for a special agent at the present time?

Mr. HOOVER. The entrance grade and salary is GS-10, \$6,995.

Mr. ROONEY. What are the grades and salaries requested for the 25 additional clerks set up in this budget?

Mr. HOOVER. The clerks are to be: 12 at GS-4, \$4,040 and 13 at GS-3, \$3,760. All of these clerks and agents are for field assignment. None of them are for the seat of government.

Mr. ROONEY. What is the total requested in this budget for new personnel?

Mr. HOOVER. The total requested is \$588,734.

Mr. ROONEY. How much is in this budget for within-grade promotions?

Mr. HOOVER. \$154,124, which is mandatory by law under the Ranspeck Act.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

Mr. HOOVER. All the additional employees are to be utilized to discharge increasing investigative responsibilities in the field service.

MAJOR CRIMINAL OFFENSES

There has been a continuing rise in nearly all major criminal offenses. Among the many serious crime problems confronting the FBI during the past year was an outburst of bomb threats directed against airlines and other transportation media, as well as homes, businesses, schools, and religious institutions. Some of these were perpetrated by unthinking hoaxers. Others emanated from hatemongers, terrorists, and similar types of rabble who are addicted to a philosophy of fear and mob rule.

Convictions under both the Federal Reserve Act and the Federal bank robbery statute reached alltime highs during the last fiscal

year. New records were similarly established in the number of Federal convictions and stolen vehicles located as a result of violations involving the interstate transportation of stolen automobiles.

ORGANIZED CRIME

In our continuing vigorous drive on organized crime we have been furnishing voluminous information regarding hoodlums and racketeers to those sources responsible for the prosecution of offenses, whether it be Federal, State, or local. The Attorney General has made it clear that the Federal Government is to step up its drive on organized crime and this will greatly expand our work in this area. Under this stepped-up drive it has been indicated that new crime-curbing laws and a closer working relationship among Federal agencies will be sought and these agencies will be called upon to make a coordinated drive with the aim of prosecuting notorious hoodlums under the direction of the Department of Justice. This Bureau, of course, will play a major part in this program. This coordinated and accelerated investigative activity against organized crime will place added workloads on our investigative staff.

WORKLOAD INCREASED UNDER NEW LEGISLATION

Broadened jurisdiction, occasioned by the enactment of new legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1960 and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, has considerably increased our workload commitments. To date, no funds have been provided for the enforcement of these two statutes. We have absorbed the work with our present personnel.

SECURITY OPERATIONS

Additionally, our overall security operations have demanded unusually heavy assignments of manpower to investigative and surveillance programs directed against internal threats of communism, espionage, subversion, and Communist front and Communist-infiltrated organizations. The extent of their vast scope may be found in the fact that 91,844 security matters were referred to our attention for investigation during the last fiscal year.

Supplementing the continued intense espionage activities against the United States by Soviet Russia and her satellites are the operations of elements in our country interested in the Cuban revolutionary movement. These developments have been responsible for a substantial increase in many phases of our security work.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT STAFF

I would like to point out to the committee that our request for the fiscal year 1962 does not provide for any increases in our seat of government personnel, although there has been an appreciable rise in all essential seat of government service functions, including name checks, fingerprint checks, and scientific examinations. We will endeavor to absorb this extra work with our present staff through

streamlining and greater productive efficiency.

COMPARISON OF FUNDS AND EMPLOYMENT, 1961-62

I hand to the chairman at this time an exhibit for insertion in the record which itemizes for the fiscal years 1961 and 1962 the number of special agents and clerks for the seat of government and the field, and it also shows a breakdown of the amounts for personnel compensation and other expenses, setting forth specific increases or decreases for each item.

Mr. ROONEY. We shall insert this exhibit at this point in the record. (The document referred to follows:)

Details: Funds and personnel, fiscal years 1961 versus 1962

	Fiscal year 1961	Fiscal year 1962	Increase (+) or decrease (-) 1961 versus 1962
Personnel (full-year employees):			
Seat of government:			
Special agents.....	421	421	
Clerks.....	4, 419	4, 419	
Total.....	4, 840	4, 840	
Field:			
Special agents.....	5, 464	5, 514	+50
Clerks.....	3, 200	3, 225	+25
Total.....	8, 664	8, 739	+75
Total:			
Special agents.....	5, 885	5, 935	+50
Clerks.....	7, 619	7, 644	+25
Total.....	13, 504	13, 579	+75
Funds:			
Personnel compensation.....	\$103, 808, 293	\$105, 305, 951	+\$1, 497, 658
Other expenses:			
Personnel benefits.....	\$7, 192, 332	\$7, 289, 374	+\$97, 042
Travel and transportation of persons.....	4, 436, 768	4, 477, 368	+40, 600
Transportation of things.....	517, 544	521, 519	+3, 975
Rent, communications, and utilities.....	2, 517, 960	2, 643, 710	+125, 750
Printing and reproduction.....	157, 536	158, 211	+675
Other services.....	1, 703, 552	1, 588, 027	-115, 525
Supplies and materials.....	1, 606, 976	1, 615, 901	+8, 925
Equipment.....	3, 604, 039	3, 610, 939	+6, 900
Insurance claims and indemnities.....	5, 000	5, 000	
Subtotal other expenses.....	21, 741, 707	21, 910, 049	+168, 342
Total all expenses.....	125, 550, 000	127, 216, 000	+1, 666, 000

INCREASE REQUESTED FOR 1962

Mr. HOOVER. Of the total overall \$1,666,000 increase for 1962 as shown by the exhibit just presented, \$1,497,658 is applicable to "Personnel compensation (salaries)" and the remaining \$168,342 to "Other expense" items.

The increase for personnel compensation is accounted for by three factors:

1. There is a decrease of \$400,218 attributable to the cost of one less working day in 1962 as compared to 1961.
2. There is an increase of \$482,290 for the 75 additional employees.

3. There is an increase of \$1,415,586 to continue our promotional program.

PROMOTIONAL PROGRAM

The estimate of funds required under our promotional program will provide a modest average per annum increase of only \$104.83 per employee—that is, \$194.36 per agent and \$35.67 per clerk—during 1962. I think this is quite a conservative program.

All promotions are based on merit, and only the most outstanding and best qualified employees are selected for more responsible positions as vacancies occur.

Without exception, all officials and supervisory personnel have risen through the ranks. Their accumulated training and experience represent a priceless asset in the operation of the Bureau. Our employees are constantly being offered higher paying positions in business, industry, and government. I am of the firm belief that the FBI's promotional policies and standards are an absolute "must" if we are to continue the Bureau as a career organization staffed with experienced and dedicated employees.

I submit to the committee at this time an exhibit which provides further details regarding this program.

Mr. ROONEY. It might be well if we inserted the statement with regard to the promotional program at this point in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

BUREAU'S PROMOTIONAL PROGRAM

Clerical employees in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, other than typists and stenographers, are appointed in grade GS-2 at \$3,500 per annum. Typists are appointed in grade GS-3, at \$3,760 per annum. Stenographers are appointed in grade GS-4 at \$4,040 per annum.

Fingerprint classifier vacancies in the FBI are filled from the staff of grade GS-2 (\$3,500 per annum) clerical employees. Clerks are assigned to this duty who demonstrate fitness for training and advancement as technical fingerprint employees. After successfully qualifying in training and work performance for a period of 3 months they are eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-3 (\$3,760 per annum). After 9 months' total service the employee is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-4 (\$4,040 per annum). After a total of 18 months of fingerprint work the employee is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-5 (\$4,345 per annum). Thereafter, after a total of 30 months of fingerprint work he is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-6 at \$4,830 per annum. Fingerprint positions are available only in Washington, D.C.

As all employees qualify for more responsible positions in the Bureau's service, they become eligible for promotion to higher grades as vacancies occur.

Our special agents enter on duty in grade GS-10 at \$6,995 per annum. After performing duties in this grade for at least 2 years, they become eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-11 (\$7,560 per annum). They normally remain in grade GS-11 for 3 years before they become eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-12 at \$8,955 per annum. An agent on regular investigative assignment after completing at least 4 years of satisfactory service in grade GS-12 is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-13 at \$10,635 per annum.

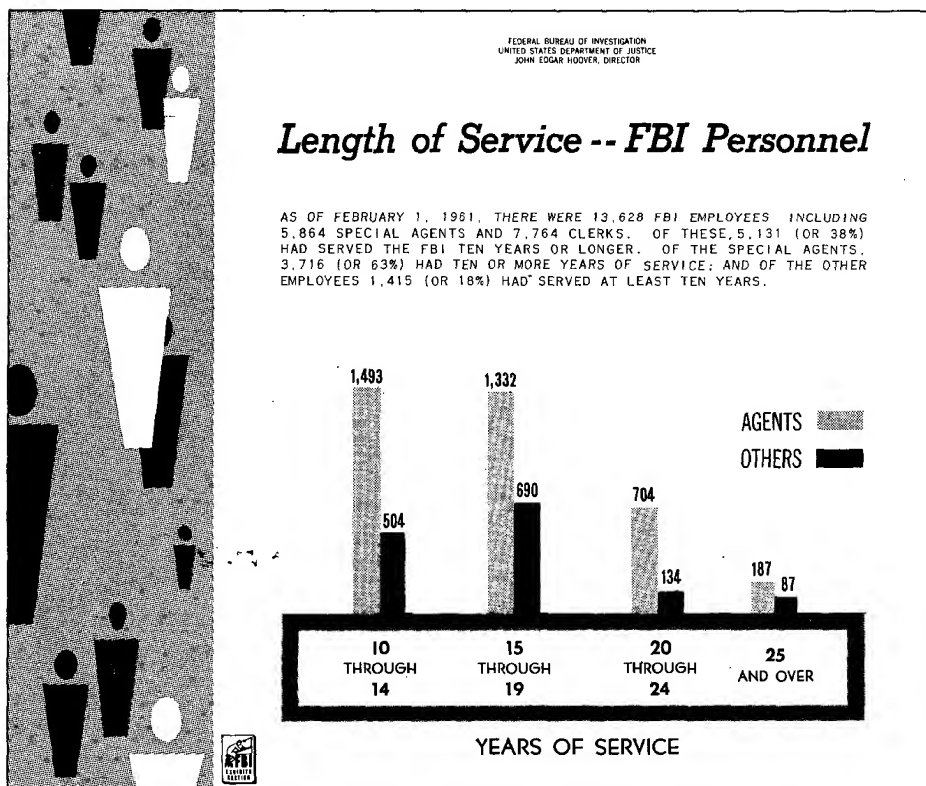
By statute, within-grade Ramspeck promotions are obtained by employees in those grades through GS-10 on an annual basis. Those employees in grades GS-11 and above obtain the within-grade Ramspeck promotions each 18 months.

TENURE OF SERVICE

Mr. HOOVER. 5,131 employees, or 38 percent of our total personnel, have served in the Bureau 10 years or longer. These figures include 3,716 special agents, representing 63 percent of our entire investigative staff, whose employment with the FBI has ranged from 10 to as high as 40 years.

This chart graphically illustrates the extensive tenure-of-service records of Bureau personnel.

(The chart referred to follows:)



PERSONNEL TURNOVER

Over the years, the rate of personnel turnover in the FBI has been traditionally low. The esprit de corps which exists throughout the service today is evidenced by the fact that the turnover for our special agent staff now averages only 0.4 percent and for the Bureau as a whole it is 1.6 percent. The latest available turnover rate for the Federal service as a whole has been reported to be 1.8 percent and in manufacturing industries 3.7 percent.

EMPLOYMENT OF VETERANS

Some 4,759 of our male employees, or 57 percent of those now on the rolls, have served in some branch of the armed services. All of our veterans are afforded the rights and privileges accorded them under the law.

SUGGESTIONS AND INCENTIVE AWARDS

Throughout the fiscal year 1960, FBI employees in all categories, agents and clerks, earned recognition because of suggestions submitted by them for the improvement of the service of the FBI, as well as for numerous instances of superior performances or accomplishments.

During this period, 1,870 suggestions were made under the FBI suggestion program, the largest number received in any single year to date. Of this number, 667 were adopted, resulting in an estimated total savings of \$78,889. This represents an adoption rate throughout the FBI of 36 percent, and compares most favorably with the Government-wide adoption rate of 27 percent.

In addition, 2,562 personal letters of commendation were directed to our employees, and 586 cash incentive awards totaling \$97,745 were presented to FBI personnel for outstanding accomplishments or suggestions. These resulted in improvements in the form of greater economy, efficiency, or generally improved operations.

Mr. HOOVER. I shall now discuss the specific increases and decreases affecting items under the other expense category as shown in the exhibit previously presented which reflects an overall increase totaling \$168,342.

PERSONNEL BENEFITS

The item "Personnel benefits" shows an increase of \$97,042 which is accounted for by two factors:

1. An increase of \$33,144 is occasioned by added costs resulting from statutory contributions which must be made by the FBI for the additional 75 full-year employees, to the health benefits fund, to the life insurance fund, to the civil service retirement fund and for social security taxes.

2. The remaining \$63,898 is attributable to the cost of additional contributions which must be made to the civil service retirement fund and for social security taxes as a result of higher average salaries of our overall personnel staff.

The rates of all these contributions are fixed by law and represent costs over which we have no control.

RENT, COMMUNICATIONS, AND UTILITIES

The item "Rent, communications and utilities" shows an increase of \$125,750 as a result of two factors:

1. An increase of \$9,750 is due to communications costs for the 50 additional special agents requested for 1962.

2. The remaining \$116,000 of the overall increase results from a change in method of financing which was announced by the Bureau of the Budget on November 10, 1960, to cover the cost of new or additional general-purpose space needed for the fiscal year 1962. None of the \$116,000 is attributable to the additional personnel being requested.

Mr. ROONEY. How was that figure arrived at, Mr. Director?

Mr. HOOVER. That was determined by the General Services Administration.

Mr. ROONEY. They just furnished you with a figure and you lumped it into this budget?

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct. Up to this time, the General Services Administration (GSA) requested a lump-sum appropriation to provide for all general-purpose space needs of all agencies. Under the new method of financing, beginning with the fiscal year 1962, the individual agencies are to include in their request for funds the initial fiscal year cost of all additional general-purpose space. As the new space is acquired by GSA, the funds are to be transferred to that agency. Thereafter, GSA will be responsible for providing the space as well as securing the funds therefor.

The FBI had previously requested GSA to secure 15,327 square feet of needed space in the field for the next fiscal year. Of this, 9,300 square feet represented needed resident agency office space in 31 different localities throughout the country. In their day-to-day operations these agents need the space to conduct interviews, to maintain supplies and equipment and also for security purposes. The remaining 6,027 square feet of space previously requested from GSA for 1962 represented additional needed space in four of our field offices to alleviate badly crowded working conditions.

The General Services Administration approved our requests and estimated the cost of securing the overall 15,327 square feet of space at \$87,800.

Also included in the added rental cost for the fiscal year 1962 is \$28,700 for rental of space for a new field office which we recently opened at Las Vegas, Nev., to better serve that particular area. GSA had previously indicated that if we would reimburse them for this rental for the balance of 1961, they would take over the cost in 1962. But that has now been changed by their new method of financing and for that reason that item is included in this appropriation.

The total of these two items is \$116,500. This has been rounded off to \$116,000 for inclusion in our overall request for funds for 1962.

OTHER SERVICES

Mr. HOOVER. The item "Other services" reflects a net decrease of \$115,525 and is accounted for as follows:

An increase of \$2,475 due to the additional personnel requested for 1962, which in turn is offset by a decrease of \$118,000 which was provided for in 1961 as a nonrecurring item to cover construction work at the FBI Academy at Quantico, which was for the new firearms storage building, and the replacement of heating and cooling systems in the Academy building. This work will be completed during the current fiscal year.

The increases shown for all of the remaining items in the "Other expense" category are due, in each instance, to the additional personnel requested for 1962.

AUTOMOBILE REPLACEMENTS

Under General Services Administration regulations we are authorized to maintain an operating fleet of 3,104 passenger-carrying vehicles. Funds requested for 1962 under the item "Equipment" will permit the purchase, for replacement purposes only, of 501 cars, the same number allowed by the committee last year.

Actually, we will have a maximum of 550 automobiles that will have met the minimum replacement standards as to age and mileage in 1962. This is 49 more than the number of replacements being requested.

I hand to the chairman an exhibit giving a breakdown of the age and mileage of our approved operating fleet.

Mr. ROONEY. We shall insert this itemization with regard to the automobile fleet at this point in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

Itemization of FBI authorized fleet of 3,104 passenger-carrying vehicles by year models and estimated accumulated mileage groups for fiscal year 1962, with summary showing vehicles meeting replacement standards during 1962

Miles	1951	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	Total
0 to 9,999.....							74	211	285
10,000 to 19,999.....				1	7	13	130	198	349
20,000 to 29,999.....				12	61	55	148	71	347
30,000 to 39,999.....		1	1	58	216	117	79	21	493
40,000 to 49,999.....			1	158	277	130	42		608
50,000 to 59,999.....	2			175	198	84	15		474
60,000 to 79,999.....		1		146	187	72	10		416
80,000 to 99,999.....				1	73	20			94
100,000 and over.....					28	9	1		38
Total.....	2	2	2	551	1,047	500	499	501	3,104

Summary showing vehicles meeting replacement standards of either 6 years age or 60,000 miles of operation:

Number meeting mileage standard but not age..... 547

Number meeting age standard but not mileage..... 3

Total number of vehicles meeting replacement standards..... 550

Replacements included in funds requested..... 501

Number meeting replacement standards for which no funds are being requested..... 49

REIMBURSEMENTS

Mr. HOOVER. I submit to the chairman for insertion in the record an itemization of the estimated reimbursements during 1962 for work to be performed for other Government agencies and from the sale of automobiles to be replaced. These funds total \$1,344,832, and are not included in the pending direct appropriation request.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Director, we should like to insert at this point your itemization with regard to reimbursements.

(The document referred to follows:)

Itemization of estimated reimbursements, fiscal years 1961 and 1962

	Fiscal year 1961	Fiscal year 1962	1962 increase or decrease
Atomic Energy Commission:			
Workload: Investigations (3,400 at \$350 each).....	\$1,190,000	\$1,190,000	-----
Civil Service Commission (United Nations program):			
Workloads:			
Name checks (931 at \$1.56 each).....	29,832	29,832	-----
Full field (loyalty) investigations (33 at \$860 each).....	284,768	-----	-----
House Appropriations Committee (loan of personnel).....	-----	-----	-\$264,768
Subtotal, reimbursements from other accounts.....	1,484,600	1,219,832	-264,768
Proceeds from the sale of cars to be replaced.....	125,000	125,000	-----
Number of cars to be replaced.....	(501)	(501)	-----
Total estimated reimbursements.....	1,609,600	1,344,832	-264,768

NOTE.—The above reimbursable funds provide for the following full-year employees:

	Fiscal year 1961	Fiscal year 1962	1962 increase or decrease
Agents.....	86	70	-16
Clerks.....	48	48	-----
Total.....	134	118	-16

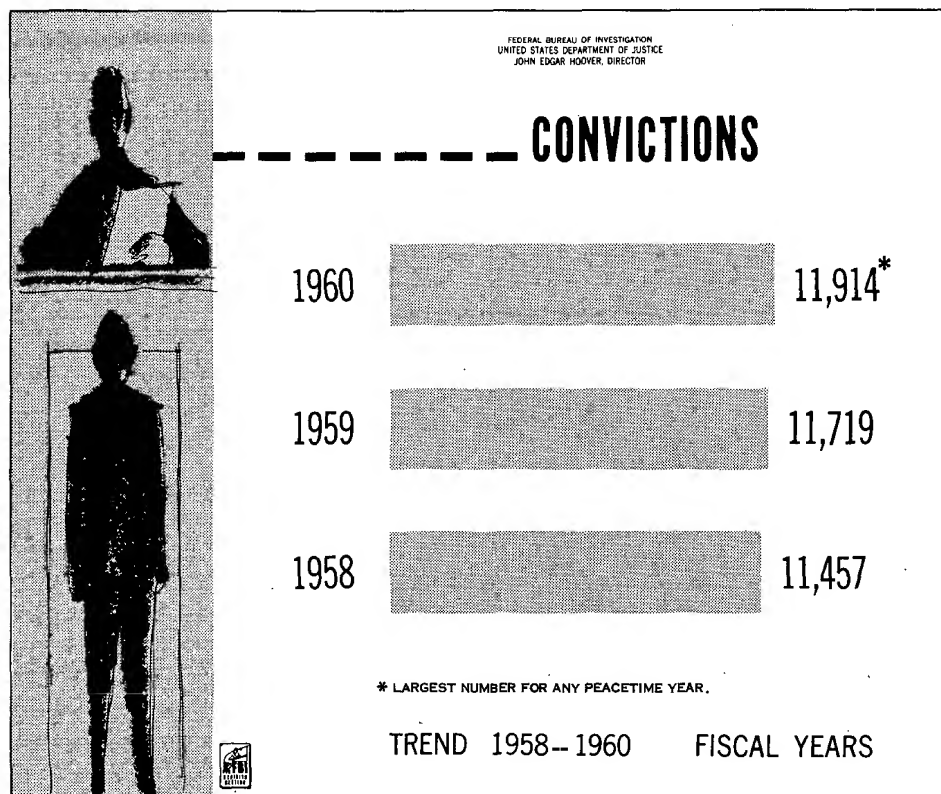
INVESTIGATIVE RESULTS, 1960

Mr. HOOVER. I shall now give a brief resume of the results of our investigative activities. During the fiscal year 1960, the Bureau reached several new peaks of achievement:

CONVICTIONS

There were 11,914 convictions in cases investigated by the FBI, the largest number for any peacetime fiscal year. The chart which I present to the committee shows the upward trend in convictions during the past 3 years.

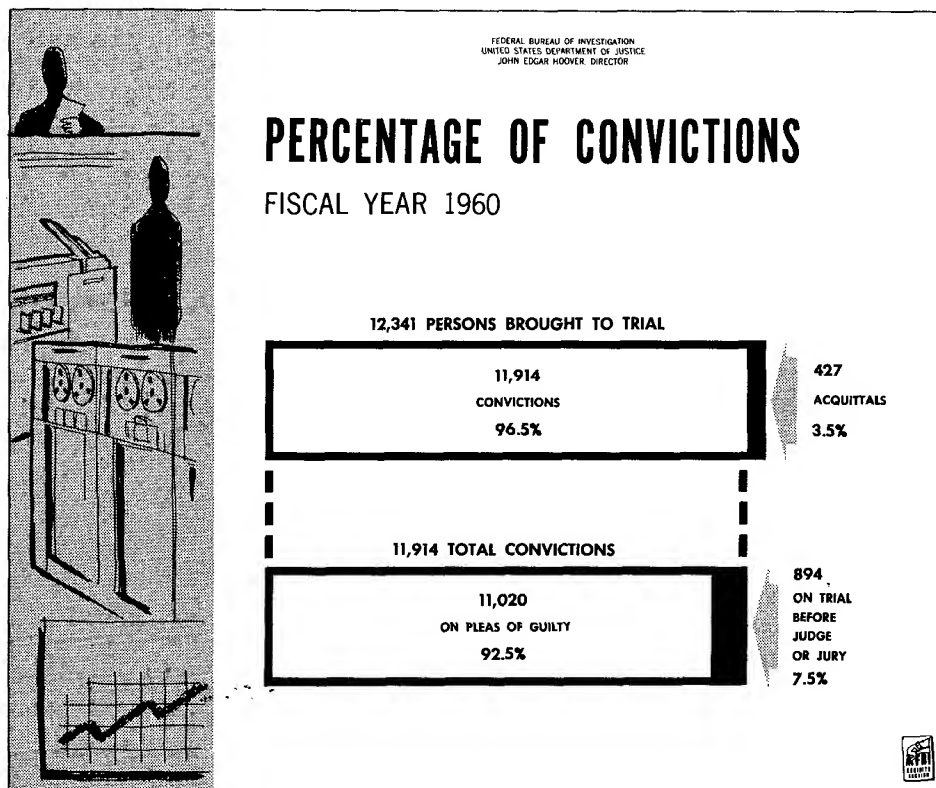
(The chart referred to follows:)



These convictions represent 96.5 percent of the persons brought to trial, and 92.5 percent were based on pleas of guilty.

I submit to the committee a graphic chart showing this particular accomplishment.

(The chart referred to follows:)

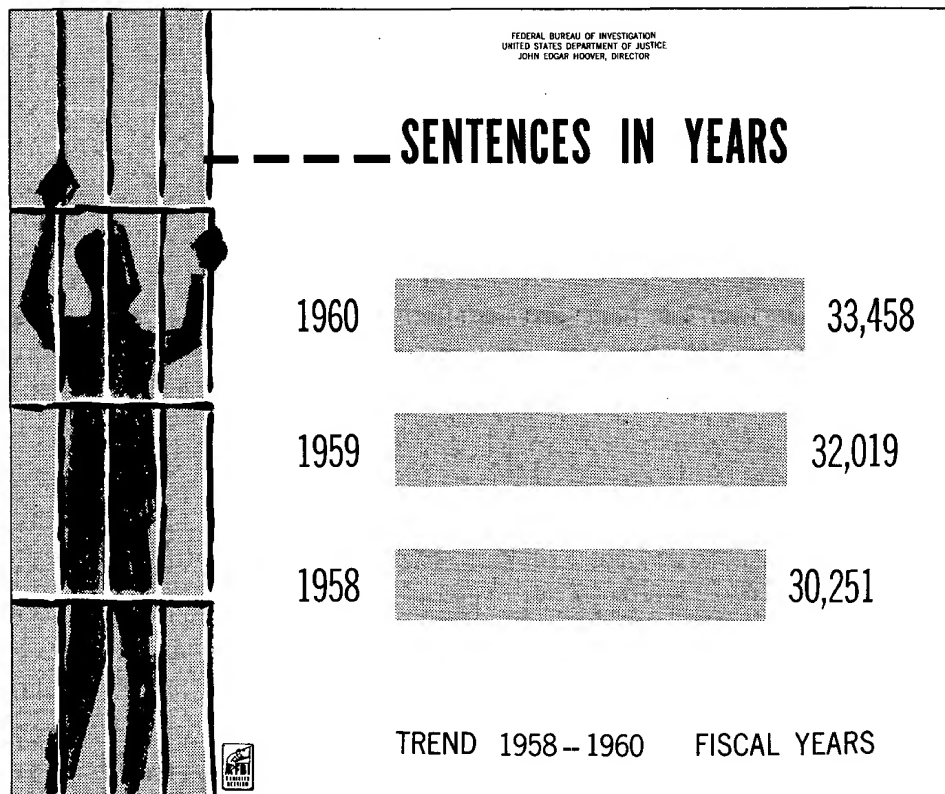


SENTENCES IMPOSED

Actual, suspended and probationary sentences imposed in these cases totaled 33,458 years, or 1,439 years in excess of those recorded for the similar period in 1959. An additional eight terms of life imprisonment resulted from these convictions.

I hand to the committee a chart which portrays the accomplishments in this particular field.

(The chart referred to follows:)

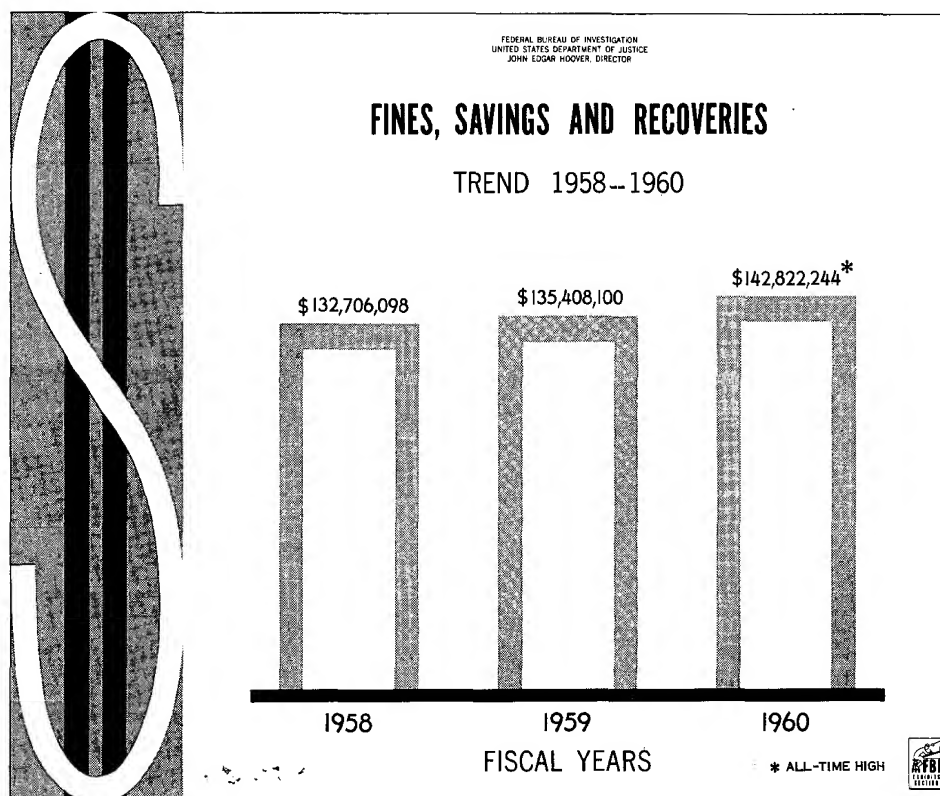


FINES, SAVINGS, AND RECOVERIES

During the fiscal year 1960, fines, savings, and recoveries in FBI-investigated cases totaled \$142,822,244, the highest ever achieved by our organization. This is \$7,414,144 more than the previous alltime high recorded in 1959.

I submit to the committee a chart which portrays this achievement graphically.

(The chart referred to follows:)



These monetary accomplishments represent a return of \$28,222,244 in excess of funds appropriated to operate the FBI during 1960, or the equivalent of \$1.25 returned to the taxpayers of the country for each dollar expended by the FBI.

FBI FUGITIVES LOCATED

Nine thousand five hundred and twenty-seven FBI fugitives were located during the fiscal year 1960, an increase of 437 over 1959.

Included among the fleeing criminals located by the Bureau were 16 members of the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives" list as well as 1,361 criminals, another alltime record, whose apprehensions were being sought at the request of either State or local authorities after they had fled State lines to avoid prosecution, custody, or confinement in violation of the Fugitive Felon Act.

ROLE OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

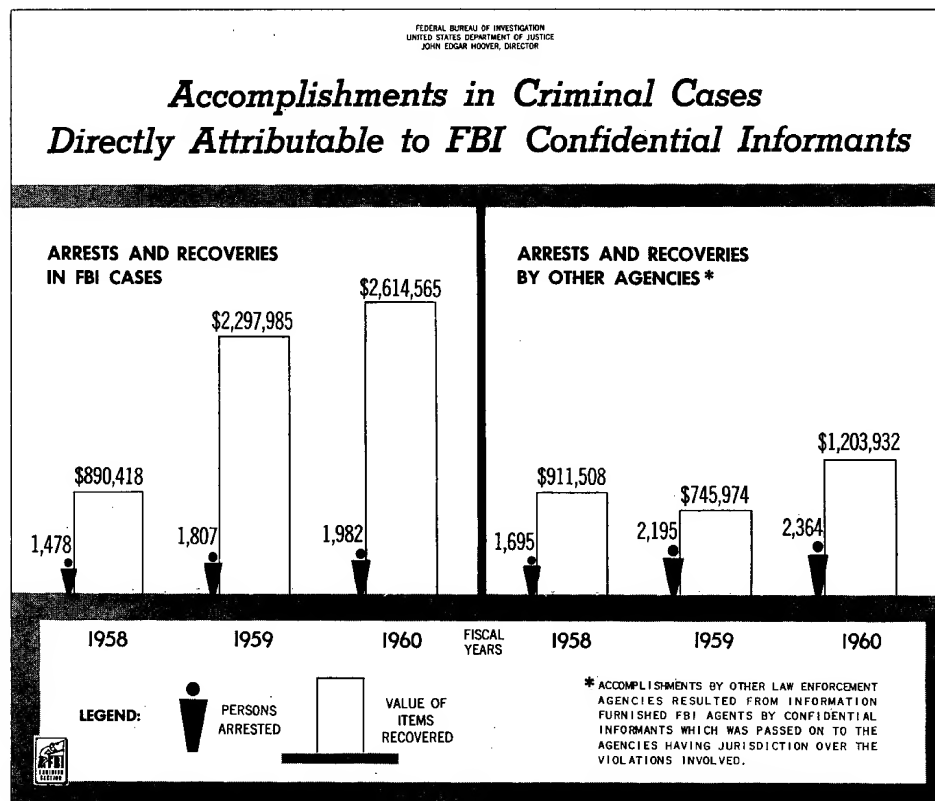
Many of the FBI's accomplishments during the fiscal year 1960 can be directly attributed to information received from its confidential informants. Data furnished by these sources regarding violations within the Bureau's jurisdiction resulted in the arrests of 1,982

persons and in the recovery of stolen and contraband merchandise valued at \$2,614,565.

In addition, data received by the FBI from its informants, concerning matters within the investigative jurisdiction of local, State, and other Federal law-enforcement organizations, led to an additional 2,364 arrests and recoveries totaling \$1,203,932 by those agencies, after the Bureau had disseminated the information to them.

I hand to the committee a chart showing this accomplishment in the criminal field for the past 3 years.

(The chart referred to follows:)



DISSEMINATION OF CRIMINAL INFORMATION

Cooperation, which is the backbone of effective law enforcement, is the leading weapon, in my estimation, against crime. As a result of the high degree of cooperation in American law enforcement, there is an extensive exchange of criminal intelligence data between the FBI and other law-enforcement agencies—Federal, State, and local—on a day-to-day basis.

During the first 7 months of the fiscal year 1961, the FBI disseminated 56,531 items of criminal information.

Of this total of 56,531 items which were disseminated, 36,372 items were disseminated to local and State law-enforcement agencies and 20,159 items were sent to other Federal investigative agencies.

I stress this cooperative effort because there is a very small group in this country which is campaigning for the formation of a central clearinghouse for the dissemination of criminal information. As can be seen, an effective program is in operation today.

The FBI obtains a tremendous reservoir of data relating to criminal activities through daily contact with individuals from all walks of life, including confidential informants, sources of information, complainants, victims in criminal cases and the like. Information pertaining to other law-enforcement agencies is promptly disseminated, thus enabling local authorities to handle their cases at the local level. Similarly, thousands of items of information pertinent to FBI investigations are received each month from police officers and other Federal agencies throughout the country.

Mr. ROONEY. May I interpolate a question at this point, Mr. Director? With regard to the chart, "Accomplishments in Criminal Cases Directly Attributable to FBI Confidential Informants," one-half of it pertains to arrests and recoveries by other agencies, and you refer to them as "other law enforcement agencies." Are these Federal agencies or all law enforcement agencies?

Mr. HOOVER. They are local, State, and Federal. I think the chart points up, Mr. Chairman, the fact that there is nationwide cooperation and coordination.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. This effective exchange of criminal intelligence information between the FBI and other law enforcement agencies clearly demonstrates the lack of necessity for the establishment of a Federal Crime Commission or national clearinghouse for criminal data, which some persons support. Law enforcement today is efficiently performing the functions and activities which are being proposed by advocates of a National Crime Commission.

FBI dissemination of criminal information is made through our 55 field divisions. It is immediate and direct. There is no delay, distortion, misuse or misinterpretation of the information as conceivably would result if it had to pass first through a national clearinghouse before being disseminated to the appropriate law enforcement agency.

I also want to point out that we make no attempt to evaluate the information we disseminate. We protect the identity of the source furnishing the information upon his request, and we advise the receiving agency only of the degree of reliability of the source, if it is known. We make no "follow-up" to determine what action is taken with respect to alleged violations, since to do so would place the FBI in the role of a "watchdog" or supervising agency over other investigative groups, to which I am opposed.

America's compact network of State and local law enforcement agencies traditionally has been the Nation's first line of defense against crime. Nothing could be more dangerous to our democratic ideals than the establishment of an all-powerful agency on the Federal scene.

Many persons are not aware of the excellent cooperation which exists among law-enforcement agencies. In June of 1960, we prepared a booklet which I hand to the committee, entitled "Cooperation—The Backbone of Effective Law Enforcement," for the purpose of showing the extent and effectiveness of mutual assistance in the fight against crime. To date, we have distributed over 90,000 copies of this booklet.

IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

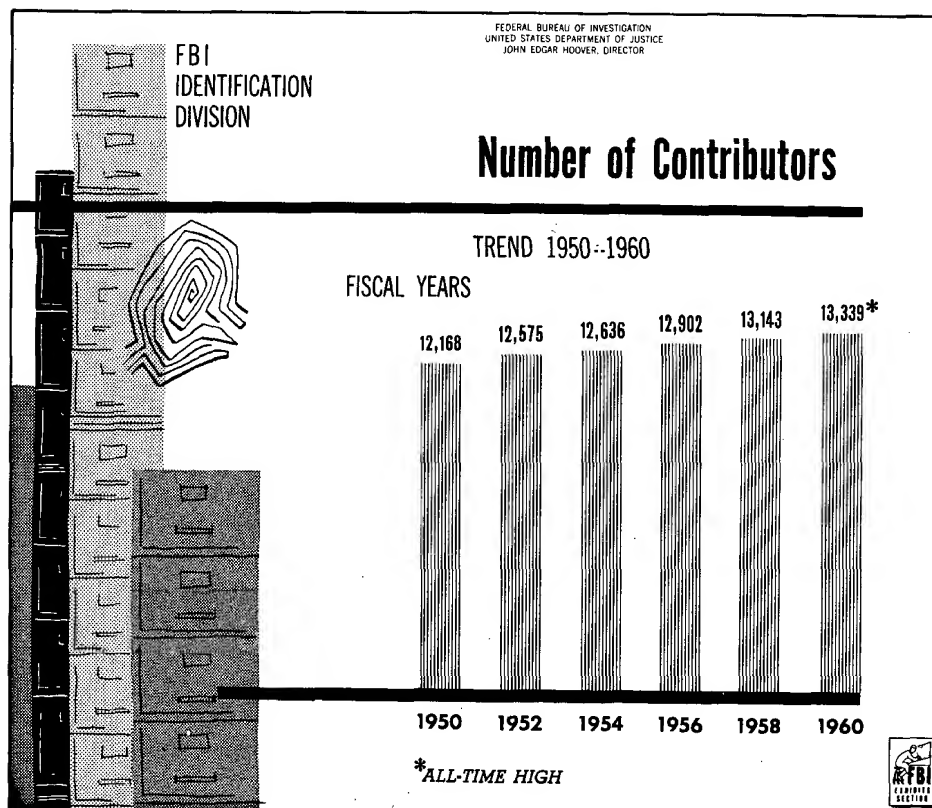
I shall briefly discuss the work of our Identification Division. We are not requesting any increase in our available fingerprint staff.

Established by act of Congress on July 1, 1924, the FBI's Identification Division has grown to be one of the most productive tools of the law-enforcement profession. Its files are international in scope.

Fingerprint data appearing in this national repository are exchanged, on a cost-free basis, with local, State, and Federal law-enforcement organizations throughout the country. It functions strictly as a service agency and has created a closely knit coalition of all levels of law enforcement.

The splendid cooperation which now exists in the exchange of this vital fingerprint data is reflected in the increasing number of contributing agencies, from a nucleus of 987 contributors in 1924, to a total of 13,339 contributors throughout the world in 1960. This figure, incidentally, set a record alltime high. I present to the chairman a chart portraying this graphically.

(The chart referred to follows:)



Today, receipts from all sources average 21,700 sets of fingerprints daily.

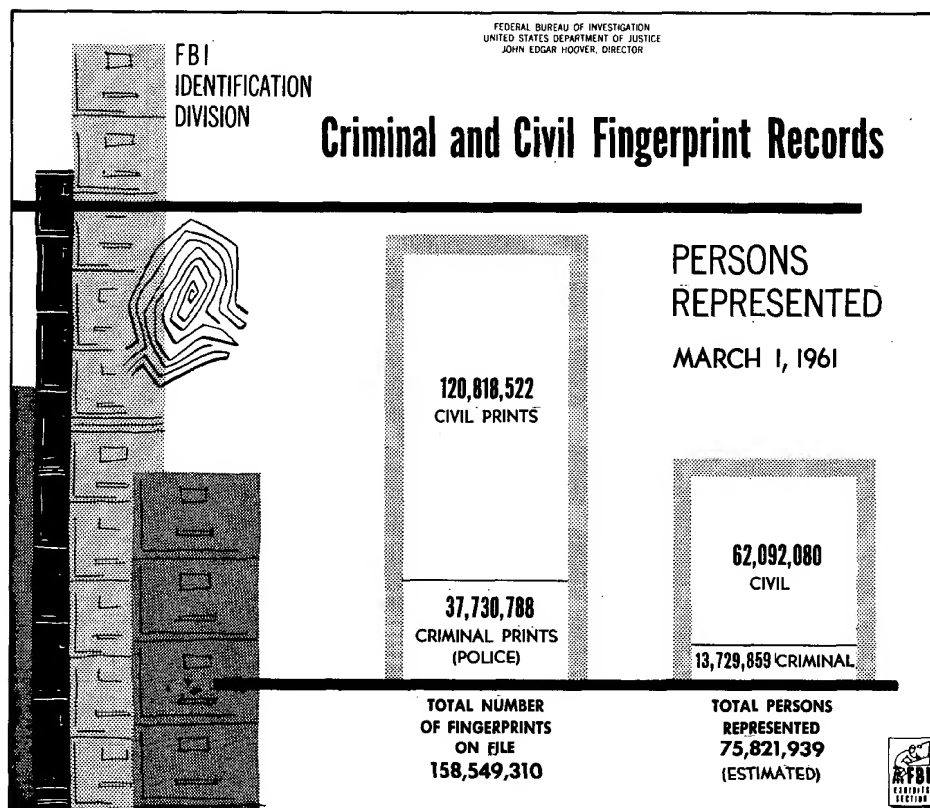
We now have 158,549,310 sets of fingerprints on file. They are segregated into two main classifications: criminal and civil.

Police prints on file total 37,730,788 and represent an estimated 13,729,859 persons.

The 120,818,522 civil prints represent an estimated 62,092,080 persons.

This chart will enable the committee to note the size of the criminal and civil files of this Division.

(The chart referred to follows:)

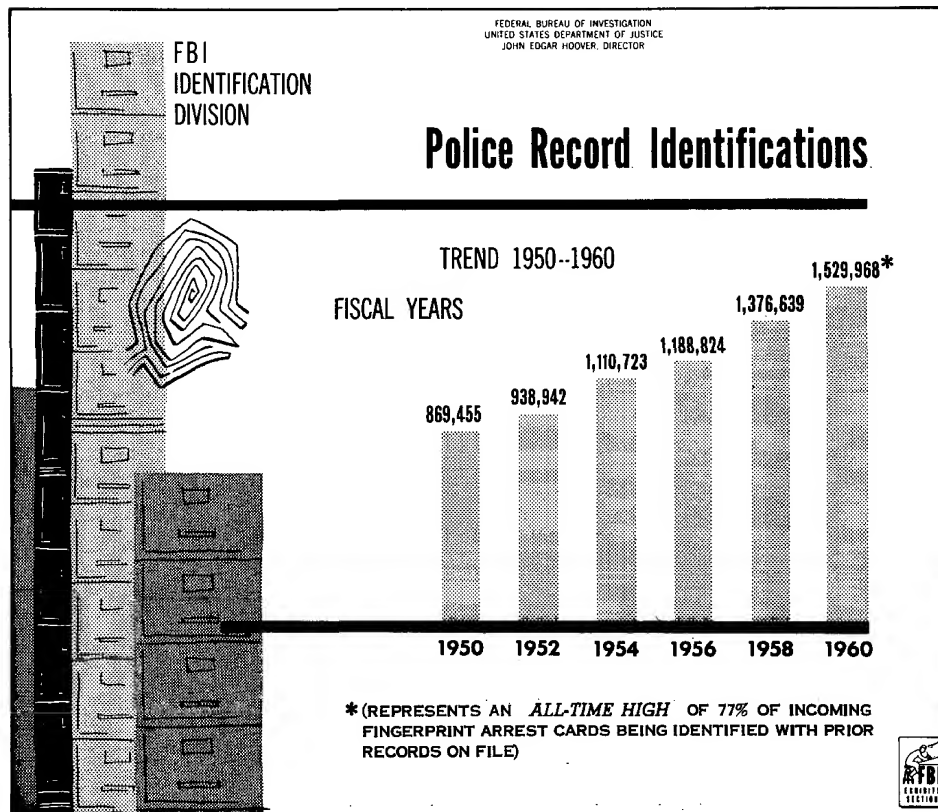


POLICE RECORD IDENTIFICATION

Perhaps the most accurate gage of the effectiveness of these files is the increasing number of identifications made with police prints received.

During 1925, when less than a million prints were on file, approximately 22 percent of all police arrest records received by the FBI were identified. In the fiscal year 1960, 77 percent of all such police prints handled by us were identified with prior police records on file. This set another alltime high and represents a remarkable achievement.

I hand the committee a chart which graphically shows the growth of this accomplishment over the years.
(The chart referred to follows:)



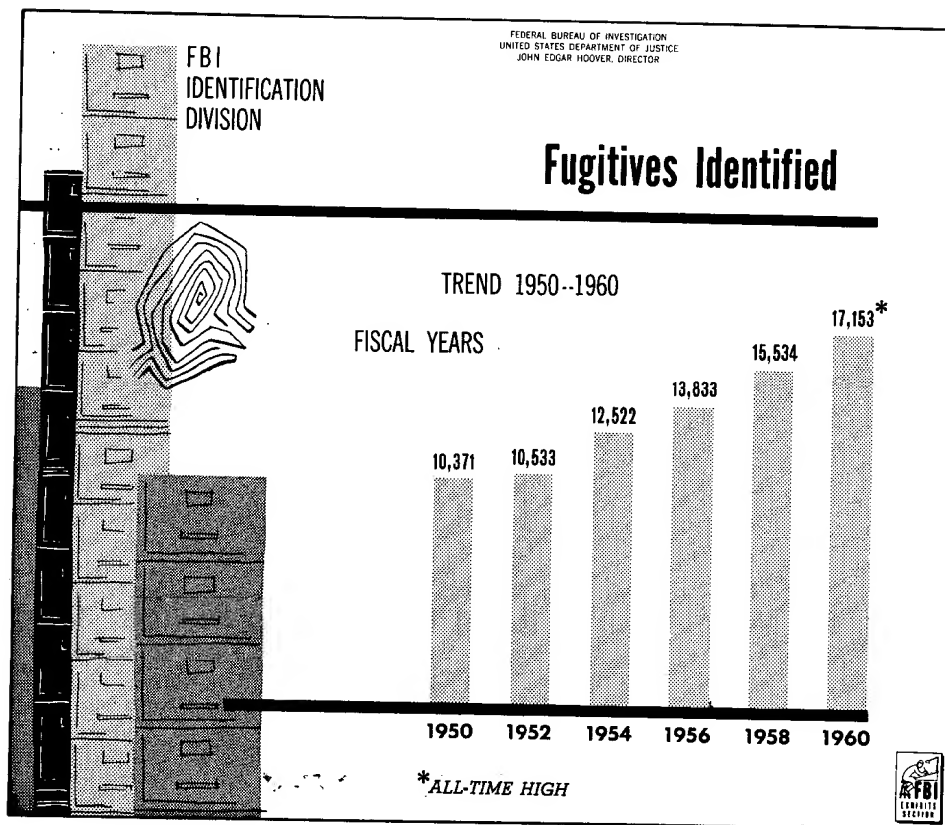
FUGITIVES IDENTIFIED

There were 17,153 fugitives from justice identified by fingerprint searches during the last fiscal year, again the highest on record to date. This amazing figure reflects an average of 47 fugitive identifications each day throughout the entire year.

Here again, many of these dangerous criminals might have forever avoided the consequences of their crimes were it not for the Identification Division and the excellent cooperation that it receives from the nationwide law-enforcement groups.

This chart depicts our accomplishments in this category over the past 10 years.

(The chart referred to follows:)



"WANTED" NOTICES

I want to point out to the committee that over 88,000 "wanted" notices are posted in the FBI's criminal fingerprint file against the prints of persons being sought as fugitives. I think this clearly demonstrates the great value placed upon our fingerprint facilities by the law enforcement profession. Deprived of this modern technique, even the most efficient police organization would soon find itself paralyzed. In this sense, fingerprints can properly be called the lifeblood of police work.

The availability of this cooperative service has resulted in untold savings of time and investigative effort on the part of local and Federal police officers.

LATENT FINGERPRINTS

Our Identification Division is frequently called upon to conduct examinations of latent or fragmentary fingerprints or palmprints developed at the scenes of crimes.

Last year the fingerprints of suspects in 627 criminal cases were identified with latent impressions developed on various items of evidence.

This service provides law enforcement authorities with a remarkably effective investigative aid. Its importance is admirably illustrated in a crime which occurred near Ashland, Ala., on October 2, 1960. In this instance, the local authorities were confronted with the murder of three women in that area.

Local opinion centered on the estranged husband of one of the victims as the most logical suspect, making it necessary for the authorities to take him into protective custody.

Local police officers delivered to our headquarters the lifts of latent prints that had been found at the murder scene, as well as fingerprints and palm prints of numerous individuals they had under suspicion.

Among the latent prints submitted was a palm print in blood which was identified by the FBI as that of a 14-year-old relative of the victims. This information was immediately furnished to the local authorities, and when the boy was confronted with the evidence he at once confessed. The man being held in protective custody was released, as he had no part in the crime.

IDENTIFICATION OF UNKNOWN DEAD

The Identification Division performs a very valuable service in the identification of persons for noncriminal, humanitarian purposes. This Division renders assistance in civil fingerprint matters by participating in the identification of prints of deceased persons whose identities are unknown by contributing agencies.

These include war casualties, suicides, deaths by drowning, and victims of major disasters such as floods, hurricanes, fires, airplane crashes, shipwrecks, and other types of violent deaths.

During last year the fingerprints of 1,383 unknown dead were received by the FBI, and of this number, 64 percent were identified with prints on file.

FBI DISASTER SQUAD

In 1940, the FBI established a Disaster Squad composed of highly specialized fingerprint identification experts who, upon the request of proper authorities, are immediately dispatched to the scene of a major catastrophe or disaster.

During the fiscal year 1960, members of this team were dispatched to the scenes of eight air crashes, and also handled the identification of the victims of the crash of a Navy plane at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The bodies of the victims of this crash were brought to the United States for processing.

The Belgian Government recently requested the assistance of our Disaster Squad in identifying the victims of the Sabena Airlines jet plane which crashed near Brussels, Belgium, on February 15, 1961. All 72 persons aboard, of whom 49 were American citizens, including 18 members of the U.S. figure skating team, perished in that crash. Our Disaster Squad, which went to Belgium at the request of the Belgian Government, identified 38 of the American victims and 1 Canadian citizen. The other 11 American victims had been identified by Belgian authorities prior to the arrival of our Disaster Squad.

TRAINING AND INSPECTION DIVISION

Our Training and Inspection Division is charged with the supervision of all training programs and an adequate inspection system for the FBI. Upon request, it assists in the training of police officers of other duly authorized law-enforcement organizations throughout the Nation free of charge. We in the FBI have always held to the view that in law enforcement, as in other professions, training is a "must."

NEW AGENTS' TRAINING

Our training standards are strict and are designed to promote efficiency and economy in operations. Exacting entrance requirements, close supervision, and a stringent code of personal and official conduct lay the basic foundation for the indoctrination of all of our new special agents.

Prior to appointment, a thorough character, fitness, and background investigation is conducted.

All newly appointed agents receive an intensive 13 weeks' training course in Washington, D.C., at our FBI Academy and firearms ranges on the U.S. Marine Corps base at Quantico, Va. These courses embrace a study of over 160 Federal matters within the Bureau's primary investigative jurisdiction.

Our investigative staff literally represents a cross section of the entire Nation. Those now in the service have attended over 750 colleges and universities. They have come from all walks of life. They have made a living, or acquired some degree of proficiency, in 224 businesses and professions, 58 trades or crafts, and 30 separate fields of science.

TRAINING IN CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS

For more than a quarter century, we have maintained in the FBI training program a comprehensive indoctrination course on all phases of our work and more particularly on the handling of civil rights matters in an objective and penetrating manner. In addition, we have had conferences of our personnel dealing with civil rights matters at Washington D.C. In many local areas of the country we have met with chiefs of police, sheriffs, and other law-enforcement officers to cover the jurisdiction of the FBI in civil rights matters.

INSPECTION PROGRAM

Over the years we have had various programs of inspection and planning, both at the seat of government and in the field. The inspections are factual and constructive. Each of the 55 field divisions of the Bureau is inspected at least once a year. The ultimate goal is the improvement of management and investigative practices and the reduction of operating costs. They also serve as a guide for spotlighting outstanding agents and employees worthy of meritorious advance in the service.

FBI NATIONAL ACADEMY

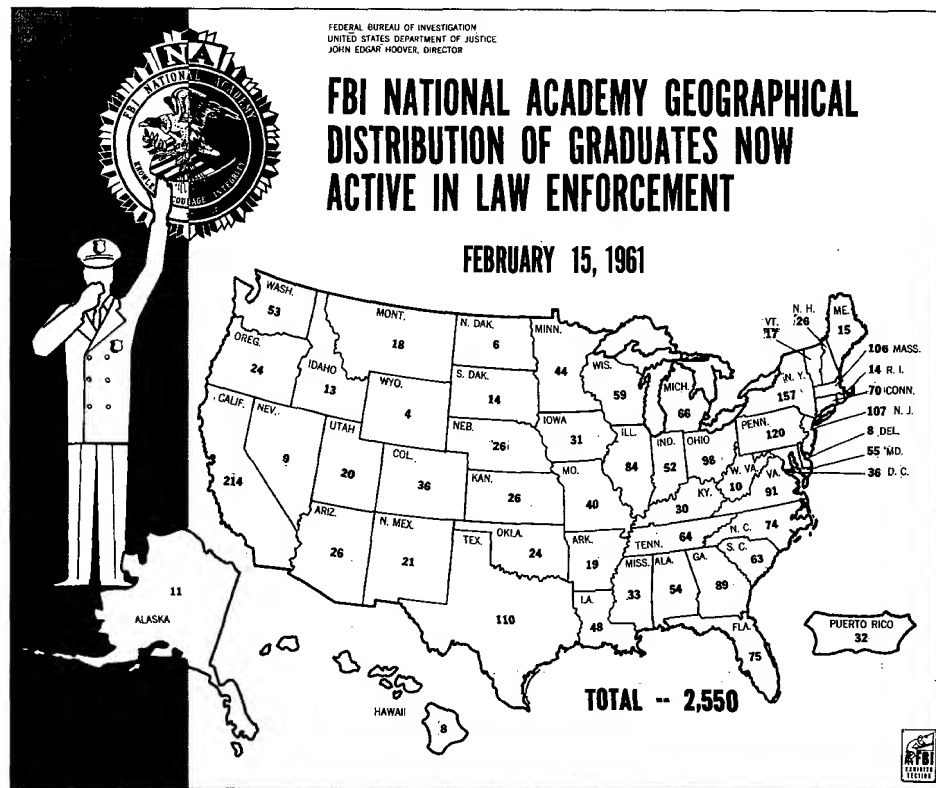
As a cooperative measure, the Bureau conducts an extensive 12 weeks' training course for the benefit of municipal, county, State, and Federal law-enforcement agencies. The FBI National Academy celebrated its 25th anniversary last July. It was of course originated in an era of syndicated crime and organized lawlessness. The Silver Anniversary of its founding marks a significant milestone in the development of law enforcement as a career service.

The 66th session of the FBI National Academy with 65 officers in attendance was graduated last November, and brought the total number of graduates of the Academy to 3,943. These graduates came from every State in the Union and from such diverse foreign agencies as New Scotland Yard, the Philippine Constabulary, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

More than 28 percent of the graduates now actively engaged in law enforcement occupy positions as the executive heads of their respective organizations. The Academy now numbers among its alumni 614 chiefs of police, 97 sheriffs, 15 heads of State police organizations, and 22 others holding positions as heads of their agencies.

The chart which I hand to you shows the geographical distribution of those graduates who are now actively engaged in law enforcement in the United States and Puerto Rico.

(The chart referred to follows:)



In response to repeated requests, we have prepared a booklet entitled "The Story of the FBI National Academy," which embodies information regarding training curriculums and the basic requirements necessary to qualify for attendance at the Academy. I may add that we have a substantial waiting list of local law enforcement officers who are desirous of entering the Academy. We have two classes a year, averaging about 60 persons each. So we can accept in the course of a year only a small number of the local law enforcement officers who wish to attend.

LOCAL POLICE SCHOOLS

During the fiscal year 1960, the FBI participated, upon request of local authorities, in 3,115 police training schools throughout the United States at the local level.

FBI REGIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT CONFERENCES

Regional law enforcement conferences are also sponsored annually throughout the United States and complement our overall training program.

During 1960 a series of 197 FBI regional conferences were held to combat the pressing auto theft problem. They were attended by 13,036 persons representing 5,014 law enforcement agencies, motor vehicle bureaus, and other interested groups.

FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN

I submit a publication which the Bureau has issued each month over the course of years, entitled "FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin." It contains timely articles dealing with crime, crime prevention, and law enforcement problems.

"THE STORY OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION"

Another booklet which the Bureau has published over the years is entitled "The Story of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." The original suggestion for this booklet came from this committee some years ago when I appeared before it. It contains a brief digest of the background, activities, and accomplishments of the Bureau.

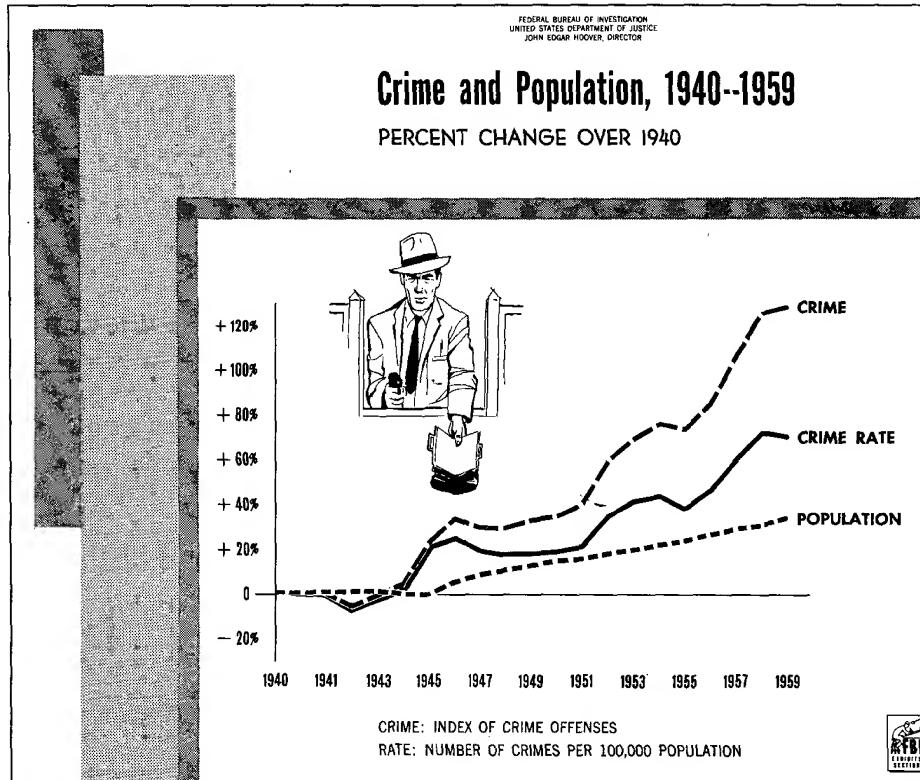
It has served a very useful purpose. We have many requests for it from youth groups, educational institutions, civic organizations, students, and other sources. To date, we have distributed over 715,000 copies of this booklet.

NATIONAL CRIME TRENDS

The committee has always expressed a substantial interest in national crime trends.

During the calendar year 1959, based on reports from the Nation's police, an estimated 1,592,160 serious crimes were committed in this country. For a number of years, crime has been rising four times as fast as the population.

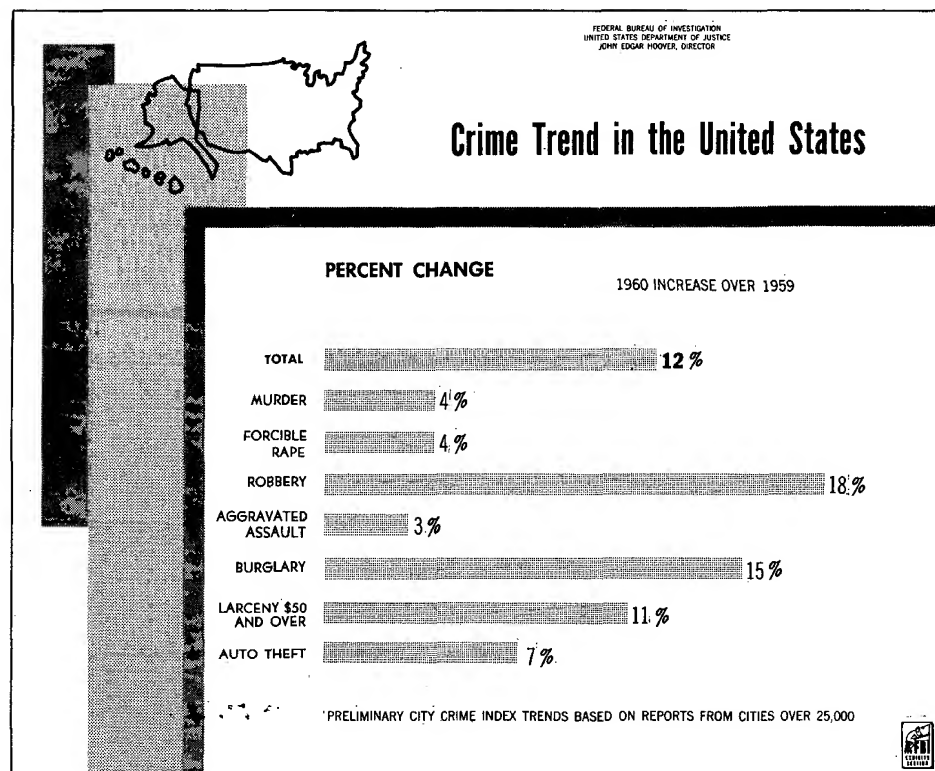
I hand to the committee a chart which shows the growth of crime and the growth of population over the years from 1940 through 1959.
(The chart referred to follows:)



Preliminary figures for the last calendar year, 1960, reflected a 12 percent increase in crime over 1959. This is a shocking situation when we realize that the year 1959 registered a record-high volume. Each major crime classification showed an increase in 1960. Robberies, which were up 18 percent, reflected the highest increase. Burglaries followed with a 15 percent rise, while larcenies over \$50 rose 11 percent. Auto thefts surged upward 7 percent, forcible rapes and murders increased 4 percent, and aggravated assaults rose 3 percent.

I present a chart showing the sharp rise in crime in the United States in 1960.

(The chart referred to follows:)



CRIME HIGHLIGHTS

A most astounding factor prevailing today is the public apathy of many of our citizens toward crime. Unless they are directly affected by a particular crime, all too often they have a more or less detached and indifferent attitude. Occasionally, a brutal crime will arouse only a morbid curiosity or mild sympathy for the victims rather than vigorous support and assistance to the authorities which are so necessary.

Crime, of course, as we well know, can strike anywhere at any time. Each day throughout the calendar year 1959, an estimated 24 persons were feloniously slain; 328 were victims of aggravated assault; an average of 41 forcible rapes were committed; 196 robberies and 1,105 larcenies over \$50 occurred; 1,879 burglaries were perpetrated and 790 automobiles were stolen.

COST OF CRIME

The estimated cost of crime for 1959 was a fantastic total of \$22 billion, an amount equivalent to \$128 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. For every \$1 spent on education, \$1.11 goes to crime. For every \$1 contributed to religious organizations, crime costs the citizens of our Nation \$9.

FACTORS AFFECTING CRIME TREND

While the population increase is one of the factors to be considered in the rising tide of crime, in reality we can trace our increasing crime rates today primarily to two malignant conditions—public apathy and moral deterioration or decay of our population.

Public apathy is a dangerous condition which attacks man's sensitivity to the difference between right and wrong. As long as our citizens insist upon the attitude of self-indulgence and adherence to the principle of pleasure before duty, the effectiveness of combating crime is seriously weakened.

The rising crime rate is ample evidence of the unfortunate spread of moral deterioration among the growing segments of our population. This condition not only exists within the criminal element itself, but has also corrupted millions of our Nation's citizens who are willing to compromise their ideals if an easy dollar can be made. We also can see this condition at work in everyday life where a citizen will obey the law himself, but will also passively tolerate immorality and disrespect for authority within his own community.

Many other factors have contributed to the ever-increasing crime problem which faces our Nation today. There are needless legal technicalities and delays in the administration of justice, as well as unscrupulous persons who constantly seek loopholes in the law in an effort to hamstring honest law enforcement or delay it. In some areas, there exists an overprotective attitude toward young offenders who, were they adults, would be viewed as vicious hoodlums.

Until the Nation's citizens rectify the basic weaknesses in their own moral attitudes, efficient law enforcement must continue to work under a distinct handicap.

The American public must lend assistance to all law enforcement if we are to stem the rising tide of crime. To point up what the public can do, we have designed and distributed a poster which has been made available without cost to law-enforcement agencies, civic and service organizations and other groups interested in striking back at criminality. This, of course, is but one method of fighting this

evil which hangs ominously over the well-being of all of our American citizens.

(The poster referred to follows:)



What you can do to fight...



C
R
I
M
E

CONSTANTLY OBEY ALL LAWS

REPORT TO PROPER AUTHORITIES INFORMATION YOU HAVE ABOUT ANY CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

INSIST ON GOOD GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS

MAKE YOUR INFLUENCE FELT IN SUPPORT OF ADEQUATE PAY, TRAINING AND FACILITIES FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

EDUCATE YOUR CHILDREN TO RESPECT LAW AND ORDER



J. Edgar Hoover, Director
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**LAWS PROTECT YOU...
HELP ENFORCE THEM!**

YOUTHFUL CRIMINALITY

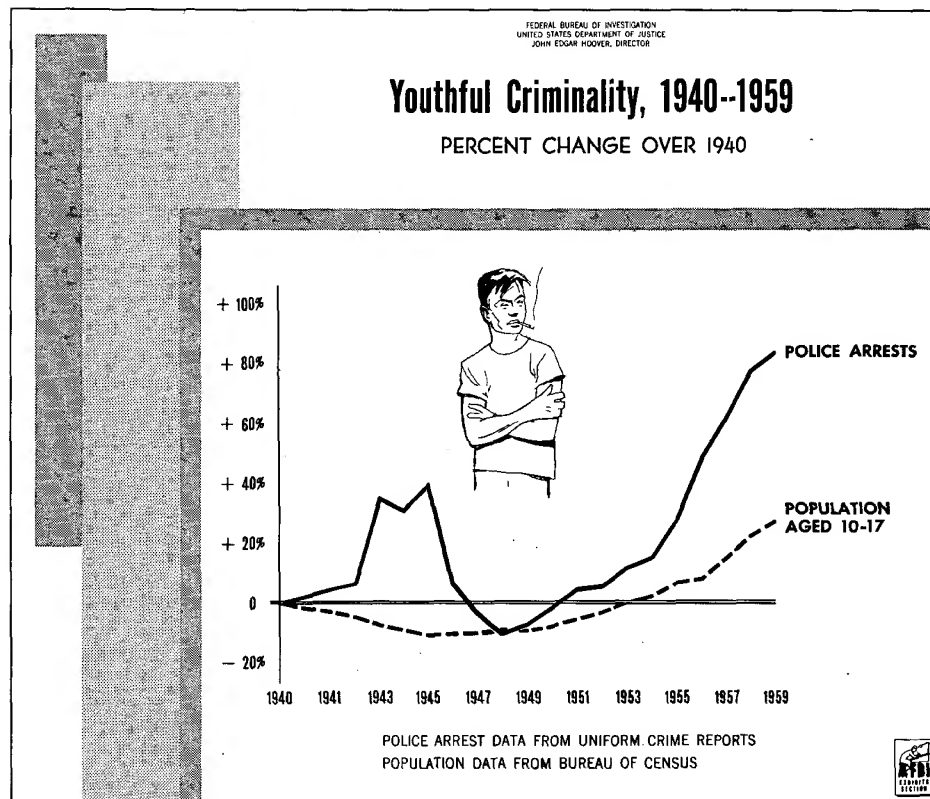
A tragic and terrifying consequence of our society today is the spiraling wave of youthful lawlessness across the Nation. Youth crimes have increased not only in number, but also in their viciousness. These offenders have shown a wanton disregard for life and property, and on occasion have openly jeered at officials that "you are wasting your time arresting us."

This upsurge of youthful criminality has grown alarmingly during the last several years. Since 1948, arrests of our youth have more than doubled, while the population of our young people has increased by less than one-half.

By directly comparing percentages of the rise in police arrests and the growth in the young population, we find that juvenile arrests have increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as fast. Pinpointing this situation further is a comparison of adults with juveniles. Here we find that arrests of young persons during the period 1948-59 have increased six times as fast as arrests of persons who have reached their 18th birthday.

I show the committee a chart which graphically portrays the shocking increase of youthful criminality from 1940 to 1959 compared with the youthful population growth.

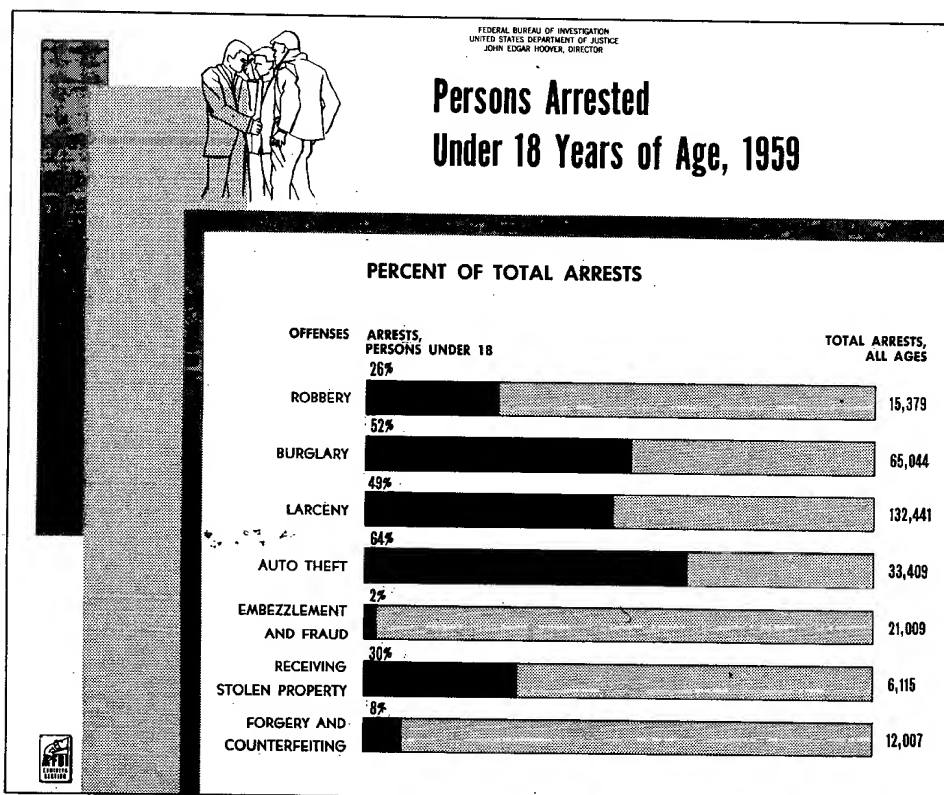
(The chart referred to follows:)



One has only to look at the record of arrests during 1959 to see that the arrests of youths were disproportionately high in certain crimes. Although, on an overall basis, youths under 18 represented only 12 percent of all arrests, they were the subject of 64 percent of the arrests for all auto thefts, 49 percent of all larceny arrests, and 52 percent of all burglary arrests. They also accounted for 26 percent of all arrests for robbery and 30 percent of those arrested for receiving or possessing stolen property.

This chart shows the sorry part our young people have played in building the arrest record in crimes against property.

(The chart referred to follows:)



These, Mr. Chairman, are serious offenses and, as in the case of robbery, are frequently committed with violence to the victim.

Percentagewise, the participation of our young people in vicious crimes against the person tends to be misleading, but cold figures reveal a sordid picture.

During 1959, an estimated 18,000 persons under 18 years of age were arrested for murder, assault with weapons, forcible rape, and strong-armed robbery.

Preliminary arrest trends reveal no letup in 1960. Based on reports from police and sheriffs, arrests of young persons under 18 years of age increased 6 percent in 1960 over 1959. During the same period, adult arrests were up only 2 percent.

There is still evidence in our Nation of a disparaging and mercenary attitude on the part of a small group of opportunists in the advertising and entertainment fields who are weakening the moral fiber of American youth. Our youth are literally bombarded with vulgar motion picture advertisements in some newspapers. Movies all too often make good on the provocative promises of these advertisements, and profanity and obscenity are the main ingredients of more and more screen offerings. We can also see the same results of this degeneration on our television screens.

We are also besieged by an ugly brand of parasite who commercializes upon the immature judgment and curiosity of the younger generation. They invade the school playgrounds and juvenile hangouts plying the moral destruction of our children with obscene literature. These purveyors of filth have so flooded the market within the past few years that samples can be found at many neighboring newsstands.

It is the responsibility of each American citizen, as well as the advertising and entertainment executives, to rid the Nation of this very grievous problem. If it is to continue unabated, it will become a seedbed for delinquency among juveniles and depravity among all ages.

PAROLE, PROBATION, AND CLEMENCY ABUSES

One of the gravest problems facing law enforcement is the repeater who has been granted his freedom through loopholes and abuses in our systems of parole, probation, and clemency. I do not question the soundness of the principle of parole, probation, and other forms of clemency, but only offer criticism in the hope of bringing about more effective methods of crime control.

I am deeply opposed to abuses of the system which result in repeated parole, probation, or other clemency being granted to those who give no indication of reformation. There appears today to be a most disturbing trend of an over-zealous pity for the criminal. A man must be held morally and legally responsible for his willful acts, and unwarranted leniency to a proven, hardened criminal cannot be justified. To do so places in jeopardy the lives of countless unwary citizens who by chance might come in contact with him.

Since March 1950, 125 of the 147 dangerous fugitives who have appeared on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives" list were recipients of parole, probation, or other forms of clemency.

In addition, this problem is even more clearly emphasized by the fact that more than 19,200 parole and probation violators are currently listed in the "Fugitive Stop Notices" maintained by the FBI in its Identification Division.

FBI LABORATORY

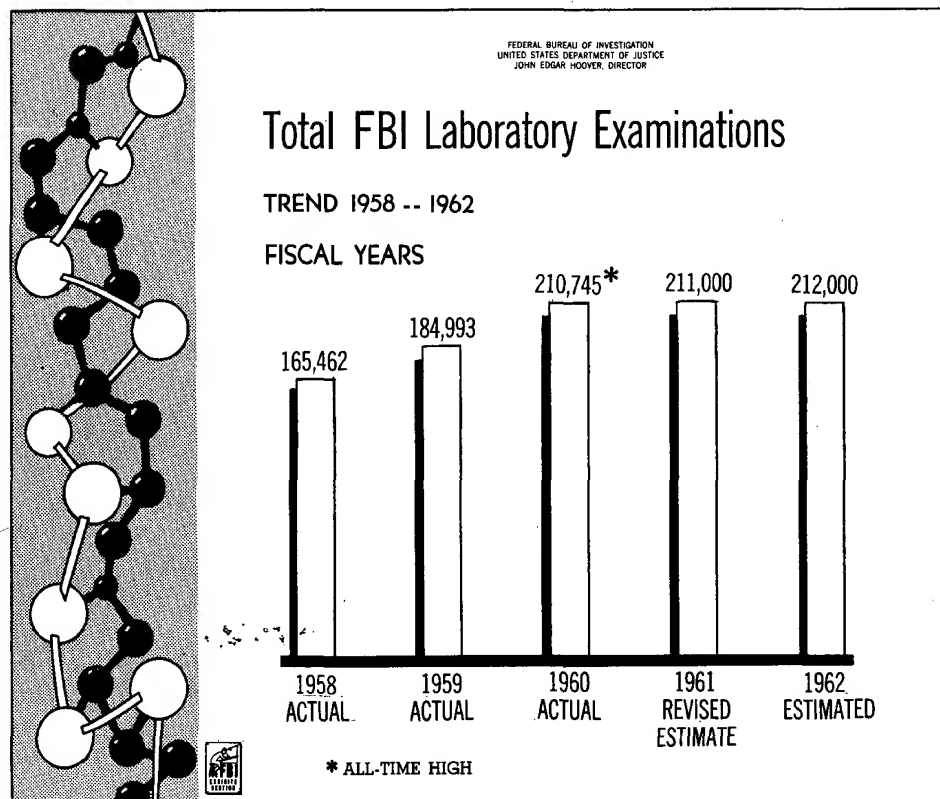
The FBI Laboratory was established on November 24, 1932. It has at its disposal the finest crime detection facilities in the world. Virtually every field of science is utilized in the examination of evidence.

Our Laboratory acts as a national service agency. Its facilities

are available on a cost-free basis to municipal, county, and State law enforcement organizations throughout all parts of the United States.

I submit to the committee a chart which shows the increasing workloads of the Laboratory over a 5-year period. We are not asking for any additional personnel to handle this work.

(The chart referred to follows:)

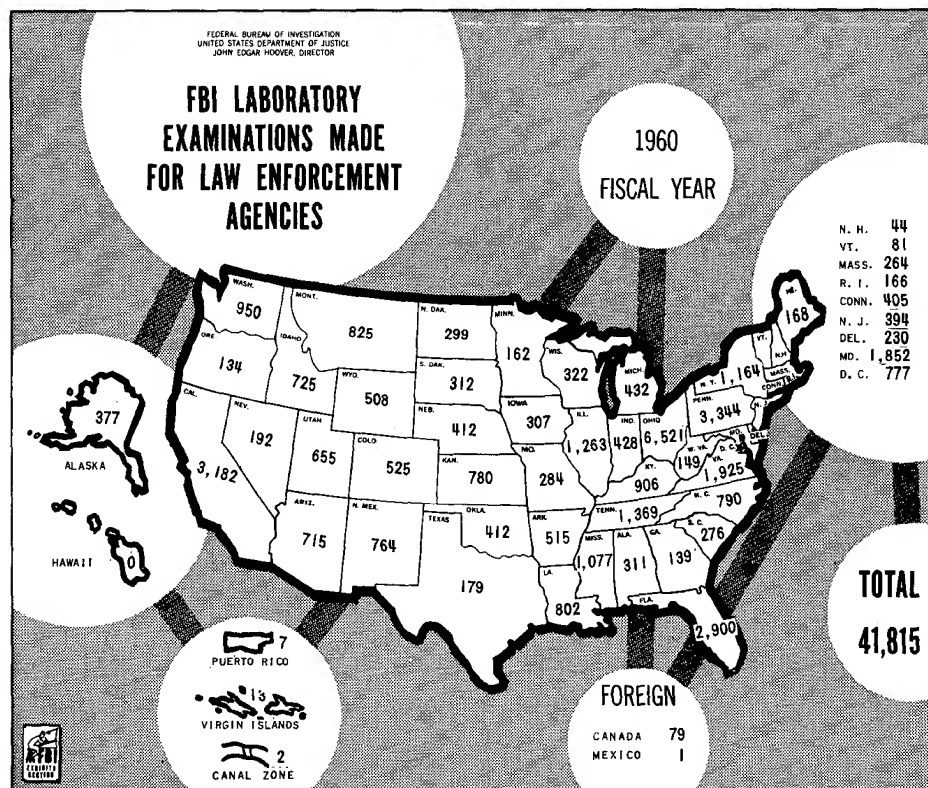


You will notice the Laboratory was called upon to make 210,745 scientific examinations in the fiscal year 1960, which is the highest volume ever received in its 28-year history. Of this number, 22 percent were for sources other than the FBI.

During this same period, FBI Laboratory experts testified in 366 cases concerning their findings.

I present to the committee another chart which shows the number of examinations made for law enforcement agencies by States and clearly reflects the widespread cooperation extended to local authorities.

(The chart referred to follows:)



FIELD INVESTIGATIVE OPERATIONS

Mr. Chairman, I shall now proceed with a discussion of the field investigative operations of the Bureau.

I hand to the committee a chart of our field organizational setup which shows the FBI field offices and the various resident agencies.

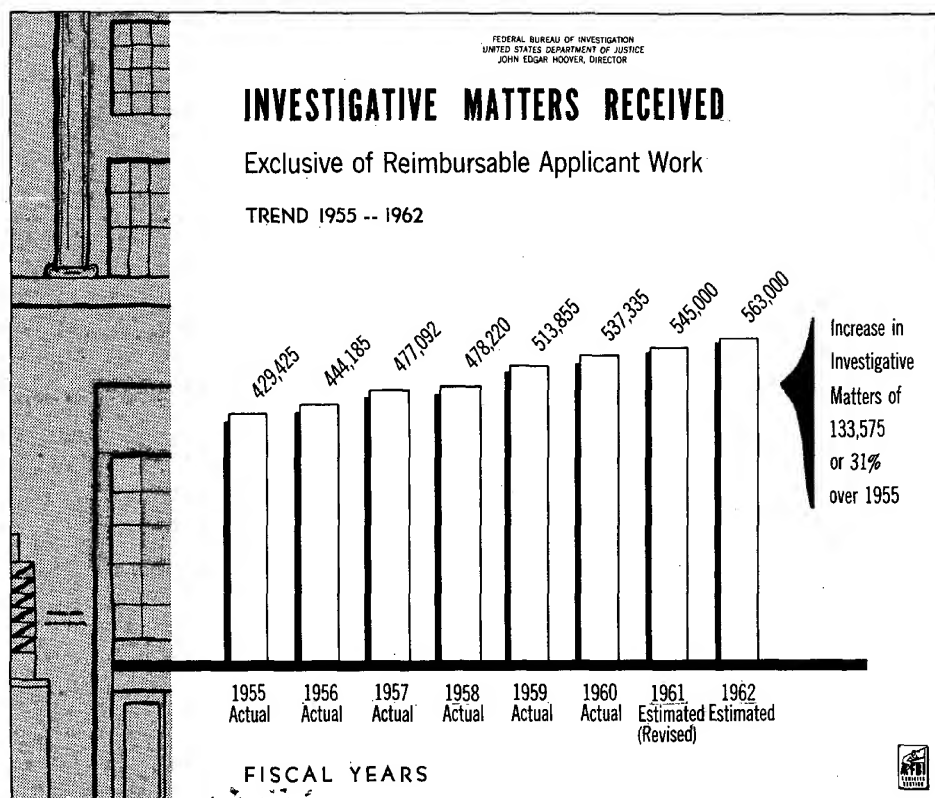
The Bureau now has a total of 55 field offices strategically located in major cities of the United States and in San Juan, P.R. We also maintain resident agencies in some 500 other cities, each of which is under the immediate supervision of a field office. All of the work in the field is coordinated through centralized control by our headquarters' staff in Washington. As I indicated earlier, we recently opened an office at Las Vegas, Nev., and another office in Tampa, Fla.

FIELD INVESTIGATIVE COMMITMENTS

On February 1, 1961, we had pending throughout the entire field service 99,614 investigative matters of all types, of which 6 percent were in a delinquent status. This volume represents an average assignment of 19 matters for each special agent to investigate.

This chart reflects the comparative upward rise in overall investigative receipts since 1955.

(The chart referred to follows:)



OVERTIME

Over the years, the services of FBI employees have consistently exceeded the normal 40-hour workweek. During the fiscal year 1960, for example, the overtime of our investigative staff amounted to an aggregate 3,411,424 hours, an average of 2 hours and 30 minutes per day for each special agent. On a per annum basis, this reflects an additional 72 days of actual work throughout the year shouldered by each investigative employee of the Bureau.

INTERNAL SECURITY OPERATIONS

Since 1939, the Bureau has been vested by Presidential directives with primary responsibility for combating internal enemies of the United States and with the duty of correlating internal security investigations. This authority is nationwide. It embraces investigative jurisdiction over communism, espionage, sabotage, treason, subversion, violations of the Atomic Energy Act, and related domestic intelligence functions.

These initial responsibilities have increased from time to time throughout later years with the enactment of antiradical legislation and similar measures which have been undertaken to strengthen

America's security on the home front.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

I will now review the internal threat posed by the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

As the largest single subversive organization in the United States, the Communist Party, U.S.A., represents a formidable core of conspiratorial Reds. It provides the Kremlin with a vital listening post as well as an instrument on which the Communist tunes may be played for all those who are gullible enough to listen.

At the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in December 1959, outspokenly pro-Soviet elements strengthened their hold on the Party's reins. This convention, which was held behind closed doors, witnessed the election of Gus Hall, a ruthless, militant, Moscow-trained ex-convict, to the post of general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., a position of top influence in the Party today.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., during the past year has stepped up its activities among the youth of our Nation. In addition to their youth work, the Communists devoted considerable effort toward infiltration of our industries and unions, in improving their agitation and propaganda machinery, in exploiting the prevailing international political climate in an effort to make Soviet policies more acceptable to American public opinion, and in rebuilding their influence among all segments of our society.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., has dutifully held to the Soviet line on matters of worldwide interest and importance including the Cuban situation, racial unrest in Africa, and the protests against ratification of the Japanese-American Security Treaty.

EXPLOITATION OF NEGRO SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS

Communist propaganda has always been quick to seize on problems of minority groups. Instances involving the Negro race have been prime targets in this barrage.

The sit-in demonstrations in the South were a made-to-order issue which the Party fully exploited to further its own ends. The Communists first showed an interest in the demonstrations in late February 1960 when James E. Jackson and Joseph North, national Communist Party functionaries, traveled to Richmond, Va., and wrote articles for "The Worker," an east coast Communist weekly newspaper, concerning demonstrations then in progress in Richmond.

Also during early March 1960, Daniel Rubin, national youth director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., visited college campuses in Richmond to obtain statements from students in connection with the demonstrations.

The Communist Party strategy was not to openly advocate picketing, inasmuch as this would tend to expose its members, but rather to get behind the movement by urging college students to take the initiative.

The importance which the Communist Party, U.S.A., has placed on

these demonstrations was sharply brought into focus when Benjamin Davis, the Party's national secretary, told the Party in March 1960 that these demonstrations were considered the next best thing to "proletarian revolution."

COMMUNIST SUBVERSION IN ACTION

Heartened by an atmosphere of continuing public complacency, and encouraged by its successes in invoking every legal technicality to thwart the interests of justice, the Communist Party is today a unified, ambitious, and destructive instrument of subversion operating within our midst. It has shown a brazen defiance and disrespect for America's laws, governmental institutions, and traditions.

Here is an illustration of this Communist instrument of subversion in action:

In May 1960, the House Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled hearings in San Francisco, Calif., to inquire into the activities of the northern California district of the Party. This was an opportunity which the Party had been anxiously anticipating and, when the hearing dates were announced, its machinery was thrown into high gear to infiltrate and exploit protest demonstrations and picket lines to nullify the work of this congressional committee.

A most significant single factor surrounding the mob demonstration was the Communist infiltration of student and youth groups engaged in protest demonstrations against this congressional committee. Through this infiltration, Communists revealed how it is possible for only a few Communist agitators, using mob psychology, to convert peaceful demonstrations into riots.

The success of the Party's strategy was vividly demonstrated by the violence which erupted at the San Francisco City Hall where the committee hearings were held. The San Francisco debacle was not an accident. It was the result of minute and skillful planning, direction and exploitation by a handful of dedicated, fanatical, hardcore members of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

(Discussion off the record.)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

Mr. Hoover. Today, there are Communist parties organized and operating, either legally or illegally, in 86 countries around the world. These parties have a combined membership of over 36 million. Communist parties have already gained control in 17 nations.

The Communist-bloc nations now control approximately one-fourth of the land area of the world and approximately one-third, or 1 billion, of the inhabitants on the face of the globe.

Even in non-Communist nations, there are approximately four million Communist party members dedicated to the overthrow of their existing governments.

The Communist Party of the United States is a vital link in this worldwide conspiracy.

Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to make a short statement off the record.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.
(Discussion off the record.)

FBI COUNTERMEASURES

Mr. HOOVER. I should like to review generally some of our counter-intelligence programs to curb the threat of communism and subversion.

COMMUNIST FRONT GROUPS

The Communists, foreign agents and potential saboteurs operate behind a masquerade of stealth and deception. They are all-out masters in the art of tactical infiltration, a fact which has been clearly demonstrated by our investigative experience.

Some 200 known, or suspected, Communist front and Communist-infiltrated organizations are now under investigation by the FBI. Many of these fronts are national in scope with chapters in various cities throughout the United States. They represent transmission belts through which the Communist Party furthers its conspiratorial designs.

They have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity; youth groups; radio, television, and motion picture industries; church, school, educational and cultural groups; the press; nationality minority groups and civil and political units.

Some celebrated, self-styled pacifists and some men of wealth and prominence have sometimes been unwitting—but sometimes knowing—political skills and stooges of deceitful Communist manipulators.

(Discussion off the record.)

FBI INFORMANT PROGRAMS

Mr. HOOVER. In the conduct of its daily affairs, the Party utilizes maximum security precautions. However, despite the elaborate security measures invoked by the Communist Party, U.S.A., to conceal its conspiratorial operations, it is heartening to report that the FBI has succeeded in penetrating the Party's walls of secrecy to gather irrefutable evidence of Communist lawlessness.

(Discussion off the record.)

ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

Mr. HOOVER. I would like to review our counterespionage and domestic intelligence operations.

The Soviet intelligence services have reorganized, multiplied their contacts with the American people, and have become aggressively bolder in spearheading their espionage offensive against the United States. The intelligence organizations of the satellite countries, carefully coordinated under Soviet leadership and control, have gained increasingly in experience and ability.

The current, widespread ramifications of the Soviet-bloc espionage networks which today extend throughout the entire United States, have indicated a realistic need for a further tightening of our security on the homefront. While the Communists speak of peace, their intelligence setup is the most extensive in world history.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. The espionage potential of the Soviet-bloc is tremendous. The extreme security hazard inherent in their operations is indicated somewhat by the fact that in June 1960, our State Department estimated that Russian and Chinese Communist bloc countries have some 300,000 trained spies serving throughout the world.

SOVIET-BLOC OFFICIAL PERSONNEL IN UNITED STATES

The personnel assigned to Soviet-bloc official establishments in the United States has steadily risen over the years. Consequently, there has been a corresponding strengthening of foreign-directed intelligence activities, since many of these officials are in reality trained espionage and intelligence agents.

(Discussion off the record.)

SOVIET-BLOC ESPIONAGE TARGETS

Mr. HOOVER. Espionage targets of the Soviet-bloc intelligence organizations have no known limitations. Their quest for information has ranged from the seemingly ridiculous to such objectives as clearly reveal their intent of world conquest. Our investigations have disclosed not only the intensity of purpose of the Soviets but their willingness to spend unlimited funds in the achievement of their goal.

Attempts to obtain military, scientific, and technological secrets constitute a massive effort of subversion. Their efforts are directed against all aspects of our national defense effort. Data concerning strategic industrial potential, transportation and communications systems, aircraft production, technical advances in the field of atomic energy, rocket and missile development and other weapons of mass destruction, are assiduously collected by Soviet and satellite agents, many operating with diplomatic immunity from the United Nations in New York and their embassies here in Washington.

(Discussion off the record.)

COLLECTION OF UNCLASSIFIED STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE

Mr. HOOVER. Through subterfuge, deceit, and deliberate circumvention of regulations, the Soviet-bloc officials stationed in the United States have systematically developed one of the best industrial spying systems in the world. One defector has stated that the ease with which data is obtained in the United States has eliminated much of the hazardous and time-consuming clandestine operations which otherwise would be necessary. Another has estimated that the Soviet military attaché's office in the United States is able to obtain legally 95 percent of the material useful for its intelligence objectives and that the Polish military intelligence secures more technical data in the United States than in all of the other countries in the world.

During the period January 1, 1959, to February 1, 1961, Soviet officials attended approximately 141 technical, scientific, or general business conventions and expositions covering such fields as aeronautics, electronics, plastics development, radio, rocketry, and related items of strategic significance.

(Discussion off the record.)

CUBA

Mr. HOOVER. The increasing tension in Cuba has given rise, directly and indirectly, to an extreme expansion in our investigative coverage of Cuban matters in the United States. This was fostered by a deterioration of United States-Cuba relations, the pronounced pro-Soviet and pro-Communist leanings of the Castro regime, the efforts of the Cuban Government to infiltrate foreign-directed spies into the United States and by the continued revolutionary activities of anti-Castro groups, in this country.

LATIN AMERICA

Ramifications of the Cuban situation have been responsible also for greatly accelerated activity among other Latin American exile groups in the United States, particularly those of Dominican, Venezuelan, and Nicaraguan nationals, all of whom have considerable strength in this country.

These developments all have a direct effect on our national security, for which the FBI is responsible.

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE OPERATIONS

Our work in the overall general criminal and civil classifications has reflected a steady upward climb for many years.

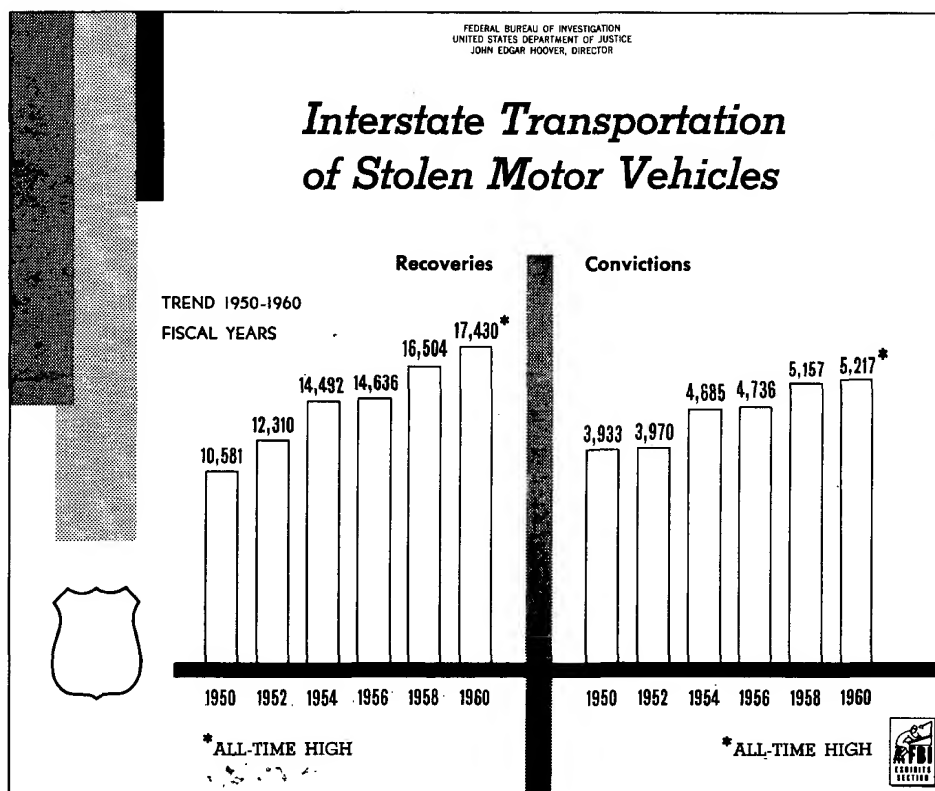
I hand to the committee a listing of the specific increases in major criminal and civil classifications.

AUTOMOBILE THEFTS

Automobile theft ranks foremost as one of the most costly and widespread criminal problems confronting police officers today. During the 1960 fiscal year, 5,217 convictions were recorded and 17,430 stolen automobiles valued at over \$261½ million were recovered in FBI-investigated cases. This was an alltime high.

I submit to the committee a chart which graphically reflects our growing investigative accomplishments in this type of offense over the past decade.

(The chart referred to follows:)



(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. Many FBI investigations involve the activities of widespread interstate and foreign automobile theft rings, operated by highly skilled thieves whose purpose is the resale of stolen cars to innocent purchasers. There has been a marked increase in the number of such cases uncovered by the FBI.

These rings usually come to light through our investigation of what may first appear to be an isolated stolen car case. For example, the disclosure of one such ring grew out of the sale of a late model car at an auto auction in Pennsylvania. This car had been stolen and was found to have an altered motor number. Our ensuing investigation uncovered a car theft ring involving 15 individuals whose depredations extended into 9 States.

We ultimately identified and located a total of 43 cars valued at \$60,000 which had been stolen by this gang.

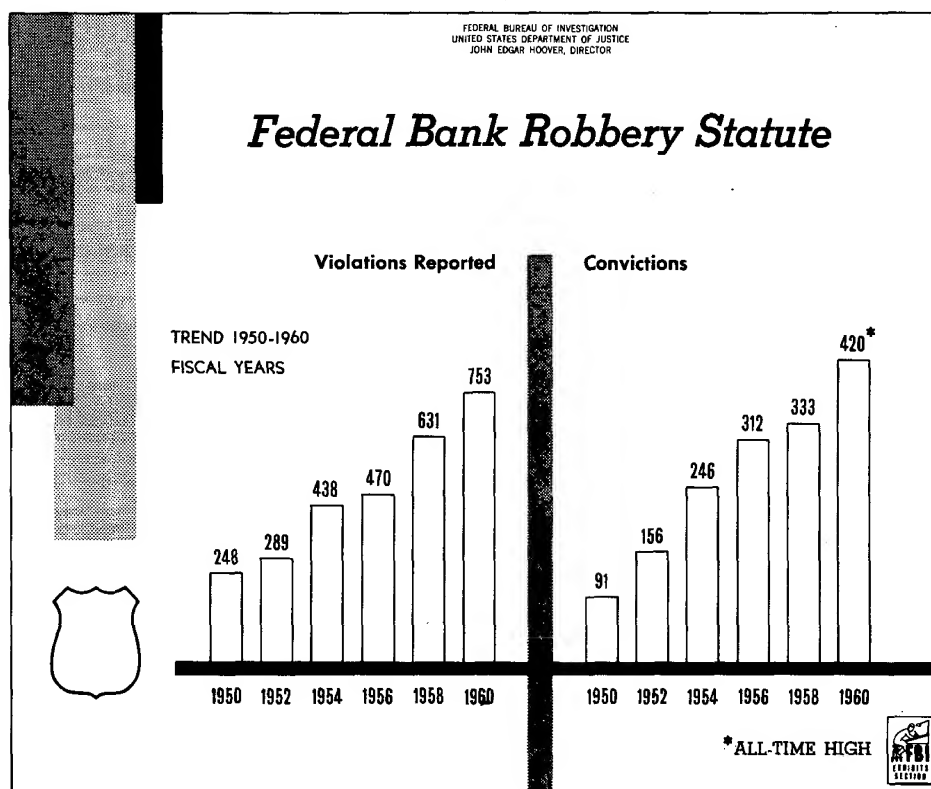
BANK ROBBERIES

The sudden surge in bank robbery violations is another of the more predominant developments in the crime picture today. The fiscal

year 1960 witnessed 753 violations of the Federal bank robbery statute, second only to the alltime peak of 764 recorded during the prior 12 months. Convictions for these crimes rose to 420, the highest number in the 26-year history of this statute.

This exhibit illustrates the rise in bank robbery violations since 1950 and the growing number of convictions resulting from our investigative efforts.

(The chart referred to follows:)



FUGITIVE FELON ACT

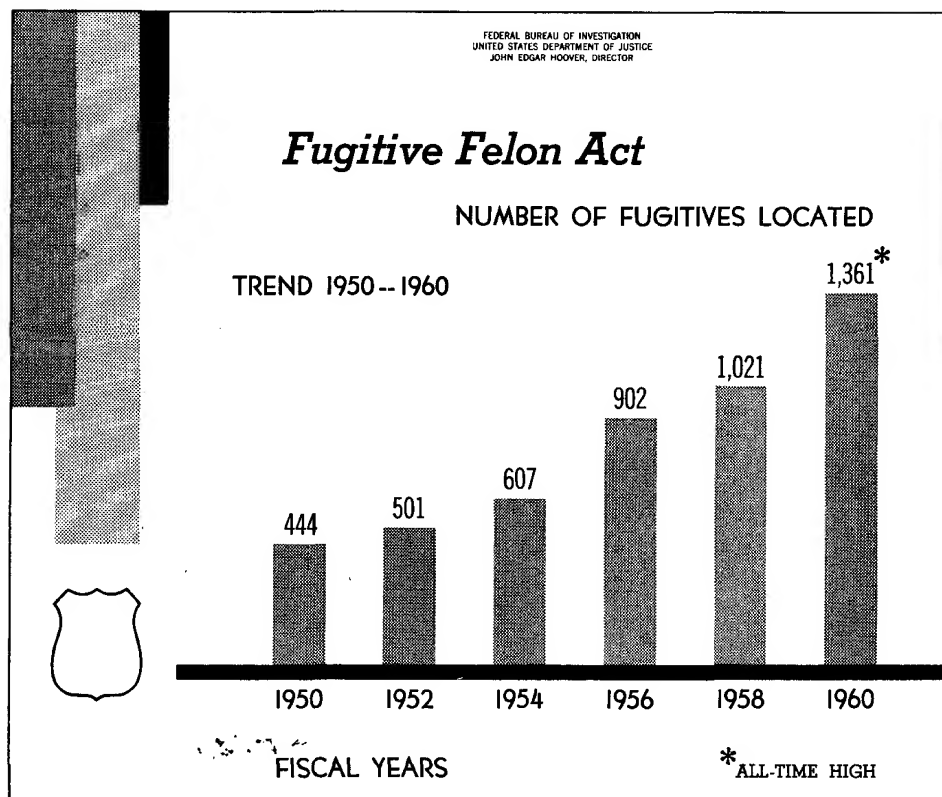
By authority vested in the Bureau under the Fugitive Felon Act, we work closely with local authorities to locate persons who have fled across State lines to avoid prosecution, custody, or confinement for certain types of serious crimes.

The act also prohibits interstate flight to avoid giving testimony in any criminal proceeding involving the commission of an offense punishable by imprisonment in a penitentiary.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960, approved May 6, 1960, expanded our jurisdiction further by a provision authorizing the FBI to locate any person who flees across State lines to avoid prosecution, custody, or confinement for willful attempts or actual damage to specified types of facilities by fire or explosion.

During the fiscal year 1960, a record high of 1,361 fugitives were located under the Fugitive Felon Act, an increase of 212 over the previous peak established in 1959.

The chart which I have handed to you shows the progressive rise of our accomplishments under this statute over the past 10 years.
(The chart referred to follows:)



TEN MOST WANTED FUGITIVES PROGRAM

Mr. HOOVER. The FBI's 10 most wanted fugitives program, now entering its second decade, is a significant achievement produced by a combined cooperative effort between the FBI and various forms of public information media, local police and private citizens.

Since its inception on March 14, 1950, 147 badly wanted fugitives have been placed on the list. Of this number, 136 have been located, 55 as a direct result of information provided by alert citizens.

Data appearing in newspapers has accounted for 22 locations or apprehensions; TV broadcasts led to 1; radio, 2; magazines, 7; and wanted circulars, 23. Process was dismissed on two fugitives.

KIDNAPING

The Federal kidnaping statute was enacted in 1932 and since that time we have investigated a total of 621 major kidnaping cases. All but four have been solved. The four are—Charles Fletcher Mattson in 1936, Peter David Levine in 1938, Mary Lou Olson and Michael Joseph Condetti in 1960.

During the fiscal year 1960, Federal prosecutions of kidnapers resulted in 24 convictions in which there were imposed 3 terms of life imprisonment and other sentences totaling 168 years and 7 months.

KIDNAPING OF ADOLPH COORS III

We undertook a most extensive investigation following the disappearance of Adolph Coors III, on February 9, 1960, and immediately dispatched a special squad of agents to the Denver, Colo., area.

In the investigation which followed, a suspect was developed and added to our 10 most wanted fugitives list on March 30, 1960. We located him on October 29, 1960, and returned him to Colorado. Since the victim was not taken out of the State the case will be tried in the State courts, but our special agents will be the principal witnesses in this case. Specialized cases of this nature result in an extremely heavy drain on our available manpower and funds. This is because they have to be acted upon very promptly and require a heavy assignment of manpower.

ALESSIO CASE

Typical is the kidnaping of one of the Alessio brothers in San Diego. He was kidnaped and a ransom of \$650,000 was demanded with \$200,000 being paid. Within approximately a week Mr. Alessio was returned to his home, a substantial amount of the ransom money was recovered, and five of the seven kidnapers were in custody. Six of the kidnapers are on trial at the present time in State court and our agents will appear as witnesses. The remaining kidnaper has entered a plea of guilty.

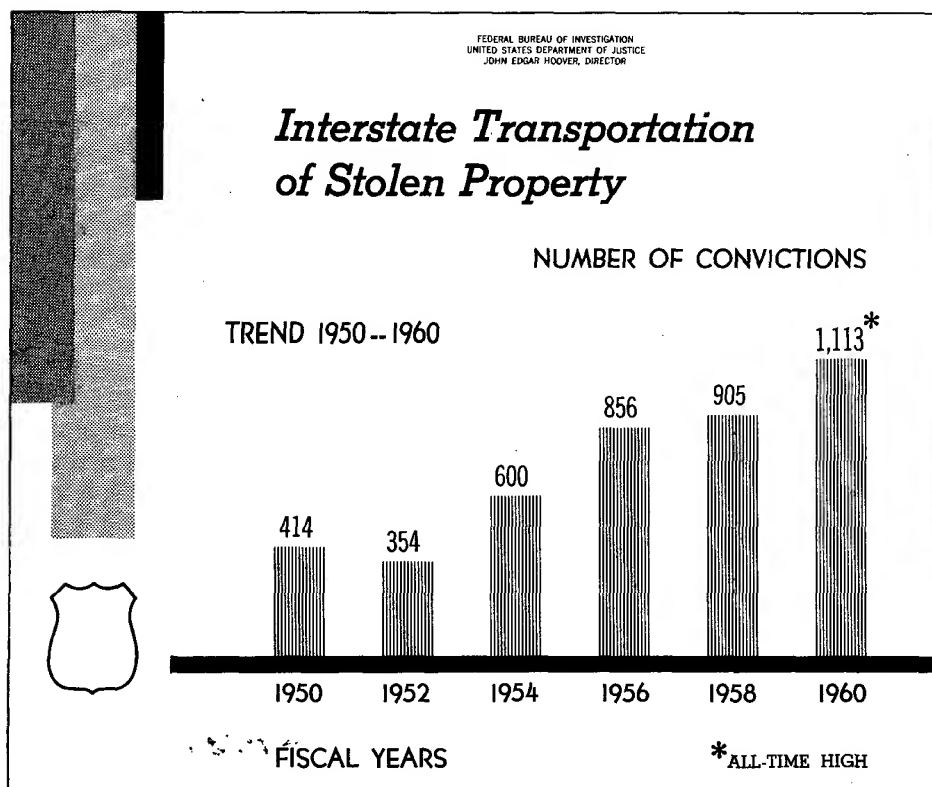
Even though this case was quickly solved, time spent on this investigation by the FBI is valued in excess of \$113,000, which shows the tremendous drain these special type inquiries place on our available manpower.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF STOLEN PROPERTY

Widespread violations of the interstate transportation of stolen property statute have contributed heavily toward our investigative burdens.

I hand to the committee a chart which shows the increasing number of convictions obtained in FBI-investigated cases under this statute.

(The chart referred to follows:)



Mr. HOOVER. On the chart you will note that the convictions for 1960 total 1,113, which is an alltime record for this violation.

Additionally, 625 fugitives were located and property valued at over \$2.5 million was recovered by the FBI in combating the criminal proclivities of confidence men, swindlers, jewel thieves, bad check "artists," underworld "fences," and other criminals who cross State lines.

THEFT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY

Our workload volumes received under the Federal statutes which prohibit thefts, embezzlements, illegal possession or destruction of Government property, have been on a steady increase for the past several years. This is reflected in the 530 convictions returned for offenses in this area during the fiscal year 1960 as compared with 491 during the previous year.

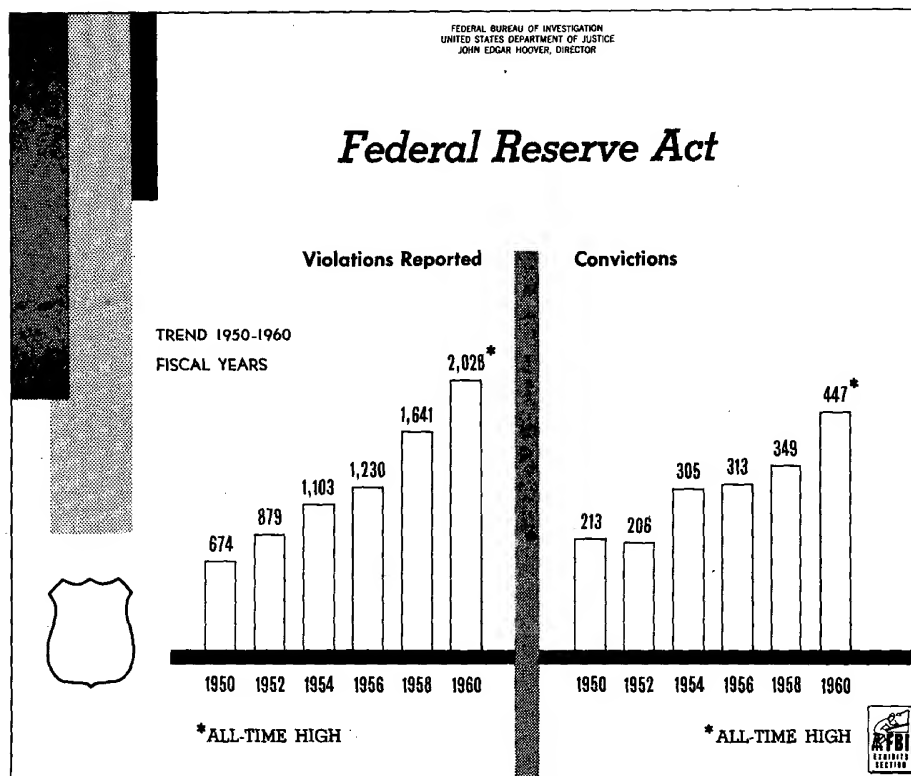
VIOLATIONS OF FEDERAL RESERVE ACT

Under the Federal Reserve Act, the FBI investigates embezzlements and related offenses by officers and employees of thousands of

specified banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions throughout the Nation.

I submit to the committee a chart which shows the upward trend in the number of violations under this act as well as the increase in convictions for the period 1950-60.

(The chart referred to follows:)



You will note from the chart that there were 2,028 violations. These involved shortages of over \$8 million. An unprecedented high of 447 convictions and fines and recoveries amounting to over \$2 million were recorded as an outgrowth of our investigations of these cases.

During 1960, prosecution was successfully completed in one of the largest bank defalcations in recent history. In this particular case, a customer, with the aid of a bank cashier who later committed suicide, looted a California bank of \$3,700,000. The customer was sentenced to 25 years in a Federal penitentiary.

You will recall recently there was a case in Sheldon, Iowa, involving a Mrs. Burnice I. Geiger, who embezzled over \$2 million and who has now been sentenced to 15 years in the penitentiary.

ANTITRUST

The FBI, at the request of the Antitrust Division, investigates alleged violations of the antitrust laws. These relate to monopolies and restraints of trade in interstate commerce. The Department may bring either criminal or civil proceedings against violators.

During the fiscal year 1960, FBI investigations in this category resulted in 120 convictions and the imposition of fines totaling over \$1 million.

This is a very substantial increase over 1959, when 79 convictions and fines of over \$782,000 were recorded.

Many of these cases have extensive ramifications, requiring heavy expenditures of manpower. One recent investigation involving the alleged rigging of bids on certain items of electrical equipment purchased by some Government agencies, required investigative activity on the part of 50 of our 55 field offices.

In this case, the court imposed fines totaling \$1,924,500 against 29 corporations and 44 of their officers; imposed jail sentences of 30 days for seven of the officers and suspended like jail sentences for 23 others, placing them on 5 years probation.

Mr. ROONEY. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

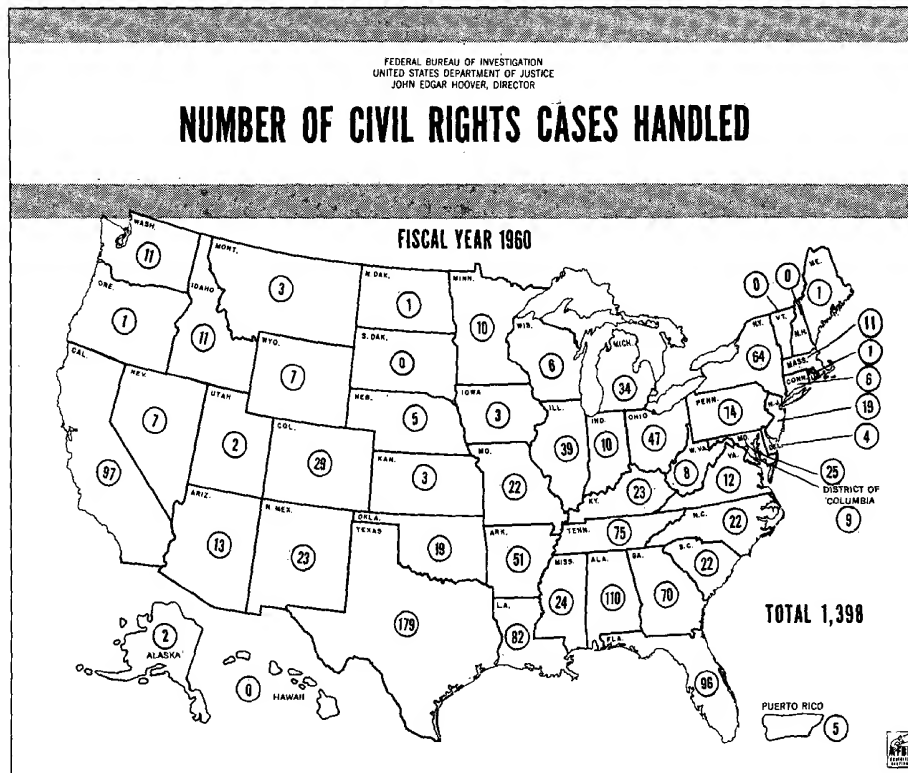
FRAUD AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. HOOVER. Convictions in the fraud against the Government category rose to 490 during fiscal year 1960, up 42 percent when compared to the previous year. Most of these investigations arise from Federal procurement contracts for supplies and services. Others stem from conflicts of interest on the part of present or former Government employees.

CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS

The FBI's responsibility to investigate alleged violations of civil rights—which are guaranteed by the Constitution and Federal Laws—is imposed by statute and is governed by instructions of the Attorney General. There were 1,398 alleged civil rights violations reported to the FBI during the fiscal year 1960.

I present to the committee a chart showing the number of civil rights cases handled by States.
(The chart referred to follows:)



The Civil Rights Act of 1960, approved May 6, 1960, added significant additional work to the Bureau's jurisdiction, such as the obstruction of Federal court orders; the interstate transportation of explosives with the knowledge or intent that such will be used to damage or destroy property used for educational, religious, residential, business, charitable, and civic objectives; and the maintenance of Federal election records. In addition to its criminal provisions, the Civil Rights Act established certain procedures under which the Attorney General is authorized to institute civil action where there is a pattern of events denying the right to vote because of race or color.

Since the passage of this legislation there has been a total of 202 bombings and attempted bombings and 1,931 bombing threats have been brought to our attention.

DESTRUCTION OF AIRCRAFT OR MOTOR VEHICLES STATUTE

Recent months have witnessed a grave outburst of bomb threats directed against some of our principal transportation media. The majority of these offenses, which fall within the purview of the

destruction of aircraft or motor vehicles statute, are of the "false report" variety. Several disastrous bombings which have occurred in the last few years have generated an atmosphere in which even "joke" threats attain sinister aspects.

During 1960, 484 cases were opened in this category, an increase of 76 percent when compared with the 275 received in 1959. Since July 1956 when this statute was approved, the FBI has investigated over 1,300 of these hoax bomb threats directed against transportation concerns, with airlines bearing the brunt of these senseless and lawless acts.

Not only do these threats or false reports seriously interrupt the orderly operations of air carriers, but they cause unnecessary fear, concern and delay for airline travelers.

The Department adopted the procedure during the past year of instituting prosecution of those cases, even though termed "jokes."

Most of these hoaxes have been perpetrated by anonymous callers, but there have been a shocking number of supposedly reputable and intelligent individuals who have instigated bomb scares by ill-advised remarks to airline employees. Their acts are just as senseless, malicious, and childlike as those of a juvenile who turns in a false fire alarm.

So that the airlines may be fully aware of the Bureau's jurisdiction in such matters, and of the means through which we can render assistance, we have printed and distributed a pamphlet, "How the Airlines Can Help the FBI." I present a copy of this publication to the committee.

ACTIVITIES UNDER LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959

In closing, I wish to comment on the new labor law which was approved in September of 1959, and has for its purpose the prevention of improper practices on the part of labor organizations, employers, labor relations consultants, and the like.

An agreement was reached between the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor whereby investigative jurisdiction under six specified areas of this new labor law has been conferred upon the FBI. This of course has brought added work and we have been able up to the present time to handle it without asking for additional personnel.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my statement to the committee.

TELEPHONE TAPS

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Director, what is the situation with regard to the use of wiretaps at the present time?

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Chairman, we have a total of 90 wiretaps in operation at present. We utilize them only in instances where there is a kidnaping, where human life may be involved through extortion, or in instances where the internal security of the country is involved, as in espionage. I do not have the authority to authorize a wiretap. The Attorney General personally approves each one of them. We have kept them to a minimum.

SPECIAL GROUP ON ORGANIZED CRIME

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Director, there has been some comment in the press recently and some reported statements by gentlemen named Wessel, Ogilvie & Co., who claim they did not receive cooperation from anyone, either the courts or the Congress or the FBI or any Government agency. Of course, as far as the Congress is concerned we can point out that this committee and the Congress were asked for \$200,000 for their super-duper Dick Tracy outfit on two occasions, and they were not cut 5 cents. They got every nickel they asked for. We gave them the money with some misgiving because we thought that they were inexperienced and would not be able to get along with the old line, solid investigative agencies, such as the FBI. However, we did follow the recommendation of Attorney General Rogers.

Since it has been said in some of these articles that the FBI did not cooperate with them, I wonder if you would give us the benefit of your views with regard to your cooperation with this—what was the name of it, Mr. Andretta?

Mr. ANDRETTA. It is not well known. Special Unit—

Mr. HOOVER. It was the Special Group on Organized Crime. I can say without fear of contradiction that we extended to Mr. Wessel, who was in charge of the work of the Special Group with headquarters in New York—Mr. Goettel was a subordinate to Mr. Wessel—and to Mr. Ogilvie, who was in charge of the work in Chicago, complete cooperation that was proper and consistent with our jurisdiction. We had some problems with these gentlemen when they wanted to have assigned to them for their individual direction a substantial number of special agents without any specific target in mind, but to be used on "fishing expeditions." Obviously, we have neither the manpower nor the time to waste on such speculative ventures. We do have an intensive criminal intelligence program of inquiring into the details of the operations of hoodlums and racketeers of the underworld. Such information was furnished to the Wessel Special Group. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Wessel himself has written me and expressed appreciation for the cooperation he received from this Bureau, and notwithstanding that Mr. Ogilvie expressed commendation in Chicago for the assistance he received from our Chicago office, they later resorted to unwarranted and unfair criticism.

My only conclusion is that some individuals look at "Mr. District Attorney" on TV too frequently and absorb some of the fantastic panaceas as to how to solve local crimes. As a practical matter it cannot be done that way.

The new Attorney General has recognized the fact that he has the facilities with which to meet the crime challenge by using the established units of the Department and the established investigative agencies of the Federal Government and coordinating their efforts with local law enforcement. Progress, I think, will be seen, but not right away. It cannot be done overnight.

May I say something off the record?

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

DISASTER SQUAD—REIMBURSEMENT FOR SERVICES

Mr. ROONEY. A while ago you mentioned the fact that you sent the Disaster Squad to Brussels at the time of that air crash last month.

Mr. HOOVER. Yes.

Mr. ROONEY. In a situation such as that, does the Belgian Government reimburse you for the services of the Disaster Squad?

Mr. HOOVER. No; they do not.

Mr. TOLSON. Sabena Airlines was most anxious to have our assistance and made transportation available without cost.

Mr. ROONEY. That sort of activity might make far better relations than some of these acrobats and piano players we send over there.

PASSPORT FRAUDS

Mr. ROONEY. Have you had any occasions of passport frauds?

Mr. HOOVER. The State Department has primary investigative jurisdiction concerning the issuance of false passports by unauthorized persons; false statements in applications for passports; the use of a passport of another; and falsely made, forged, altered, mutilated, or counterfeit passports. On occasions the State Department requests the FBI to conduct investigations when alleged violations have occurred. We conduct investigation only at the specific request of the State Department and referrals from them are very limited.

Mr. ROONEY. I am primarily thinking of people going to passport offices in the United States and obtaining a number of passports from different offices. This would seem to me to be a somewhat easy job to put over, to pick up six or seven or eight passports without their knowing it, with air travel the way it is today. You have not had occasions of that?

Mr. HOOVER. There have been numerous instances of misuse of passports by American Communists since the Supreme Court decision of June 16, 1958, holding that Congress had not delegated authority to the Secretary of State to deny passports to subversives. Since the decision, there have been a number of well-known Communists who have traveled abroad to Russia and who have made public attacks against the United States while abroad. There have been numerous bills proposed in Congress to allow the Secretary of State to deny passports to subversives.

I noted in the paper the other day there has been a modernizing of the procedures for getting a passport in this country and to expedite their issuance. If anyone has the idea of collecting passports for ulterior motives, it should be easier to do so.

Mr. ROONEY. Exactly.

Mr. Bow?

CRIMINAL CASE FILINGS

Mr. Bow. Mr. Director, we have noted in the hearings previous to this time that the criminal case filings and terminations have been reduced somewhat this year over last year in the offices of the district attorneys, although your records show the crime records have gone up and cases have gone up.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. Bow. Can you give us some idea about that?

Mr. HOOVER. I do not know what statistics were used in making the compilation. I do know in the cases our agents have handled during the previous fiscal year, we obtained 11,914 convictions, the largest number of convictions for any peacetime year. Also, as I have previously testified, our receipts of investigative matters have been increasing sharply since 1955.

Mr. Bow. It is a little difficult to understand, with crime on the increase, why the criminal filings are going down. Somewhere, somewhere, somebody is not doing his job.

Mr. ANDRETTA. Mr. Bow, that is probably in a different category. I remember in the report of the U.S. attorneys' offices for the year, for example, the criminal tax violations fell off in new filings. Areas like that are not within the jurisdiction of the FBI.

Mr. HOOVER. That may be the cause.

Mr. ANDRETTA. Treasury has liquor law violations and income tax frauds.

Mr. HOOVER. There are many violations that we do not handle.

Mr. Bow. It would seem to me that with crime on the increase, the criminal filings also would increase.

Mr. HOOVER. Certainly our work has increased. There is no question about that.

Mr. Bow. I can see that, and that is the reason I raised the question.

Mr. ANDRETTA. Criminal filings went off only about 300, less than 300. They are 290 cases down. That could well be in a couple of areas.

Mr. Bow. You have a 12-percent increase in crime in the overall.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. Bow. You would expect somewhat a similar increase in criminal filings. At least I would.

YOUTHFUL CRIMINALITY—REPEATERS

One other thing which gives me concern is the testimony we had here previously that 47.6 percent of the juveniles are repeaters. You have touched on the seriousness of the juvenile question. What is the answer to this?

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Congressman, I think the answer to that is in the courts which handle the juveniles. They must face reality and not indulge in wishful thinking or fail to mete out the proper degree of justice to juveniles who commit serious crimes. I am referring, as I know you are, to those crimes which if committed by adults would be felonies. Time and again youths who are arrested for serious crimes, and who have previous criminal records, have been released on probation or are placed in the custody of their parents.

I think the juvenile judges of the country must recognize the fact that the scales should be evenly balanced. Of course, the juvenile who offers reasonable possibilities ought to be rehabilitated. No one questions that. But society has the right to walk the streets of its cities without being in fear of death or vicious assault. One cannot do that

today in certain areas such as in Washington and New York City. You do not dare walk through Central Park at night alone because of the crimes which occur there.

Many of the crimes occurring on our streets are perpetrated by youthful offenders, 16-, 17-, and 18-year-olds.

One of the measures which I have advocated which has not met with the approval of some people, is that the identities of youthful criminals should be publicly disclosed when they commit a serious crime. Such a procedure would give the family of the youthful criminal a greater sense of responsibility because they are not desirous of publicity reflecting upon the family. Secondly, I think citizens have a right to know the activities and background of a youth who has committed a serious crime and with whom their children may come in contact.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. I think we must recognize the need for realistic handling and at the same time try to bring about a moral and spiritual revival as to what is right and what is wrong. That goes back to the family. Too often the term "juvenile delinquency" ought to be called "adult delinquency," because it is the mother and father who are not giving the proper attention to their children. If the family fails, then you have to rely on the churches and the schools, but they cannot take the place of the wholesome family. We know of instance after instance of mothers and fathers who have castigated police officers who brought home, at 2, 3, or 4 o'clock in the morning, a teenage son or daughter, because the officers had interfered with the child's liberty and interfered with the sleep of the mother and father.

YOUTH GROUPS

Mr. Bow. Do you still find a lack of juvenile delinquency among those boys who are in the boys' clubs, the Boys Scouts, and other organized groups of the youth of the country?

Mr. HOOVER. We find it to be very low. I am on the National Board of Directors of the Boys' Clubs of America and am associated with the Boy and Girl Scout movements. These and similar organizations have been doing an excellent job with youth groups. Where you can get youths interested in wholesome outlets for their energy as these groups do with workshops, gymnasiums, and other facilities where youngsters can box, wrestle, and engage in other properly supervised activities, they do not have excess energy to go out and look for trouble. I think any youth organization serves a very useful purpose if it is managed in a proper and practical manner. Certainly the Boys' Clubs of America and the Boy and Girl Scouts are being operated in a very realistic manner. There is very low delinquency in the areas served by such groups.

Mr. Bow. Thank you, Mr. Director.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Lipscomb?

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Thank you, Mr. Hoover, for your excellent presentation today. It is always a pleasure to have you appear before this subcommittee, and we thoroughly enjoyed this highly interesting and

informative session.

Mr. Hoover, under your outstanding leadership, the FBI has earned a position of international recognition and respect. The record of your Bureau as an impartial crime-fighting agency is unequalled in the history of law enforcement. Certainly this is shown not only in the notable achievements which you have outlined for us today but also in the well-documented fact that so many hoodlums and racketeers carefully tailor their operations to avoid committing offenses within the FBI's jurisdiction.

I also want to comment upon the splendid job you are doing in educating the American people concerning the true menace of crime and communism. In my opinion, too many citizens have adopted an aloof, apathetic attitude toward these twin enemies of our society. In most instances, their complacency can be traced directly to a lack of knowledge regarding the real size and nature of these critical problems.

The FBI's remarkable accomplishments in solving major kidnappings, bank robberies, and other serious crimes have earned your Bureau the undying gratitude of every law-abiding citizen. And although they may be less known to the average American, your achievements in the intelligence and counterintelligence field are equally important.

Since the founding of the Communist Party, U.S.A., more than 40 years ago, you, Mr. Hoover, have been a foremost fighter against all facets of communism. From its inception, you recognized this atheistic menace for what it is—a nefarious scheme designed to capture the minds and hearts of freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. You have consistently sought to enlighten Americans concerning this diabolical doctrine and to protect our great heritage of democracy.

Two of your reports—both issued within the past year—illustrate exactly what I mean. "Communist Target—Youth" clearly pinpoints the efforts of the Communists to subvert the minds of America's youth. "Exposé of Soviet Espionage" discloses in realistic terms the insidious efforts of the Kremlin conspirators to effect the ultimate destruction of our Nation. I wish that every American would take the time to read these outstanding documents.

I just wanted you to know, Mr. Hoover, that the people of the United States are most grateful for the distinguished contributions you have consistently made to preserve our American way of life.

Mr. Hoover. I appreciate very much those comments, Mr. Congressman.

SOVIET TRADING COMPANIES

Mr. LIPSCOMB. I would like to discuss for just a moment a couple of questions on Soviet espionage activities. The Soviet Union has trading companies which exist in this country.

Mr. HOOVER. Amtorg is the principal one.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. I believe I have come in contact just recently, through an item I have been working on, with one called Stankoimport. These trading companies are making every effort to purchase technical equipment in our country, and there are certain American

business firms that are willing to trade with them. One case has just been exposed and the export license has been canceled by the Department of Commerce, for precision ball-bearing machines. I know of another instance where the Department of Commerce has granted an export license for some very technical precision machinery that among other things can manufacture aluminum V-8 motor blocks and their components. I am hopeful, at this date, that the Department of Commerce will cancel this license also after the facts are reviewed.

Is there any espionage activity here being conducted by Soviet trading agents and the trading companies?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, there is. The Soviets have maintained a large staff of officials in this country since its first recognition in 1933. These officials have been assigned to the Soviet Embassy, consulates, trade delegations, news media, United Nations, and the Amtorg Trading Corp. It is from these installations that the intelligence activities are directed against the United States.

The Amtorg Trading Corp., 355 Lexington Avenue, New York City, acts as buying and selling agent in the United States for approximately 25 foreign trade organizations of the Soviets. Amtorg is a New York corporation formed in 1924. Since 1949 it has been registered with the Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Currently, there are 32 Soviet officials attached to Amtorg. One of the Soviet foreign trade organizations represented in the United States by Amtorg is "Stankoimport," which handles exports and imports of machine tools, metal and woodworking machinery, ball and roller bearings, and the like.

Intourist is the Soviet tourist agency with office space at Amtorg and has one representative in the United States.

Four Continent Book Corp., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, handles importation and exportation of books, periodicals, and other published material. It is registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. One of its foreign principals is Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga (International Book), Moscow.

For the most part, the Soviet satellite nations utilize their commercial attachés for handling their trading operations.

Of course, the example you cite of the concern where the export license was suspended, I understand this resulted from attention called to it by one of the Senators as well as yourself.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Is there anything we can do to call to the attention of American business the danger of this kind of trade? If Soviet agents are making business contacts with American businessmen in such plants as precision ball bearing or these motors I was talking about, surely they have access to the plant and other things that they should not be entitled to.

Mr. HOOVER. The Department of Commerce has the authority of granting export licenses and therefore has some measure of control over such matters. As you indicated, the Secretary of Commerce withdrew the export license which had been granted. It was probably granted prior to his becoming Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. It was.

Mr. HOOVER. Such matters are generally handled down the line

and not at the secretarial level.

As to the attitude of the American businessman, a few of these individuals are unwittingly sympathetic or are inclined to fawn over the Soviets.

(Discussion off the record.)

PUBLIC APATHY

Mr. LIPSCOMB. You mentioned in your testimony public apathy was one of the things that was serious.

Mr. HOOVER. I think it is.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Here is an area I hope businessmen and Government employees do not allow to go on without adequate notice and concern.

Mr. HOOVER. I think it is a field that certainly ought to be given attention, both by individuals and by groups. I think it is a field in which various congressional committees from time to time could very readily alert the public.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. It appears that some citizens are so anxious to have peaceful relations and make profits in trading with the U.S.S.R. that we forget the dangers of Communist aggression, both economic and military.

Mr. HOOVER. Unfortunately, that is correct.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Would you care to make any comment on cultural exchanges and whether or not they do cause you any difficulties in this country?

(Discussion off the record.)

INFILTRATION OF YOUTH GROUPS

Mr. LIPSCOMB. In the third supplemental appropriation going before the House of Representatives this week, there is an item for over \$1.5 million, having to do with a new cultural exchange with Russia. They are going to nine cities in the United States and taking exhibits on children's books and medical services into these nine different cities. It is a real chance for them to expose people to the way they believe in. Of course, these are really emotional subject matters.

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, that gets at the grassroots, our youth.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. It is my understanding that there are some new youth organizations being formed.

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, sir.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. They are primarily supporting the subject of peaceful coexistence and also to relieve the youth of their military responsibilities throughout the country.

Are these things being exposed to the American public?

Mr. HOOVER. They have been exposed by a number of writers and columnists. I have in mind George Sokolsky and Fulton Lewis, Jr. One of the targets of the Communist Party is to step up its infiltration of youth organizations and the demonstration at San Francisco which occurred last year was typical of their efforts. At the same time there is a rather healthy sign I have observed which is developing at the high school and college level, where young men and women are learning about communism. I think this is a very healthy sign.

The more one can learn about communism and its fallacies and its viciousness, the stronger our country will be.

I see two tides running.

In one is the group in favor of the false peaceful coexistence theory which functions through Communist front organizations and the other is the group of young people operating through anti-Communist organizations. The questions these young people are asking show that they are beginning to realize communism is not all it has been portrayed to be. If we get them thinking and asking that kind of questions, it is a very healthy and wholesome condition.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Will we be able to distinguish these different types of groups when they apply for the Peace Corps and programs of this sort? Will we be able to tell the intent of the people who desire to participate?

Mr. HOOVER. It depends on what screening procedures are used in setting up the Peace Corps.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. It is important, in my opinion, they make some plans for screening.

Mr. HOOVER. I think it would be desirable.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Thank you very much, Mr. Hoover.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Cederberg?

COMMUNIST THREATS

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Director, the hour is getting late and I do not desire to prolong your time before our committee, but I would like to say that I realize, of necessity, a good portion of your testimony must be off the record; but if the average American citizen could sit on this side of the table and listen to your explanation of the subversive threats to our society, I am sure we would not have so many naive people in high places today.

Mr. Director, I just wonder if you can give any explanation as to why so many organizations that are basically sound and dedicated to doing what is right—and I do not hesitate to name one of them, the National Council of Churches—why are some of the hierarchy of these organizations so naive to the threat posed by communism in this country?

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Congressman, I think it is due to the fact they have not fully informed themselves as to what the facts are. Many people have the idea that communism is not a serious threat because the movement is numerically small in this country. Its numerical strength is one thing but we must judge it by its fanatical, dedicated, and disciplined membership. Most non-Communists are not disciplined, fanatical believers in the theory and practice of American democracy as are the Communists in communism. That is a reason why some of these people err in their thinking.

Such erroneous thinking often results in a great deal of harm, particularly in many organizations where the practice is followed of having the rank-and-file elect delegates to represent them at conventions without exhibiting a sufficient degree of alertness and interest to determine the beliefs of their chosen representatives. As a result, these

quoted
by
Bundy

representatives commit large groups of the rank-and-file to a course of action which in reality is contrary to their true feeling and beliefs. As I pointed out previously in my testimony, apathy also plays a strong part in creating a prevailing atmosphere of indifference to this threat.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CEDERBERG. That is all I have. Thank you.

Mr. ROONEY. Thank you, Mr. Director and gentlemen, for a highly interesting and informative 3-hour session.

LETTER FROM THE AMERICAN LEGION

(NOTE.—The following communication from the American Legion was subsequently received by the committee:)

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Washington, D.C., April 26, 1961.

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on State, Justice, and Judiciary, House Appropriations Committee, The Capitol, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROONEY: I am writing to you in connection with the hearings being held by your subcommittee, during which consideration will be given to the budget request for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

As you know, the American Legion has always supported adequate funds for this Bureau, the most recent resolution being resolution No. 132 adopted at the 1960 national convention, a copy of which is enclosed.

We are not asking for the privilege of a personal appearance but we sincerely ask you and the members of your subcommittee to give this matter favorable consideration. In addition, we respectfully request that you incorporate this letter and the resolution in the record of the hearings.

Thanking you for any consideration you may give to this request, I am,
Sincerely yours,

MILES D. KENNEDY, *Director.*

1960 NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION HELD IN MIAMI BEACH,
FLA., OCTOBER 17-20, 1960

Resolution: No. 132.

Committee: Americanism commission.

Subject: Organized support to combat communism.

Whereas it is self-evident that the world conspiracy of communism has as its main objective the subjugation of all free governments everywhere, and endeavors to accomplish this through subversion, treaty-breaking, and the creation of chaotic conditions; and

Whereas as wartime veterans we are determined that our freedom, gained at such great cost, shall be maintained so that not only we but all other nations may not succumb to communism: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion in national convention assembled in Miami Beach, Fla., October 17-20, 1960, That as evidence of our unity of national purpose we pledge our unqualified support to the national administration in its efforts to deal with communism in whatever manner it may deem necessary; and be it further

Resolved, That proper support and funds be provided to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to successfully wage this fight.

APRIL 27, 1961.

Mr. MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director, Legislative Commission, the American Legion,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: I am today in receipt of your letter of the 26th instant enclosing a copy of a resolution adopted at the 1960 National Convention of the American Legion.

As requested, I shall incorporate your letter and the resolution in the record of the hearings before the subcommittee.

I might point out that this subcommittee over many years, during over 10 years of which I have been chairman, has never cut one penny of the requested funds for the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation under its highly capable director, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

JOHN J. ROONEY

REC-101

April 24, 1962

AIRMAIL

1-6 62-104576-74

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

South Carolina

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

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b7C

APR 24 3 34 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Your letter of April 18, 1962, with enclosures has been received, and I am glad to know you have found my book, "Masters of Deceit," a valuable reference.

Although I would like to be of service, I am unable, as a matter of policy, to answer your specific questions since this Bureau is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any publication, individual, or organization.

Your enclosure is being returned, together with publications I hope you find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 20
APR 24 1962
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (6)

Correspondent's self-addressed, stamped envelope
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?

4/17/62 Internal Security statement
Deadly Duel

Christianity Today Series: The Communist Menace
One Nation's Response to Communism

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DCL:jlw

(3)

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

50 APR 30 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

44-51 2 38 64 .25

REC'D 44-51 2 38 64 .25

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten initials]

April 18, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover
Director of FBI
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As [redacted] Presbyterian Church
I have frequently referred to your book, Masters of Deceit and
also Edgar C. Bundy's book Collectivism in the Churches, in
regards to communist influence and the liberal theology evidences
in ^{SOME} our Church literature.

It has been stated that you are not in accord with Edgar
C. Bundy's book Collectivism in the Churches. Is this true?
Does Bundy stand in favor with the FBI, or out of favor?

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I would appreciate an immediate answer with any enlighten-
ing comments.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]
[redacted] S. C.

REC-101

62-104576-74
10 APR 25 1962

CORRESPONDENCE
[initials]

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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Church League of
America

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Jones _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Mrs. Metcalf _____
Miss Gandy _____

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ENCLOSURE

62-104576-
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[redacted]
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. [redacted]

Upon my return from an extensive speaking tour in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and on the West Coast of the United States, I found on my desk several items from the editorial page of the Florida Alligator for February 23, 1962 and March 2, 1962 in reference to my speaking engagements in Gainesville on February 19, 20 and 21, 1962.

I realize that space in your paper is limited and that I should be quite brief in my reply to the attacks made upon myself and what I unwittingly said at the Gainesville High School auditorium by [redacted] but, since they have made so many utterly false statements, I believe it is only fair that the truth be told to the University of Florida family which may have read their statements.

I shall deal with [redacted] first.

The entire tone of [redacted] entitled "UNDERCURRENT", is one of sarcasm and ridicule throughout. [redacted] should not retire me as a Major, as I am not retired, but very much in the U. S. Air Force Reserve.

His attack on Herbert Philbrick is not worthy of reply. Mr. Philbrick appeared under oath before a Committee of the U. S. Congress and was the U. S. Government's star witness in the trial of eleven Communist Party leaders in Federal Judge Medina's courtroom in New York City, resulting in the conviction of those party leaders.

[redacted] attempts to be against sworn testimony from Mr. Philbrick.
F.B.I. [redacted]

[redacted] J. Edgar Hoover, the House Committee On Un-American Activities and the U. S. Senate Sub-Committee On Internal Security. These were the sources I used in my address on Communist penetration of religious groups. The testimony cited by me was given under oath by the witnesses who had hanging over them a Federal law which deals with those who commit perjury, or lying while under oath before a committee of the Congress.

ENCLOSURE

62-104576

EX-101
APR 13 1962

Page Two -

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This law provides for five years in the Federal Penitentiary if it can be proved that the witnesses lied.

None of the witnesses cited by me have been charged with perjury at any time. [redacted] did not write under oath. If he had made his statements under oath he could have been charged with perjury.

In addition to the "middle aged or older" listeners about which [redacted] speaks, there were dozens of high school seniors present, including one [redacted] which students agreed with the documentation, as did their teachers. I had the privilege of meeting them after the lecture.

[redacted] implies that I labeled "all" college professors, ministers, editors, et al, "Communist spies." This is a typical Communist smear charge, but one does not have to be a member of the Communist Party in order to use it. No such sweeping accusation was made by me and [redacted] knows it.

[redacted] of Yale University was never called a "Communist" by me and [redacted] knows this, also.

[redacted] and several companions who came with him tried to get me to say during the question period that Pope was a Communist, but this I refused to do, having warned my audience every night never to label anyone a "Communist" unless that person could be placed squarely in the Communist Party's membership under oath.

Furthermore, I quoted the Director of the F.B.I. as stating that Communist Party members do not constitute the greatest threat to our internal security. Mr. Hoover states that for every member of the party there are ten others outside the party who are "ready, willing and able to do the Party's work."

I read [redacted] public record of affiliations with organizations which have been designated subversive by Government agencies. I also cited Mr. Pope's recommendations of the works of outstanding Communist-front joiners.

When [redacted] says that I did "not allow argument from the audience (demonstrat style)" he is ignorant of the fact that no such procedure was set up for [redacted] or anyone else by the Florida State Peace Officers' Association which sponsored my appearances in Gainesville. Question period procedures were explained thoroughly night after night.

[redacted] and his companions kept sending written questions up to the platform long after time for sending written questions to the platform was closed. These questions did not pertain to any of the documentation presented but rather were completely aside from the points discussed.

The questions which he and his companions had sent up originally were answered.

Page Three -

I stressed throughout my presentation that I was not interested in attacks on the Director of the F.B.I., or any of the witnesses who had appeared under oath before the Committees of the Congress, unless those attacks were made under the same circumstances, namely, under oath before the same committees so that the attackers would be held accountable for perjury. Evidently [] did not like this, as judged by his column. Neither did he like the fact that I revealed, without giving the names of the university officials who had informed me earlier, that certain leftist forces were supporting the showing of the film "Operation Correction" presented by the University of Florida unit of Americans for Democratic Action.

When this film was shown no "argument from the audience (democratic style)" - ala [] - was permitted.

Before the showing of the film, throw-aways consisting of scurrilous cartoons attacking the F.B.I. and the investigative committees of the Congress were posted in public places on the campus, bearing the identification of pro-communist organizations which are, naturally, in favor of attacks on our security agencies. University officials ordered them torn down.

[] and his companions did not express any interest in informing the audience that saw the film as to the sordid record of the American Civil Liberties Union, its collaboration with communists, and of the fact that the film was obtained through the University of Miami Chapter of the A.C.L.U.

In regard to the person who arrived from New York and appeared on the campus the day the film was shown, [] may refer to it as "fictional", but with certain officials of the University and the Gainesville police department it is very much a fact.

[] sarcastic curiosity will not be satisfied either by University officials, the police department or myself just because he has his doubts. One further word should be added in regard to [] and his companions who came not to learn but to mock: without asking permission of either the Florida State Peace Officer's Association or the speaker of the evening, they worked in collusion with a stage hand of the high school to set up a tape recorder behind the drawn curtain immediately to the rear of the speaker's stand. At the end of my presentation [] buddies made a bee-line to the stage to retrieve their tape recorder and tape, but Inspector [] of the Police Department was there to greet them and had the tape in his possession.

Were they ever surprised? So much for []

The second person who has written on your editorial page is [] who signs himself as [] in the issue of March 2, 1962. I had the dubious honor of being the recipient of voluminous correspondence from [] who doesn't see fit to identify himself in any of his letters. His letters to me contain the same falsehoods which are in his letter to the Alligator, plus many more. Since Mr. [] has numbered his falsehoods I will refer to them by number:

(1) Handy at no time called identified Communist Party member and Methodist [] "leader in the National Council of Churches." [] must be hard of hearing. I referred to [] influence in the Federal Council of Churches which was the predecessor to the National Council of Churches. [] should get his Councils straight!

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Page Four -

My Best Seller book **COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES**, now going into its seventh edition, contains one entire chapter on Harry F. Ward, all taken from Government testimony and the official publications of the Federal Council of Churches and the Communist Front known as the Methodist Federation for Social Action (formerly known as Methodist Federation for Social Service).

Here is what Dr. Samuel Madrona Covert, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches had to say in his book **TWENTY YEARS OF CHURCH FEDERATION**, published by the Federal Council of Churches in 1929 and which included a section by Shailer Mathison, President of the Federal Council of Churches 1912-1916:

"The most important accomplishment in the quadrennium, 1912-1916, was the stimulation of a new interest in international affairs and in social service. The latter had already achieved much, but within these years the Commission on Social Service began to be more active in an small degree due to the influence of Professor Harry Ward and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson (page 26)."

Dr. Ward was for 35 years professor of Christian Social Ethics at Union Theological Seminary in New York city; Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action from 1912 to 1944; and was identified as a member of the Communist Party and one of its top-pow-4 planning fractions under oath on many pages of testimony in the Hearings entitled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area" held by the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 7 and 8, 1953.

(2) I am not responsible for [redacted] "intimations". I did not label Methodist Bishop G. Bronley Oxnun anything. [redacted] is stating a falsehood when he says that the House Committee on Un-American Activities gave Oxnun (sic) a "clean Bill-of-Health".

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On page 3801 of Oxnun's testimony, representative Clyde Doyle of California moved "that the records show in these hearings that this committee has no record of any Communist party affiliation or membership by Bishop Oxnun." This motion was adopted by the committee. The committee had never charged Bishop Oxnun with being a member of the Communist Party.

When this action was twisted and distorted by the Washington Post the following morning, the House Committee called an executive session and authorized the following statement to be read on the floor of the House of Representatives, July 22, 1953, by Congressman Donald L. Jackson, member of the committee. Copies of the statement were handed to all of the Washington press corps.

This statement is proof enough that Bishop Oxnun was not "cleared" by the committee. No committee of the Congress is empowered to clear or find guilt in regard to anyone appearing before it. This is a matter for the Federal Courts to decide following initiation of action by the Justice Department of the U.S.

Here is the House Committee on Un-American Activities' statement:

"Mr. Speaker:

For ten hours yesterday, the House Committee on Un-American

Activist heard as a witness at his own request, Bishop G. Spangley Oxman of Washington. During the course of the hearing some forty exhibits were placed in the record, all of which related directly or indirectly to alleged affiliations, sponsorships or memberships in organizations and activities in or on behalf of communist and left-wing groups. Bishop Oxman denied any knowledge of a number of the matters discussed, and stated that his name was used without his permission in other instances. On some points he admitted membership or participation in the activities set forth in the exhibits.

At the conclusion of the hearing, the Gentleman from California, (Mr. Doyle) moved that the Committee indicate in the record that there was no identification of Bishop Oxman as a member of the Communist Party. In the interest of complete fairness to the witness, I seconded the gentleman's motion, although no accusation of Communist Party membership had ever been leveled against the witness by any member of the Committee or its staff.

A Washington newspaper reported this morning that the Committee had "cleared Bishop Oxman." I wish to make perfectly clear that my vote on the Doyle motion was to the point that the Committee had no identification of Bishop Oxman as a member of the Communist Party. My vote had nothing to do with "clearing" or finding guilt, neither of which finding is within the jurisdiction of the Committee as constituted.

The record of the hearing must speak for itself. But it is important that the Committee maintain a detached position in determining facts and developing testimony in the compilation of a public record. The Committee is not, and cannot be, a judge of the truth or falsity of testimony received, and it has no authority to arrive at any conclusion respecting the testimony of a witness, except as individual members may wish to record their personal observations."

(3) I did not "intimate" that Jack E. McMichael was influential in the Methodist Church. To say that he was "influential" is putting it mild!

McMichael too has been identified, under oath, as a member of the Communist Party and a leader in the Young Communist League.

The New York City hearings and the hearings for McMichael in Washington D.C., proved beyond a shadow of a doubt the tremendous influence this man has had within the Methodist church.

McMichael succeeded Harry F. Ward as secretary of this communist front and has held that position since 1944. Not only is he presently the secretary, but he is also the editor of this front's Social Action bulletin.

After the House Committee exposed McMichael's record he was promoted from Upper Lake, California, to a larger church, Grace Methodist at Stockton, California, where he is presently the minister.

The official connection of the Methodist Federation for Social Action with the Methodist church lies in the fact that it has had 17 Methodist bishops and 4,000

Page Six -

of its clerics and laymen in its membership, and serving as officers. The House Committee on Un-American Activities labeled it "a tool of the Communist Party;" and the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security labeled it "with an eye to religious groups the communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action."

McMichael's leadership in this Red outfit has not been repudiated, as evidenced by the fact it is still going strong and he is its present brain child. In fact, it held its National Convention in Wilberforce, Ohio, last July and elected as its new president Bishop Edgar A. Lave, presiding bishop of the Baltimore, Maryland conference of the Methodist church.

The pronouncements of its National Convention read like THE WORKER, POLITICAL AFFAIRS, and the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW all rolled up in one.

I probably know the history of the Methodist Federation for Social Action far better than [redacted] as we have kept files on its activities from the day it was founded "10 years before the Bolshevik Revolution and 12 years before the establishment of the Communist Party in the United States."

The Methodist General Conference of 1944 said "for three decades the Methodist Federation for Social Action (un-official) has pioneered . . . It has a history of achievement of which the Church is proud. The work must be carried forward by some effective method."

Here is an "official" blessing on a so-called "un-official" outfit made up of "officials" of the Methodist Church!

Bishop James C. Baker of the Methodist church declared: The Methodist Federation for Social Action was never more needed than in the present crisis."

Bishop Lewis Hartman stated, "The Federation must go on under virile and courageous leadership."

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam declared, "The Methodist Federation is everlastingly at the task of transforming the prophets' messages into the daily practice of men . . . think of the task ahead and join the ranks of the marching hosts."

Miss Thelma Stevens, now in the headquarters of the National Council of Churches, said, "An active membership in the Methodist Federation is a must for every Methodist with concerns for achieving human rights for all people everywhere."

Pacifist and veteran communist-front joiner Methodist minister Henry Hitt Crane said, "Now, more than ever, the Methodist Federation is indispensable."

Dr. Ralph Bockman, recently retired from Christ Church (Methodist) New York, praised it as follows: "In these days of confused thinking and high pressure propaganda it is imperative that church members do their best to get the facts in our controversial social issues. One of the agencies which is courageous and clear in its thinking is the Methodist Federation for Social Action. We need such an unfettered spearhead of social advance."

Let [redacted] deny that all of the above, singing the poems of praise for this communist front, are officials of the Methodist church or have been!

Page Seven -

[redacted] need to do their homework, or as the great Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Galatians, Chapter 2, verse 6, declared, "But of those who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person;) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me."

b6
b7c

Very sincerely yours,

Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary

ECB/r1

The following information has been obtained on [redacted]
[redacted] Florida:

- He came to [redacted]
[redacted]

- He came [redacted]

- He did [redacted]
[redacted] area

- He is about [redacted]
[redacted]

- [redacted] here are
complete

- He advises that [redacted] but has not attended
church here

- His [redacted] (1961) is V M U - 420

- His [redacted] (1962) is 11 - 7979

- He mentioned [redacted]

done under [redacted]

University of Florida

#

ENCLOSURE

42-104576-

9 April 1962

[redacted]
[redacted] Florida

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]

I have a carbon copy of a letter dated 21 March 1962 supposedly of an original letter that was supposed to go to me, and which carbon shows that an original was made addressed to me.

Your second letter is again an absolute distortion of the truth, and you are engaged in playing on words.

Bishop Oxnham was not "cleared of anything" by the House Committee On Un-American Activities, inasmuch as he was not charged with anything by the House Committee. A person has to be charged with something before they can be cleared.

I not only have the House Committee hearings in my possession in regard to Bishop Oxnham, but I was an eye-witness of everything that went on for the full ten hours. Were you?

I notice you do not mention the statement of the House Committee, read on the floor of the House of Representatives the day following Oxnham's hearings, in which the House Committee declared that Bishop Oxnham was not cleared.

Evidently you are the sort of person who attempts to answer only that which you want to answer. The sins of omission are oftentimes greater than the sins of commission.

Please inform me what Bishop Oxnham has done to get Jack McMichael out of the Methodist Church? The answer is nothing. In fact, Bishop Edgar A. Love, Presiding Bishop of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Church, was just elected president of McMichael's communist front (see citation in latest Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, dated 1 December 1961).

Jack McMichael has been promoted, since his hearing, to the pastorate of the Grace Methodist Church in Stockton, California. He is still the secretary of this communist-front organization and the editor of its publication, Social Questions Bulletin.

62-104576-
ENCLOSURE

Page Two

Mr. [REDACTED]

April 9, 1962

b6
b7C

How many officials of the Methodist Church does it take to make a cited organization "unofficial"? Is it not true, according to their own records, that the vast majority of those comprising the Methodist Federation For Social Action have been and are officials in the Methodist Church? Or, haven't you seen their membership lists?

When you say that "the 1952 General Conference of the Methodist Church revoked denominational support of the Methodist Federation For Social Action", please explain why denominational officials are still supporting it and serving as officers in it.

I don't know why I need to identify those holding official positions in the Methodist Church who are also holding official positions in the Methodist Federation For Social Action, when such names are available in the official publication of the Methodist Federation For Social Action, which we receive in this office regularly and which you can obtain by writing to their headquarters. I do not find your name as a contributor to the work of the Church League of America. Therefore, the reproduction of original documentation from this headquarters is available only to those who pay for the cost of such reproductions.

Your statements in regard to Harry F. Ward are as confused as the rest of your thinking. In 1929 the Federal Council of Churches published Twenty Years of Church Federation, edited by Samuel McCrea Cavert. Dr. Cavert was the secretary of the Federal Council of Churches for many years.

The book included a section by Shailer Mathews, President of the Federal Council of Churches, 1912-1916, entitled, "The Growth of the Federal Council Prior to the War."

Shailer Mathews said:

"The most important accomplishment in the quadrennium 1912-1916 was the stimulation of a new interest in international affairs and in social service. The latter had already achieved much, but within these years the commission on social service began to be more active in no small degree due to the influence of Harry Ward and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson." (p. 26)

Harry F. Ward was General Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (later changed to Methodist Federation For Social Action) and editor of the Social Questions Bulletin from 1911 to 1944. The Methodist Federation for Social Service had received the official approval of the Methodist Church, and that approval stayed with it through all of these years because of Harry Ward's influence. My letter did not state that Harry Ward was first chairman

Page Three

Mr. [REDACTED]

April 9, 1962

b6
b7c

of the Council's Commission On the Church and Social Service. Why pose an "if" question when no such thing was stated? Or are you trying to read words into my thinking?

Had you read Chapter 8 of my best seller, Collectivism In The Churches, you would find all the documentation on Harry F. Ward, not one line of which has ever been disproved.

To take an extreme example, you, Mr. Treanor, seem to be wholly incapable of absorbing facts or documentation.

Your so-called source of information, "German air ace Adolf Galland," isn't a documentary source at all. What committee of the United States Congress has he appeared before under oath?

The fact of the matter is Pablo Picasso is a communist, has been for many years, and has definitely fought against the legitimate government. Why do you race all around the bush and back again and attempt to clear Picasso?

The Church League of America has more documentation in its files on Harry F. Ward, the National Council of Churches, the Federal Council of Churches, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, the Methodist Federation For Social Action, than you could absorb in the next ten years. I would like to remind you, since you have admonished me in your last paragraph, that eternal vigilance forever demands not only careful and intelligent research, but it also requires a mind to absorb such research, which you have not evinced in your distorted epistle to me.

Very truly yours,

ECB/gz

Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Hon. Robert Kennedy
Mr. Don Appell
House Committee On Un-American Activities
U. S. House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

62-164576 -

ENCLOSURE

March 7, 1962

[redacted]
Gainesville, Florida

b6
b7c

Dear [redacted]

Your vicious and insulting letter of 26 February 1962 has been received in this headquarters and is so filled with absolute lies and errors that it would take almost a book to refute your ignorance.

If this is the type of your thinking processes than I am afraid you are in need of either psychiatric treatment or confession to God Almighty of the untruth in which you are engaged in writing.

You use the tactics of the Communist Party all the way through, and I am wondering if you are a communist, a fellow-traveler, or sympathizer, or just plain dupe or dope.

Every statement I made from the platform that night was based on documentation and I said night after night that I would be prepared to go into a court of law and state it under oath. I know what it is to appear under oath before committees of the United States Congress, and after checking into your background, I know that you do not know what it means to do this.

You may sympathize with the communist Pablo Picasso all you want and you may call it art, but no decent American supports an international communist and his blurgs including "Guernica" which is a propaganda piece against the Spaniards who were defending their country against the communists.

No such statement was made by me as "the use of Russian troops in the Spanish Civil War." You are not only wrong but you are telling an untruth.

In regard to my so-called "treatment" of prominent churchmen", perhaps you had better define your terms and tell who made them "prominent" and what they are "prominent" for. If you mean prominent for denials of the great doctrines of the Christian faith and aid to communist causes, then you are correct in using the word "prominent".

Mr. [REDACTED]

-2-

March 7, 1962

In regard to Bishop G. Bronley Oxnam you have stated an absolute untruth when you say "the HUIAC gave the Bishop a clean bill of health." No such thing was done by the committee, and furthermore, it was read into the Congressional Record and handed out to all the Press Corps of Capitol Hill, that the Bishop was not cleared of anything. We have the statement of the House Committee on Un-American Activities right in our possession.

Because you evidently read left-wing propaganda magazines which say the Bishop received a clean bill of health, does not make it necessarily so. These are not the facts determined by the Committee on Un-American Activities. You are dealing in falsehoods.

Nobody calls people "Communists" who are not identifiable as members of the party. No one has ever identified Liston Pope or Reinhold Niebuhr as a "Communist". They have extensive records of affiliation with communist enterprises and causes in this country. They made their own history. We do not. If they object to bringing this out into the light of day, then let them remember that they were responsible for what they did and shouldn't be trying to mold other peoples opinions or leading them. They lack the qualities of leadership.

At no time did I refer to Harry F. Ward as "a leader in the National Council." This shows what kind of mentality you have when you listen. You cannot even listen correctly.

It so happens that Harry F. Ward was a leader in the FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES from the time it was formed. He headed their first major committee which was the one dealing with social action. This is documented in my book COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES and has never been challenged by any mortal being.

The Federal Council of Churches changed its name to the National Council of Churches in November of 1950 in Cleveland, Ohio. Harry F. Ward has had more influence on the thoughts of seminarians who later became ministers and leaders in the National Council of Churches, than any one professor or former professor of theology in the United States. This has been proven time and time again before the Committees of the United States Congress.

I challenge you to produce evidence to the contrary!

When you state that I failed to mention that the MFSA "was in no way officially connected with the Methodist church", may I remind you that there had been over 5,000 officials of the Methodist church running the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and all of those in it now are still in good standing in the Methodist Church including Jack McMichael who has not been repudiated by the officials of the church who are still actively participating in the work of cited communist front organizations.

In fact as I stated from the platform and read from the propaganda bulletin of this communist front organization, a presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Edgar A. Love of Baltimore, was just elected its most recent president.

Mr.

-3-

March 7, 1962

b6
b7c

The fact that the NFSA was born in 1907 doesn't do away with its communist character. I think the committees of the congress know more about this than you do. Since you are an apologist to the Methodist church, why don't you volunteer to go under oath before the Senate Committee on Internal Security, which cited the NFSA, and register objections where you will be accountable for every word you say and subject to the Federal law against perjury?

The fact that you wanted me to talk about the revised standard version of the Bible in no way does away with the fact that the statements I made years ago hold true today. How many subjects do you want discussed within a period of two hours in one evening? Do you think that people arrange their programs to suit you or any particular one person who happens to drop into the audience.

Not only do we reiterate everything we said about the RSV but we have plenty of documentation in this headquarters which is sent to our contributors from some of the finest scholars in the country showing what an absolute perversion of the scriptures the RSV is.

When you try to smear me "as a wolf in sheep's clothing", you are looking for a platform on which to stand, a platform which crumbles under your feet when your false statements are exposed to the light of God's holy word and the light of sworn testimony given to the Congress of the United States.

Any one from reading your letter can see that you like the Modernists; you apologize for people who have aided the enemies of this country; your idea of "civil liberties, academic freedom, and the social gospel" do not square with the facts, and you wouldn't last under cross examination for five minutes in a court of law.

The fact that you have told one falsehood after another in your letter disqualifies you from further correspondence with any Christian or sane sensible American.

Very truly yours,

Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary

ECB/r1

[Redacted]
Gainesville, Florida
21 March 1962

b6
b7c

Mr. Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary
Church League of America
1407 Hill Avenue
Wheaton, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bundy:

Your letter of March 7, 1962, contains a number of factual errors as well as a number of sweeping statements which could not be sustained in a court of law or before a committee of the United States Congress.

You have placed yourself in the anomalous position of refuting a statement of the House Committee on Un-American Activities when you state that Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam "was not cleared of anything" by the Committee, which in 1953 investigated the alleged Communist connections of the Bishop. On 21 July 1953 the Committee members present at the close of the Oxnam hearing unanimously adopted a motion saying that the Committee had "no record of any Communist Party affiliation or membership by Bishop Oxnam", as recorded on page 3801 of "Testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam", Hearing Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1953. I trust that this statement of the Committee is in your possession.

A careful reading of pages 3736 and 3746 of that same document would reveal to you the Bishop's attitude toward Jack McMichael and the latter's role as Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Bishop Oxnam said he believed McMichael was "too tied up with the Communist group whether or not he were a Communist . . . that that organization (MFSA) ought not to be under that (McMichael's) leadership."

Most Methodist leaders have shared Oxnam's attitude and deplored McMichael's activities. The 1952 General Conference of the Methodist Church revoked denominational support of the MFSA, an action which has not been rescinded since. The statement that McMichael "has not been repudiated by the officials of the church who are still actively participating in the work of cited Communist front organizations" is meaningless unless you can identify the officials involved as well as the organizations cited.

You stated: "It so happens that Harry F. Ward was a leader in the Federal Council of Churches from the time it was formed. He headed their first major committee which was the one dealing with social action." If by this you mean that Harry F. Ward was

1045 10

the first chairman of the Council's Commission on the Church and Social Service, you are in error. The Report of the First Meeting of the Federal Council, Philadelphia, 1908, lists Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D., as the first chairman of the Commission. Furthermore, the name of Harry F. Ward does not appear on the list of members (twenty-five in all) of the first Commission. The influence Harry F. Ward did have with the Council during the 1910's and early 1920's declined markedly when it became evident that Ward was parroting the Kremlin line, as is indicated by the statements of Ward's former associates (Bishop Oxnham included) who broke with him over his pro-Soviet sympathies.

Your statement that "Harry F. Ward has had more influence on the thoughts of seminarians who later became ministers and leaders in the National Council of Churches, than any one professor or former professor of theology in the United States" cannot, as you allege, in any sense be "proven", not even "before the Committees of the United States Congress." Furthermore, it neglects to mention what kind of influence Ward has had on the thoughts of seminarians. To take an extreme example: You, Mr. Duddy, have had a great influence on my thoughts lately; but it has been a wholly negative influence, as you have probably guessed by now.

You called Pablo Picasso's 'Guernica' a "propaganda piece against the Spaniards who were defending their country against the communists." You might note that the "Spaniards" who bombed the Basque community of Guernica were Germans--members of the 'Condor Legion' sent by Adolf Hitler to aid the Spanish Nationalists. This fact has been documented by the German air ace Adolf Galland, who was himself a member of the 'Condor Legion'.

May I say that I am truly amazed at the efficiency of an operation which allows you to check into my background in six days.

In closing, I would like to quote the motto emblazoned on the letterhead of the Church League of America: "Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom". Just don't forget that eternal vigilance forever demands careful, intelligent research.

Sincerely,



b6
b7C

cc: J. Edgar Hoover
Robert Kennedy

THE FLORIDA ALLIGATOR

Page Four

Editorials

Friday, February 23, 1962

The FLORIDA ALLIGATOR is the official student newspaper of the University of Florida and is published every Tuesday and Friday morning except during holidays and vacation periods. The FLORIDA GATOR is entered as second class matter at the United States Post Office at Gainesville, Florida. Offices are located in Rooms 2, 10 and 15 in the Florida Union Building Basement. Telephone: University of Florida 724-2361, Ext. 2461, and request either editorial office or business office.

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UNDERCURRENT

Minister Stages 'Great Awakening'

By JOHN GRANT

Gainesville High School was the scene of a "Great Awakening" Wednesday night. This political-religious revival was perpetrated upon a mesmerized audience single-handedly by a Major Bundy, a Baptist minister and retired major.

Rolling off an archive of fact, innuendo and fancy, the major desecrated these horrid Communist dupes who hide among the ominous shadows of government buildings, campuses and pulpits! According to Bundy, the Communists have infiltrated these segments of society to the danger point. You know, the Philbrick bit all over again.

Had the audience been deaf, they would have witnessed a pomp, confident master of gesticulation, sipping, laughing up his sleeve and maintaining a steady movement of the lower mandible which was Herculean in itself considering the length of time it occluded.

Had the listener been blind he would have heard a steady, flowing vocabulary, gross if not grand and well modulated, a voice which had practiced the theme so often that it was near letter perfect. It changed from a confiding, secretive voice to a booming Elmer Cantry version when the speaker wished. It was something out of the eighteenth century.

What a strange image of reality these anti-Communist lecturers have. Gainesville has been witnessing an almost continuous display of them in recent months, although around the country more and more voices are heard against them, not the least of these the President himself.



GRANT

Bundy chose a winning combination for these parts, an alliance with God and a blown up conspiracy theme. Naturally, any but the fundamental religious views could not be tolerated. Certainly anyone has a right to believe Darwin was damned, but this man informed us that interpretation of the Bible in the modern manner is the mark of communism. Biologists, look to your microscopes!

One wonders at the images inside the heads of the nodding listeners, middle aged or older, eager for answers.

What's wrong with this world—they don't understand. Conspiracy! The college professors, ministers, editors, et al, how satisfying to be told that they are all Communist dupes.

At UF, Bundy said a radical had duped University officials by getting on the Religion-In-Life Week program as a major speaker. This statement was sandwiched between charges of communism and hints of the great conspiracy. Who was this radical, Bundy said "Copy down this name, L-I-S-T-O-N P-O-P-E, Liston Pope. We are going to send the University officials proof that this man is a radical!" Bundy then attacked Pope for about fifteen minutes. At the question and answer period after the "sermon," a student asked for specific proof of Pope's Communist affiliations. "We never said Dr. Pope was a Communist!" It turned out that the radical that has duped the University officials was merely a religious reform interpreter of the Bible.

Bundy cited the Bible as his supporting source. When asked how to tell a Communist minister from others, he replied, "By the word of God." This left the impression that anyone who interpreted the Bible in less fundamental terms than Bundy was ~~the~~ factually communist.

The caper came when the question and answer time finally came. Bundy would not allow argument from the audience (democratic style). Rather, he told the audience no one had an argument with him, but with his undisputable facts. If you wished to press the point, he was willing to wire Washington free and set up a situation whereby you might carry on the argument under oath. He suggested you write here, there and yon for such proofs as needed to convince yourself. I will not argue with smart alecs," he said.

To further protect himself from possible criticism or verbal attack, he limited the questions to those written on cards by anyone in the audience who wished to submit a card. He then disposed of the questions as they were "pertinent to the Communist conspiracy." Neat trick. Even this was not carried out for when he was asked to name a student whom he claimed "arrived from New York at the same time as the "Operation Correction" film, shown Monday, he stated he could not do so because an investigation was underway on the matter and we would "No doubt hear of it in the near future."

The logical inference from this is that the ADA, who sponsored the film was linked up with a subversive henchman. Flattering, but fictional.

THE FLORIDA ALLIGATOR

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Editorials

Friday, March 2, 1962

Member Associated Collegiate Press
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Rise, Greer Robinson, Vic Schneider.

Who Knows 'Fair Facts' About Major Bundy Talk?

EDITOR:

In the Feb. 27 edition of the Alligator, Bruce Bullock expressed a desire for "fair facts" to support John Grant's critical opinion of Major Edgar C. Bundy, self-proclaimed anti-Communist lecturer who spoke in Gainesville last week. Had Mr. Bullock attended Bundy's Feb. 21 evening lecture, "Communism in the Churches," and then checked the facts, he would have been aware that:

(1) BUNDY called Harry F. Ward, a Methodist minister who has aided Communist causes in the U.S. for many years, a "leader in the National Council of Churches, Harry F. Ward has never served the National Council of Churches in any capacity whatsoever.

(2) Bundy intimated that Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is a "Communist sympathizer." Bundy neglected to mention that the House un-American Activities Committee in July 1963 gave Oxnam a "clean bill of health" regarding Communist activities and found

no evidence of disloyalty on the bishop's part.

(3) BUNDY intimated that red-lining Jack R. McMichael, long the executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, was influential in the Methodist Church. Bundy failed to note (a) that the federation is in no way connected officially with the Methodist Church, and (b) that McMichael's leadership in the Federation was repudiated long ago by its members. Further, to say as Bundy did that the MFSA was established as a "Communist front" ignores that fact that the organization was founded in the United States in 1907 — ten years before the Bolshevik Revolution and twelve years before the establishment of the Communist Party in the U.S.

These are but three examples of Bundy's "qualifications" as a former Air Force intelligence officer. Mr. Bullock. He did not check the facts before making his presentation, neither did you.

J. TREANOR

Claims Grant Distorted

EDITOR:

Grant perpetrated a deliberate distortion in stating it was the Rev. Bundy's belief that any modern interpretation of the Bible is communistic. Not only is this untrue, it is paranoid.

Most startling is Grant's comment that "more and more voices are heard against them (anti-Communist lectures), not the least of these the President himself." The conclusion is that President Kennedy does not favor those who speak out against communism. Really, Mr. Grant, would you have us believe that the President of the U. S. is in sympathy with the Communists?

RALPH DOUGLAS
DON DENSON
(Edited)

Bullock Makes Error in Dates, Student Says

EDITOR:

Bruce Bullock made a gross error in dates. He either did not bother to attend Bundy's fanatical speech or else he has confused two different speeches. The latter may be inferred from Bullock's statement that Grant's column and the Sun's article of Feb. 21 were different.

WELL, Bruce, don't look now, but the Sun article was about Tuesday's speech (on colleges) and Mr. Grant's article was about Wednesday's speech (on churches). Is it any wonder there are differences in the two reports? They were two completely different speeches!

Bullock claims, "Grant made no factual presentation." Now, dear readers, this is not inadvertency, this is not oversight. It is pure and unadulterated hogwash! Out of three columns, Mr. Grant devoted two to factual details, including the smear attack on Dr. Liston Pope, who was at that very moment at the University was as honored keynote speaker of Religion-in-Life Week!

No one else (not even Bullock) troubled to refute the demagoguery. No one else even reported the smear attack. May it be pointed out dear students and Mr. Bullock, that John Grant alone put integrity before other considerations and defended Dr. Pope, Dean of Yale Divinity School and Executive Committee Member of the World Council of Churches.

R. MALONE JR.
4AS
(edited)



Letters to the Editor

EDITOR'S NOTE: Because of space limitations we were unable to publish many of the letters that we received for this edition. It is our policy to print those letters that we feel most representative of the views expressed. Several letters attacking Bruce Bullock's criticism of John Grant's column in last Tuesday's edition had political implications against Bullock which we deleted. Bullock asked us to stress that his letter was not written in his official capacity as student body president. Communist Grant is taking a leave of absence from the editorial page until the election campaigns are over.

We also received a large number of letters from foreign students questioning Nancy Myhal's last column. The letters maintained that foreign students were not discriminated against on campus.

THANK YOU FOR WRITING.

Daughters Are Startled By Roberts Suspension

By AMELIA YOUNG
Star Staff Writer

The Daughters of the American Revolution entered the final session of their 71st Continental Congress this morning, many of them burning with indignation over the Army's suspension of Maj. Arch E. Roberts for his off-the-cuff talk to them yesterday.

The Daughters learned of the development after last night's session when a reporter went among them seeking reaction. Most of those questioned responded with startled looks and stiff "no comments." But those who expressed their feelings were all pro-Roberts.

Typical comments were:

"Somebody ought to take the Army and wring its neck."

"I think it's a shame and an injustice!"

"I don't know why they'd do that—all he did was read direct quotes that had been printed before."

"I'm not surprised, and I don't think he was, either."

Two Daughters laughed, then declined to discuss it.

Presidents Defer Comment

Mrs. Ashmead White, outgoing president general, also refused to make a statement, calling it "too difficult a thing to comment on to-night."

Her elected successor, Mrs. Robert V. H. Duncan, said she'd "Just this moment heard the news." After pausing, she added, "I was in the audience and heard him today, if that means anything. I'm not really the spokesman until after the installation (which took place this morning). I try to be considerate, and I don't think I should

make a comment. I ought to wait."

The congress delegates had just heard another address by Mr. Edgar C. Bundy, a long and passionate denouncement of certain writers, educators and clergymen who he charged—identifying some of them—were willfully or unwittingly aiding the Communists.

Quoting Gen. Douglas MacArthur, he said, "The problem is theological." He said Americans are rapidly losing touch with the "truth," explaining he meant the truth of the early Puritans, the truth they saw in the Bible.

Attacks Church Groups

Mr. Bundy, an Air Force reservist who formerly worked in intelligence and now is executive secretary of a self-styled anti-Communist organization called the Church League of America, went on to lambast a number of church groups and individual clergymen.

His chief targets were the Methodists and the National Council of Churches.

He also said "Academic freedom, even on church-supported college campuses, is reaching the ultimate of insanity," and cited several incidents to support his point.

The heavy sarcasm in his speech drew ripples of laughter from his audience, and he was interrupted by clapping many times.

After his talk, Mrs. White introduced each newly-elected officer from the platform. The evening ended with a reception for the officers in the C street lobby of Constitution Hall.

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
DeLoach ☒
Evans ☒
Malone ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☐

File Five
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Baumgardner

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New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
Date _____

62-104576-A
NOT RECORDED
199 APR 27 1962

APR 20 1962

APR 30 1962



Mrs Robert V. H. Duncan of Alexandria (left), the new president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, is overwhelmed as she receives congratulations from Mrs. Ashmead White, outgoing president, last night at Constitution Hall. Mrs. Duncan, who takes office today, will serve for three years.—Star Staff Photo by Owen Duvall.

62-104576-75

April 23, 1962

REC-111

2-1

ST-104

[Redacted]

Tavares, Florida

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

Your letter of April 17th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, may I point out that the FBI, as an investigative agency of the Federal Government, neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In view of the foregoing, I am unable to make the recommendations you requested. I am, however, enclosing some material I hope you will find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 20
APR 23 1962
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (5)
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Faith in God--Our Answer To Communism
Deadly Duel
The Communist Party Line

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with Correspondent. Edgar C. Bundy, General Chairman of the Church League of America, Wheaton, Illinois, is well known to the Bureau and we have been most circumspect in our dealings with him since 1954. He is a former Baptist minister who lectures on communism and we have received frequent citizens' inquiries concerning in view of the controversial statements in his lectures. him

EFT:bis* 4/27/1962 NOTE continued next page

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 23 4 13 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

2 51 61 25
been
NOTE continued next page
D-11

[REDACTED]

NOTE continued:

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, a Presbyterian Minister, who was president of the NCCC in 1958, has not been investigated by the Bureau. In 1935 he was a speaker at the communist protest meeting against the anti-communist [REDACTED] in Michigan. Dr. Blake has been highly critical of the FBI basing his criticism on the claim that we are violating individual civil rights. Our latest correspondence with Dr. Blake was on 5-15-61. (100-350619)

b6
b7C

Tavares, Florida
April 17, 1962

F B I. Headquarters

b6
b7c

To: J. Edgar Hoover

Washington , D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover :

I am writing you about a man who has been causing dissention across our country. I know you are very familiar with him. I know he is one of several doing the something in the name of anti-communism. This is the so called Major E.C. Bundy of Wheaton, Ill. He spoke in our city about twomonths ago. In the first few minutes he called the ministers of our land liars. Then he proceeded for two hours to condemn every decent institution in America. He called the United Nations the United Notions. He named colleges as Communists centers.

I was on a committee promoting a meeting with Dr. Eugene Carson Blake in the city of Eustis Florida. He publicly called Dr. Blake a Communist. A local radion station was to broadcast his speech and the engineers boycotted the station and refused to bradcast his speech after hearing Bundy.

People believe these accusation s and it causes trouble in our churches. I know you have received tape recordings of his talks.

Have you any suggestions how to expose these peddlers of falsehoods. ? I am passing the April 24 issue of the magazine LOOK around to my people in church.

I know you are an elder in the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. I was pastor in that denmation in New York for [redacted] as [redacted] for many years.

I never believed that the people of our Nation could reach these low levels of thinking.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]
[redacted]
Florida

62-104576-75
18 APR 24 1962

REC-11

COMMUNICATIONS

4-23-62
EFT

EX-117

REC-84

May 29, 1962

62-104-76-76

[Redacted]
First Presbyterian Church
Washington Avenue at Court Street
Hinesville, Georgia

b6
b7C

MAY 29 3 16 PM '62
FBI
REC'D-READING ROOM

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of May 25th has been received and I want to thank you for your kind sentiments.

Although I appreciate the concern prompting you to write to me, I am unable to refer you to a source where you may obtain the information you seek. I regret it is not possible for me to be of help to you in this instance but trust you will understand.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 10
MAY 29 1962
COMM-FBI

NOTE: By letter dated 5-21-62 correspondent made inquiry concerning the Church League of America and other organizations, requesting information pertaining to these organizations. He was advised in outgoing of 5-24-62 that the FBI neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions regarding any organization, individual or publication, and that information in our files is confidential. This is the only reference to correspondent in Bufiles.

Re: P
Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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(3) *copy 25*

REC-11

3 JUN 11 1962

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RECEIVED DIRECTOR

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DM

Don/gunn

gk

First Presbyterian Church

WASHINGTON AVENUE AT COURT STREET
HINESVILLE, GEORGIA



May 25, 1962

2-

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau Of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I appreciated your letter of May 24 and it was greatly appreciated for its promptness in the face of such pressing duties. However, I must admit that I was a little disappointed that it lacked pertinent details, but I fully understand your position and that of your department and concur in the discretion that you must exercise.

As a private citizen the gradual trend toward extreme "right" or "left" is a source of great concern to me. There are so many conflicting voices vying for the minds of our people and many of us are seeking information as to the validity of these voices. Is there any responsible agency of Government that can answer my inquiry concerning The Church League Of America? Much of the material that this organization and others publish confuse, bewilder, and drive to despair many responsible citizens. They contribute detrimentally to the cause of freedom by dividing our people against themselves. As a Christian Minister many people come to me in their confusion seeking answers concerning the sources of their information which I do not have, but I am desirous of obtaining the truth for them.

I read with great interest and appreciation the articles enclosed with your letter and I certainly appreciate your helping me in regards to the matter related above. If you can direct me to any individual or agency that could speak authoritatively on the matters that concern me in this case I would appreciate this information. May God continue to bless you and our nation as we collectively serve Him.

REC-34

62-104576-16

With every good wish and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely, [Signature]



ACK
JCF: cal
5-29-62

WTH/ec

EX-114

CORRESPONDENCE

b6
b7c

CALIFORNIA FREE ENTERPRISE ASSOCIATION

Ghost Town Station Knott's Berry Farm
Buena Park, California

Walter Knott, Pres.
Knott's Berry Farm
Buena Park, Calif.

William E. Fort, Jr., Ph.D.
Educational Director
Ghost Town Station
Knott's Berry Farm
Buena Park, California
Taylor 8-5040

George W. Nevils
Public Relations Director
P.O. Box 1831
Santa Ana, California
Kimberly 2-7831

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Santa Ana, Calif.

Herbert Bergen
Fullerton, Calif.

Hubert Ferry
Fullerton, Calif.

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Costa Mesa, Calif.

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Anaheim, Calif.

William E. Fort, Jr., Ph.D.
Buena Park, Calif.
George W. Nevils
Santa Ana, Calif.

April 13, 1962

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I just had a visit from [redacted] of the [redacted]
[redacted] All in all [redacted] is endeavoring to patch matters up and feels that someone gave Bundy the impression that I have been trying [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] California. This apparently caused [redacted] to become somewhat [redacted] the wierd impressions that have been going around. [redacted] indicated that [redacted] thing further on the subject. I told him that I am watching the situation closely. I talked to several lawyers and intend to take legal action if this matter is not rectified immediately.

Edgar C.
[redacted] Major Bundy by saying that Dr. J. B. Matthews had told him that there is a plot hatched up between the Catholics and the National Council of Churches. This plot is supposed to go into effect immediately after your retirement from the Bureau. I got the implication, although it was not said in so many words, that Major Bundy is again trying to reflect upon Bill Sullivan as possibly being involved. Frankly, this does not seem to me to be the type of thing that J. B. Matthews would say so perhaps you might want to check more fully. I also gathered that Bundy had given the impression that this clique is trying to push you out as fast as possible so that they can control the F.B.I. He quoted Bundy as indicating, presumably from Matthews, that the F.B.I. would be useless for our side after you retire. The lengths to which this man apparently goes seems fantastic!

I am also being attacked by a group of utemen who are spreading fantastic stories.

In addition to the smears that I received in the book "The American Ultras", and that my organization received from the

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APR 24 1962

7-3
MAY 1 1962

EXP. PROC.

APR 16 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Page 2

April 13, 1962

Peoples World in a left wing meeting last night in Los Angeles added to the smears, and urged people to write strongly protesting our activities.

Please let me know if I can serve you further in any way.

Cordially yours.

WHEP:ms

cc: Mr. William C. Sullivan and Mr. Lester Warren

P. S. The left wingers are gloating over recent article in "Look Magazine." This apparently adds fuel to Bundy's fire & his attempts to smear the FBI. I haven't read it but heard strong repercussions today from many people on our side.

b6
b7C

CALIFORNIA FREE ENTERPRISE ASSOCIATION

Ghost Town Station Knott's Berry Farm
Buena Park, California

Mr. Ghr.
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Walter Knott, Pres.
Knott's Berry Farm
Buena Park, Calif.

William E. Fort, Jr., Ph.D.
Educational Director
Ghost Town Station
Knott's Berry Farm
Buena Park, California
TAYlor 8-5040

George W. Nevils
Public Relations Director
P.O. Box 1831
Santa Ana, California
Kimberly 2-7831

April 9, 1962

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Brea, Calif.

Robert Larsen
Santa Ana, Calif.

Harry Siemonsma
Tustin, Calif.

R. F. McCurdy
Santa Ana, Calif.

Dr. R. Opfell
Santa Ana, Calif.

Herbert Bergen
Fullerton, Calif.

Hubert Ferry
Fullerton, Calif.

Roy Greenleaf
Costa Mesa, Calif.

Lee Hasenjaeger
Santa Ana, Calif.

Stewart McPherson
Santa Ana, Calif.

Clarence Hoiles
Santa Ana, Calif.

Bill Fernandez
Santa Ana, Calif.

Ken Oliphant
Buena Park, Calif.

Adolf Schoepe
Anaheim, Calif.

Charles Pearson
Anaheim, Calif.

William E. Fort, Jr., Ph.D.
Buena Park, Calif.
George W. Nevils
Santa Ana, Calif.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Repeated reports reaching me indicate that Major Edgar Bundy of Church League of America who, as you are fully aware, made a vicious attack on Mr. William C. Sullivan, Assistant Director of the F.B.I., has caused an almost hysterical condition in this county after his recent lecture series at the Central Baptist Church in Anaheim. I have no doubt whatsoever that the [redacted] and this is intended in no way to reflect [redacted]

You may recall that I have written to you and Bill Sullivan a number of times over the past few months about reports of Mr. Bundy's attacks upon F.B.I. representatives who are trying to set the record straight. This is the first opportunity I have had to observe some of his work at fairly close quarters, and I must say this man is really a lulu of the first water.

I have been receiving a number of reports that Mr. Bundy somehow got the impression that I was less than enthusiastic about his visits to this community, and has lashed out in vicious attacks, implications and innuendoes without saying anything very specific, but implying that my background is somehow questionable. Some of the times he does not mention my name, but makes obvious illusions and attacks the approach of the California Free Enterprise Association and me in his public speeches by obvious references. Incidentally, he rarely overlooks an opportunity of attacking Dr. Fred Schwarz and many other staunch patriots.

As a result of his talks in both public and private, aided and abetted undoubtedly by the left wing, (see the enclosures with reference to California Free Enterprise Association and me), a vicious attack to undermine my influence has been launched and is being spread rapidly to such a degree as to split wide open the patriots of this section of California.

I have talked at length with Mr. Les Warren of your Los Angeles office. I also made a point to see [redacted] this past weekend.

EXP. PROC.

APR 10 1962

ORIGINAL FILED IN 102-104576

ENCLOSURE

4-18-62

55 MAY 1 1962

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APR 26 1962

APR 24 1962

April 9, 1962

Incidentally, I would gather that Major Bundy is hitting out pretty viciously even at shadows. I have information to the effect that he had scheduled General Walker to speak, and had distributed a large number of tickets for a large meeting. Suddenly, General Walker called Major Bundy up and told him he would not speak at this meeting. He gave no reason, but cancelled it over Major Bundy's protests. When Major Bundy was telling about this incident to someone, he was reported to have commented, "Something is wrong somewhere."

The grave danger of this man's undoing all that I have tried to do in Southern California over the last year and a half or more, of course, deeply concerns me. I have already talked with one lawyer, (a former FBI man) and will talk to another shortly. I have let it be known informally that I have consulted my lawyer, have a large amount of information, and will take legal action for defamation of character to the amount of \$500,000 or more if these things are not immediately stopped and rectified. I

As you undoubtedly know,
 late Mickey Ladd, of Stanley J. Tracy and of Cleon Skousen. I am sure you know that I have endeavored for many years to combat the grave dangers facing our country from the Communist Conspiracy, that I endeavor to take a levelheaded approach and to keep people on the right path without doing foolish things which would do us more harm than good.

I do not know what anyone can do concerning the hysteria and division of ranks that often seems to follow in the wake of Mr. Bundy's visits, but in my opinion, the Communists would be most pleased with the effects.

We all know that some work needs to be done with reference to the churches, and I have every confidence in the carefully documented and effective work of Myers Lowman of the Circuit Riders. This man Bundy, however, is a different "kettle of fish!"

With best wishes to you and Bill Sullivan,

I am

Cordially yours

WCF:ms

Enclosures

cc: Mr. William C. Sullivan

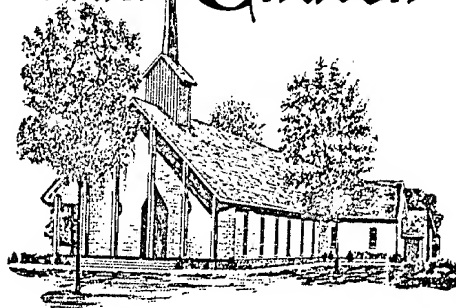
Mr. Les Warren.

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First Presbyterian Church

WASHINGTON AVENUE AT COURT STREET
HINESVILLE, GEORGIA

W. FRANK HARRINGTON, TH.M.
MINISTER



Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

May 21, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
The Federal Bureau Of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing to you as one of the responsible officials of our government to ask some question of mutual concern. First, I would like your considered opinion as to the National Council Of Churches. It is being attacked from various quarters of our country and some of the accusations allege that it has some "pink leaning" members in its staff of operations. Are there any known Communists, so far as you know, among the staff and directors of the NCAA?

Secondly, I would like your opinion concerning the Church League Of America, Wheaton, Illinois. Particularly I am concerned with their publication A Manual For Survival in which they attack many responsible areas of our government for Communistic leanings, etc. Also, they attack a major portion of the American Clergy for their alleged "pink leanings". In launching their attack they quote rather freely from the Congressional Record and the HUAC. If you are aware of this particular publication can you tell me if is valid or not? Do they quote the Congressional Record, etc., correctly and in its proper context?

The General Chairman of the Church League of America is Edgar C. Bundy who is also the author of Collectivism In The American Clergy. If you can give me some appraisal of this individual I would appreciate it very much. I am asking for the above information as a private citizen, for private consumption and I hope that you can be of help to me in this matter. I am increasingly aware of the crisis that faces our nation, but I am more and more disturbed by extremists organizations of one kind or another that spring up to attack and criticize.

REC-47

NOT RECORDED
102 MAY 22 1962

17 MAY 22 1962

XEROX

MAY 28 1962

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JCF-82

Mr. J. Edgar Hoo

-2-

May 21, 1961

As a private citizen I am not unappreciative of the distinguished service you have rendered to our country down through the years. I certainly hope that you will be able to continue to serve our nation's interest many more years. You have one of the greatest positions of public trust in our nation and I pray God's richest blessings upon you daily as you seek to serve Him. I am thanking you in advance for your help in this matter and I shall look forward to hearing from you soon.

With every good wish and kindest personal regards, I am

WFH/ec

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ST
62-104576-77

May 24, 1962

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FBI

REC'D-READING ROOM

MAY 24 3 48 PM '62

[Redacted]
First Presbyterian Church
Washington Avenue at Court Street
Hinesville, Georgia

Dear [Redacted]

I have received your letter of May 21st, and I want to thank you for your kind prayers and generous comments relative to my efforts as Director of the FBI. It is my hope that our future endeavors will warrant your continued approval.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, individual or publication. Also, information contained in the files of the FBI is confidential and available for official use only pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. In view of the foregoing, I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me to comment in the manner you have suggested, and I trust you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relative to the subjects to which you have referred.

Enclosed is some literature I hope you will find to be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (4)

(See note and enclosures next page)

JCH:esp

57 JUN 12 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐

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MAY 24 1962
COMM-FBI

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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAY 28 1962
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MAY 24 1962
FBI

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

MAY 28 1962
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REC'D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-508805-1001

[Redacted]

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Enclosures (4)

Bulwarks of Liberty
An Army of Free Men
"You Versus Crime"
"The Faith To Be Free"

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.
The organizations, publications and individual mentioned in his letter
have been previously brought to the Bureau's attention.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-13-62

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY
RE EDGAR C. BUNDY

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-7-86 BY 9145 STE/ab
FOIA # 254,141

By letters of July 10 and 11 respectively, Congressmen John L. Rooney and Robert Sikes, both of the Committee on Appropriations, sent the Director identical copies of a letter dated 7-6-62 which they received from Edgar C. Bundy, Executive Secretary, Church League of America.

In his letter to the Congressmen, Bundy stated he had just finished reading the Director's testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations and was impressed by the Director's forthrightness relative to the internal security problem. He enclosed the June, 1962, issue of "News and Views," official publication of the Church League of America, which edition is devoted to "Communism on the Campuses." Bundy advised that his group attempts to expose this activity but that it continues unabated. Bundy said he did not notice any reference to this (communist activity on our campuses) in the Director's testimony and asked the Congressmen to question the Director concerning this activity in the future so that Mr. Hoover's evaluation will be "on the record."

Bufiles reflect Bundy is a former Baptist minister who claims to have been a Major in Air Force Intelligence and who, posing as an expert, travels throughout the country giving lectures on communism. He is typical of the irresponsible, irrational, "professional" anticommunists who make a living of touring the country and charging fees for their lectures. He has also engaged in another money-making scheme by selling U. S. Government publications at a price higher than they can be obtained from the U. S. Government Printing Office. Bundy wrote a book entitled "Collectivism in the Churches" which was an emotional attack against the National Council of the Churches of Christ.

Bundy was the subject of an impersonation investigation in 1950 when he allegedly represented himself as a former FBI Agent but this allegation was not substantiated. You will recall that in 1954, Bundy deliberately tried to mislead the Bureau by attempting to have you (Mr. DeLoach) as a Bureau speaker appear before a political meeting. His scheme was discovered in time to thwart it and Chicago Office was instructed to be most circumspect in any subsequent dealings with him.

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (3)
1 - Mr. Callahan - Enclosures (3)

PS:rap (4)

REC-28

EX - 102

JUL 24 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
Re: CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY
RE EDGAR C. BUNDY

We have cordial relations with Congressmen Rooney and Sikes. Rooney, of course, is Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations. It is noted Congressman Rooney requested the Director's comments in connection with Bundy's letter and Congressman Sikes requested any material which the Director felt should be forwarded to Bundy.

From time to time the Director has emphasized that the subversive knows well the value of fully exploiting such controversial subjects on campuses as civil rights, so-called peace issues, etc. Mr. Hoover has also expressed alarm at the ease with which some major educational institutions have been duped, under the guise of academic freedom, into permitting underhanded attacks to be made on democratic institutions and officials of government by individuals who are supposedly contributing to higher education. In addition, the Director has pointed out that the Communist Party, USA, welcomes the opportunity to speak or enter into debates at American colleges since such activities not only give it an opportunity to spread its insidious propaganda but, at the same time, afford it an aura of respectability in the minds of young people. Naturally to go beyond this would involve the Director in a highly controversial area regarding freedom of speech and academic freedom.

It should also be noted that despite Bundy's allegation Mr. Hoover did discuss Communist Party activities on college campuses in his most recent appearance before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on 1-24-62. This is set forth in the 1963 FBI Appropriation, pages fifty and fifty-one.

It is felt this entire matter can best be handled by having someone from your office (Mr. DeLoach) personally acknowledge the communications from Congressmen Rooney and Sikes and confidentially briefing them concerning Bundy's background.

RECOMMENDATION:

That someone from your office (Mr. DeLoach) personally contact / the Administrative Assistants to Congressmen Rooney and Sikes, acknowledge receipt of their letters of July 10 and 11 respectively, and brief them regarding Bundy's background. *and refer them to pages 50 and 51 in testimony.*

John
more should handle your
HH
HH
7/18
HH
✓

BOB SIKES
THIRD DISTRICT
FLORIDA

Miss ALMA D. BUTLER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Press of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

11 July 1962

COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

SECRETARIES:
MISS NELLA L. ADAMS
MISS MARY FRANCES WILSON
MRS. BARBARA COTTINGHAM
MR. LAWRENCE WHEELER
MISS SANDRA HAGAN

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Evans ✓
Mr. Malone ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The attached is self-explanatory. I will be very glad to have any material which you feel should be forwarded to Mr. Bundy, the writer of the attached letter, on this subject.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Bob Sikes

S/jl

EXP. PROC.

38 JUL 12 1962

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-148947

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

1-ENCLOSURE

56 JUL 27 1962

REC-562-10457679

1 JUL 12 1962

XEROX

JUL 20 1962

8/8

62-104576-79

ENCLOSURE



TESTIMONY OF JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BEFORE THE
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS ON
JANUARY 24, 1962

62-104576-79



P R E F A C E

There follows a reprint of the "on-the-record" transcript of testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on January 24, 1962, in justification of the FBI's appropriation request for the fiscal year 1963.

The requested appropriation will provide for an additional 218 full-year employees for assignment in the field service where we have a real need for additional manpower, primarily to discharge greatly expanded investigative responsibilities being shouldered by the FBI in connection with the Government's stepped-up program directed against organized crime and racketeering. In addition, the Bureau is faced with a mounting volume of work in the over-all criminal and civil field, and, at the same time, we must continue to meet our responsibilities in maintaining the security of our Nation on the home front.

Although our Seat of Government service function work with respect to name checks, fingerprint checks and laboratory examinations is on the increase, the Bureau will endeavor to handle the added work in this area of operations with its present staff.

New legislation, including several new laws to bolster the Government's drive on organized crime, was enacted since the submission of our appropriation request for the fiscal year 1963. This further extends our jurisdiction and adds substantially to our mounting work loads. Since the new legislation was enacted after the submission of our request for funds for the fiscal year 1963, no provision has as yet been made for additional manpower to meet the resulting new work, which is extensive. Thus far, by each member of our investigative staff shouldering more work than could normally be expected, we have been able to absorb the added work resulting from the new legislation.

The testimony provides details regarding the widespread and mounting volume of work which the FBI has been called upon to handle. It shows the substantial contributions we have made to the coordinated drive being waged against organized crime along with some of the accomplishments which we have achieved in this and other areas of our work.

July 12, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover

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MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SUBCOMMITTEE
ON DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE
JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS FOR
THE FISCAL YEAR 1963

Hon. John J. Rooney, New York, Chairman

Hon. Robert L. F. Sikes, Florida	Hon. Frank T. Bow, Ohio
Hon. Don Magnuson, Washington	Hon. Glenard P. Lipscomb, California
Hon. Fred Marshall, Minnesota	Hon. Elford A. Cederberg, Michigan

Jay B. Howe, Staff Assistant to the Subcommittee

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1962.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WITNESSES

HON. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
CLYDE A. TOLSON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
J. P. MOHR, ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR

Object classification

[In thousands of dollars]

	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate
11 Personnel compensation:			
Permanent positions.....	97,116	99,188	101,413
Positions other than permanent.....	15	20	20
Other personnel compensation.....	6,345	6,063	6,204
Total personnel compensation.....	103,476	105,271	107,637
12 Personnel benefits.....	6,984	7,026	7,252
21 Travel and transportation of persons.....	4,572	4,606	5,063
22 Transportation of things.....	519	494	504
23 Rent, communications, and utilities.....	2,939	2,956	3,419
24 Printing and reproduction.....	276	172	174
25 Other services.....	1,854	1,629	1,637
26 Supplies and materials.....	1,845	1,616	1,642
31 Equipment.....	3,136	3,466	3,367
42 Insurance claims and indemnities.....		5	5
Total costs.....	125,601	127,241	130,700
Change in selected resources.....	-128	-115	
Total obligations.....	125,473	127,126	130,700

Personnel summary

	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate
Total number of permanent positions.....	13,968	14,039	14,257
Full-time equivalent of other positions.....	3	4	4
Average number of all employees.....	13,524	13,579	13,797
Number of employees at end of year.....	13,698	13,776	13,995
Average GS grade.....	7.9	8.1	8.1
Average GS salary.....	\$7,154	\$7,275	\$7,324

Mr. ROONEY. The committee will please come to order.

This morning we shall commence consideration of the appropriation request for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This item appears beginning at page 116 of the committee print and is to be found under tab 25 of book II of the justification books. We shall insert at this point in the record pages 25-1 through 25-35 of the justifications.

(The pages referred to follow:)

Summarization—Funds, fiscal years 1962-63 (direct plus reimbursements)

[In thousands of dollars]

	Direct	Reimbursements	Total
1962 approved.....	127,216		
1962 transfer to General Services Administration for 1st year rental of space.....	-90		
1962 total (adjusted).....	127,126	1,656	128,782
1963 requested.....	130,700	1,371	132,071
1963 increase or decrease.....	¹ +3,574	-285	+3,289

¹ The appropriation requested for 1963 (\$130,700,000) represents an increase of \$3,484,000 when compared to funds approved for 1962 (\$127,216,000).

Detail justification—Salaries and expenses, Federal Bureau of Investigation

[In thousands of dollars]

	1961 actual		1962 estimate		1963 estimate		1963 versus 1962	
	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost
DIRECT OBLIGATIONS								
Personnel compensation.....	13,524	103,476	13,579	105,271	13,797	107,637	+218	+2,366
Personnel benefits.....		6,984		7,026		7,252		+226
Travel and transportation of persons.....		4,572		4,606		5,063		+457
Transportation of things.....		519		494		504		+10
Rent, communications, and utilities.....		2,939		¹ 2,956		3,419		+463
Printing and reproduction.....		276		172		174		+2
Other services.....		1,854		1,629		1,637		+8
Supplies and materials.....		1,756		1,616		1,642		+26
Equipment.....		3,097		3,351		3,367		+16
Insurance claims and indemnities.....				5		5		
Total other objects of expenditure.....		21,997		¹ 21,855		23,063		+1,208
Total direct obligations.....		125,473		¹ 127,126		130,700		+3,574
Estimated savings.....		77						
Total funds available.....		125,550		¹ 127,126		130,700		+3,574

¹ Excludes funds to be transferred to General Services Administration (90,000).

Detail justification—Salaries and expenses, Federal Bureau of Investigation—Con.

[In thousands of dollars]

	1961 actual		1962 estimate		1963 estimate		1963 versus 1962	
	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost	Full-year employees	Cost
OBLIGATIONS PAYABLE OUT OF REIMBURSEMENTS								
Personnel compensation.....	181	1,678	134	1,236	115	1,017	-19	-219
Personnel benefits.....		115		85		70		-15
Travel and transportation of persons.....		130		97		49		-48
Transportation of things.....		7		5		5		
Rent, communications, and utilities.....		18		14		13		-1
Printing and reproduction.....		1		1		1		
Other services.....		24		18		17		-1
Supplies and materials.....		17		13		12		-1
Equipment.....		196		187		187		
Total other objects of expenditure.....		508		420		354		-66
Total obligations payable out of reimbursements.....		2,186		1,656		1,371		-285
Included in equipment item above are proceeds from the sale of personal property.....		(186)		(180)		(180)		
TOTAL DIRECT AND REIMBURSEMENTS								
Personnel compensation.....	13,705	105,154	13,713	106,507	13,912	108,654	+199	+2,147
Personnel benefits.....		7,099		7,111		7,322		+211
Travel and transportation of persons.....		4,702		4,703		5,112		+409
Transportation of things.....		526		499		509		+10
Rent, communications, and utilities.....		2,957		2,970		3,432		+462
Printing and reproduction.....		277		173		175		+2
Other services.....		1,878		1,647		1,654		+7
Supplies and materials.....		1,773		1,629		1,654		+25
Equipment.....		3,293		3,538		3,554		+16
Insurance claims and indemnities.....				5		5		
Total other objects of expenditure.....		22,505		22,275		23,417		+1,142
Total obligations.....		127,659		128,782		132,071		+3,289
Estimated savings.....		77						
Total funds.....		127,736		128,782		132,071		+3,289

¹ Excludes funds to be transferred to General Services Administration (90,000).

Obligations by activities

[In thousands of dollars]

	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate	1963 versus 1962
Direct obligations:				
1. Security and criminal investigations:				
(a) Coordination.....	5,085	5,258	5,337	+79
(b) Maintenance of investigative records and communications system.....	6,363	6,325	6,393	+68
(c) Field investigations.....	94,718	96,045	99,163	+3,118
2. Identification by fingerprints.....	10,349	10,489	10,594	+105
3. Criminal and scientific laboratory.....	2,690	2,770	2,844	+74
4. Training schools and inspectional serv- ices.....	807	1,078	1,104	+26
5. General administration.....	5,461	5,161	5,265	+104
Total direct obligations.....	125,473	127,126	130,700	+3,574
Estimated savings.....	77			
Direct funds available.....	125,550	127,126	130,700	+3,574
Obligations payable out of reimbursements:				
1. Security and criminal investigations:				
(a) Coordination.....	194	126	106	-20
(b) Maintenance of investigative records and communications system.....	2	1	1	
(c) Field investigations.....	1,084	1,527	1,262	-265
5. General administration.....	6	2	2	
Total obligations payable out of reim- bursements.....	2,186	1,656	1,371	-285
Total obligations incurred.....	127,659	128,782	132,071	+3,289

¹ Excludes funds to be transferred to General Services Administration (90 thousand).

REPLACEMENT OF AUTOMOBILES

The FBI is authorized to operate 3,104 passenger carrying vehicles. These cars must be in good operating condition since the Bureau's investigative responsibilities require cars capable of providing adequate service in combating criminal activities involving "hot pursuit" and in investigations concerned with espionage and security operations.

Although the Bureau will have an estimated 822 vehicles which will have met General Services Administration replacement standards as to age and mileage, the appropriation request for the fiscal year 1963 contains funds to replace only 501 of these. We will continue to obtain further service from the others.

APPROPRIATION LANGUAGE CHANGE

There is no change in the Bureau's appropriation language for the fiscal year 1963.

INTRODUCTION

The appropriation request allowed by the Bureau of the Budget for the fiscal year 1963 totals \$130,700,000. This will provide for 218 additional employees (145 special agents and 73 clerks) when compared to the number provided for the current fiscal year. All of the additional employees are for assignment to the field where there has been a substantial increase in investigative work, particularly in the criminal field.

There has been a continuing rise in nearly all major criminal offenses within the primary jurisdiction of the FBI. The Government's stepped-up drive against organized crime and racketeering since the forepart of the calendar year 1961 has greatly expanded the amount of work throughout the field. There has been a substantial increase in the antitrust category. All of this work is expected to continue to mount throughout the fiscal year 1963. At the same time, we must continue to meet our growing work concerned with security and counter-intelligence objectives against communism, espionage, subversion, and Communist-infiltrated front organizations and nationality groups.

It was because of this vast overall increase in our work, largely resulting from the Government's drive against hoodlums and racketeers, which made it necessary that we request additional field personnel for the fiscal year 1963.

Legislation enacted since the submission of our fiscal year 1963 request has broadened our jurisdiction and results in a further expansion of critically high workloads, both in the current fiscal year and during the fiscal year 1963. No funds or personnel were made available to handle this new work.

The request for the fiscal year 1963 does not provide for any increase in our seat of Government staff although there has been an appreciable rise in all essential seat of Government service functions, including name checks, fingerprint checks, and scientific examinations. The FBI will endeavor to absorb this additional work with its present staff.

BASIC STATUTORY AUTHORITY

The fundamental authority for its basic original functions was vested in the Federal Bureau of Investigation pursuant to the following legislation:

Authority for the activities of the Bureau is contained in section 360 of the Revised Statutes, derived from 16 Stat. 164, an act to establish the Department of Justice, dated June 22, 1870. Section 360 reads as follows: "The Attorney General may require any solicitor or officer of the Department of Justice to perform any duty required of the Department or any officer thereof."

Section 361 of the Revised Statutes further bestows authority upon the Attorney General to direct any of the divisions, heads, or departments under the Department of Justice to perform any duties which he shall direct and in the Appropriation Act for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1872 (16 Stat. 497), an appropriation was provided for the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States.

Title 18, section 3052, United States Code (formerly sec. 300A of title 5, U.S.C.), as amended January 10, 1951, by Public Law Number 915, provides that "* * * The Director, Associate Director, Assistant to the Director, Assistant Directors, Inspectors, and Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice may carry firearms, serve warrants and subpoenas issued under the authority of the United States and make arrests without warrant for any offense against the United States committed in their presence, or for any felony cognizable under the laws of the United States if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the person to be arrested has committed or is committing such felony."

Under authority contained in 5 U.S.C. 340 there was established under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice a division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be known as the Division of Identification and Information. Pursuant thereto, the Bureau shall be vested with the duty of acquiring, collecting, classifying, and preserving criminal identification and other crime records and the exchange of said criminal identification records with the duly authorized officials of governmental agencies, of States, cities, and penal institutions; and the cost of maintenance and operation of said Bureau shall be paid from the appropriation "Detection and prosecution of crimes" for the respective fiscal years concerned, as otherwise provided. The 85th Congress changed the Bureau's appropriation language for the fiscal year 1958 to provide that the exchange of identification and other records was for official use of the receiving departments or related agencies, such exchange to be subject to cancellation if dissemination is made outside the receiving departments or related agencies.

The FBI, as the investigative arm of the Department of Justice, has also been vested with subsequent authority for certain auxiliary specific and general investigative responsibilities by the Congress, the Attorney General, and the President of the United States. Many of these responsibilities play a direct part in defense matters affecting the Nation's security. Specific authority therefor is set forth under the immediately following section designated "Objectives."

OBJECTIVES

There are summarized below the principal objectives and responsibilities upon the basis of which funds will be utilized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

1. *Criminal investigations.*—The investigation of violations of Federal criminal statutes; collecting evidence in which the United States is or may be a party in interest; and performing other duties imposed by law.

Under this authority, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has investigative jurisdiction over some 165 Federal investigative matters. This authority covers all Federal statutes except those specifically assigned to another agency. Included in this group are various statutes concerned with kidnaping; extortion; crime aboard aircraft; bank robbery; white slavery; automobile theft; impersonation; the unlawful flight of certain local fugitives; illegal wearing of the uniform; crimes on Indian and Government reservations; theft and embezzlement of Government property; bribery; the interstate transmission of wagering information; interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia; interstate travel or transportation in aid of racketeering; violations of the Selective Service Act; and those pertaining to civil rights; frauds against the Government; anti-trust matters; and others in the criminal and civil fields of activity. Investigations to locate deserter fugitives are also conducted by the FBI upon request of the respective branches of the Armed Forces.

2. *Domestic intelligence.*—The FBI's responsibilities in the domestic intelligence field are authorized under legislative enactments, Presidential directives, and instructions of the Attorney General. They include investigative jurisdiction over matters relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, treason, sedition, subversion, and related internal security functions.

Various laws of the United States bring within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI the activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; its members and sympathizers; Communist front groups; totalitarian organizations; as well as any other subversive individuals or groups which are alleged either to seek the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence or to conspire against the rights of citizens. The FBI has primary responsibility for investigating matters of these types in the United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

3. *Coordination and dissemination of security data.*—By reason of various Presidential directives, the FBI has the responsibility of correlating information regarding espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and related matters on a national basis, and of referring matters under the jurisdiction of any other Federal agencies in these fields to the appropriate sources. Under these Presidential directives the FBI disseminates a large volume of information to other agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. During the course of the Bureau's investigations, particular attention is given at all times to information indicating any Soviet-Communist hostile action. As a part of this overall program, the FBI makes name checks of its files for the various agencies of the Government. By reason of these functions, the FBI is inescapably tied in with all defense matters.

The FBI also conducts considerable research in all phases of communism and the intelligence operations of the Soviets and their satellites in order to determine the tactics of Soviet Russia and the satellite countries. Many of the various studies prepared in this field are furnished to other intelligence agencies who have on a number of occasions, commented favorably concerning the value of these research studies in their own agencies.

The FBI has certain specialized defense functions in respect to which it operates as a member of the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference and the U.S. Intelligence Board and other bodies created by the National Security Council. In connection with its participation in the work of such bodies, the FBI makes plans and recommendations on various problems concerned with strengthening the internal security of the Nation.

4. *Specialized security programs.*—FBI responsibilities in the field of specialized security programs are largely concerned with various sensitive types of applicant and employee investigations. The bulk of the work derives from legislative enactments and Presidential directives requiring the FBI to ascertain facts pertinent to the loyalty and security risk of employees and applicants for positions in the Government service or in activities incident to which the Government has an official interest.

5. *Identification functions.*—To gather, maintain, classify, and preserve identification data received from cities, States, penal institutions, Federal agencies, and private citizens. To furnish information concerning such records to duly authorized agencies of Federal, State, and local governments and institutions in the interest of law enforcement.

6. *Scientific crime detection.*—To maintain a well-equipped technical laboratory as an aid in scientific crime detection. The facilities of the FBI Laboratory are made available on a cost-free basis to local law enforcement agencies as well as

Federal Government circles. The FBI's scientific personnel are made available to testify in court upon the request of prosecuting officials.

7. *Uniform crime reporting.*—To maintain a program of uniform crime reporting on a countrywide basis for the compilation of statistics concerning the extent of crime, arrests, convictions, and related crime data. This information is coordinated by the FBI and published in the form of four quarterly reports to demonstrate current crime trends as well as a comprehensive annual report which are furnished to all law enforcement agencies.

Summary of investigative accomplishments

	Fiscal year		1961 increase	
	1960	1961	Number	Percent
Convictions.....	11,914	12,390	476	4
Total sentences:				
Death sentences.....		1		
Life sentences.....	8	8		
Years.....	33,458	35,346	1,888	6
Fugitives located.....	9,527	9,935	408	4
Automobiles recovered.....	17,430	18,410	980	6
The following money statistics reflect the amounts assessed or saved through court or other legal action or physically recovered in cases in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation expended investigative effort:				
Fines, savings, and recoveries.....	\$142,822,244	\$167,654,622	\$24,832,378	17.4

PERCENTAGE OF CONVICTIONS

Fiscal year 1961.—Convictions were obtained against 96.6 percent of the persons brought to trial during the fiscal year 1961.

Guilty pleas.—Of the 12,390 convictions obtained during the fiscal year 1961, 11,545 (93.2 percent) were on guilty pleas, while the remaining 845 (6.8 percent) were the result of trial before judge or jury.

JUSTIFICATION: SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

IDENTIFICATION BY FINGERPRINTS

During the fiscal year 1961, the FBI received for handling 5,496,374 sets of fingerprints from 13,427 contributors, an average of 21,811 sets of fingerprints each working day. This is an increase of 293,467 sets of fingerprints, or 6 percent, over the volume received for handling during the prior year. Predicated upon an analysis of the continued increase in the volume of police arrest fingerprints and the workload volumes furnished by other Federal agencies for whom a great bulk of the work will be performed—and over which we have no control—an estimated 5,700,000 sets of fingerprints will be received for handling during the fiscal year 1963, up 4 percent over the high actual volume of receipts during the fiscal year 1961, as follows:

Fiscal year	Volume	Increase over 1959		Increase over 1961	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1959, actual.....	4,987,362				
1960, actual.....	5,202,907	215,545	4		
1961, actual.....	5,496,374	509,012	10		
1962, revised estimate.....	5,600,000	612,638	12	103,626	2
1963, estimated.....	5,700,000	712,638	14	203,626	4

NOTE.—The estimate for the fiscal year 1962, originally shown as 5,275,000, has been revised upward to more nearly conform to the actual trend of receipts.

The work of the Identification Division must be maintained in a current status to be of maximum value to the contributor. In keeping with the Bureau's policy of absorbing additional work wherever possible without seeking commensurate increases in personnel, we will endeavor to handle the estimated increased workload volume on a current basis with our present staff by a continued streamlining of our procedures.

Established by congressional action in 1924, the FBI's centralized fingerprint file contained 161,492,655 sets of fingerprints on December 1, 1961. Of this total, there were 39,415,605 sets of fingerprints in the criminal file representing an estimated 14,131,898 persons. The civil file contained 122,077,050 sets of fingerprints representing an estimated 62,218,769 persons.

The Bureau's centralized fingerprint file has grown over the years by reason of our responsibility of acquiring and preserving identification and other records and their exchange with authorized Government agencies, and local, municipal, and State law enforcement organizations and penal institutions. The file has become one of the most productive tools at all levels of the law enforcement profession. During the fiscal year 1961, for example, 2,160,733 sets of fingerprints which were submitted by law enforcement agencies of persons arrested or incarcerated were searched through the FBI fingerprint file. Identifications were made with prior arrest records on 1,686,050, or 78 percent, of such fingerprints and resulted in the identification of an alltime high of 18,546 fugitives. Many of these fugitives might have continued to avoid identification were it not for the Bureau's centralized fingerprint file and the excellent cooperation it receives from the law enforcement profession throughout the Nation. The 87,132 wanted notices outstanding in our fingerprint file at the close of the fiscal year 1961 clearly reflect the value placed by the law enforcement groups on this means of identifying and locating far-ranging fugitives.

TRAINING SCHOOLS AND INSPECTIONAL SERVICES

No administrative function of the modern-day law enforcement agency is of greater importance to its overall efficiency than the training of personnel. To carry out their increasing responsibilities in an efficient manner and to keep pace with the ever-changing tactics of the criminal and the subversive, it is essential that our investigative staff be kept abreast of new investigative procedures and techniques, the use of new equipment, and the like.

Training in the FBI includes the training of the newly appointed agents, the followup in-service training given from time to time for the experienced investigative staff, and the specialized training schools which are held to meet the needs as they arise.

It also includes the cooperative assistance which the Bureau provides, upon request, in the training of police officers of local law enforcement organizations throughout the Nation. During the fiscal year 1961, the FBI participated in 3,464 police training schools throughout the country in this cooperative training activity for the benefit of local law enforcement organizations throughout the Nation.

In addition, the FBI conducts law enforcement conferences on a nationwide basis dealing with pressing law enforcement problems confronting law enforcement as a whole. Such conferences enable the law enforcement profession to exchange ideas and to cooperatively develop more effective programs to combat mutual criminal problems. During the fall of 1961, the FBI held a series of special bank robbery conferences throughout the Nation in an effort to curtail the record number of crimes against banking institutions and to discuss the new legislation enacted by the last session of Congress which broadens FBI jurisdiction in the criminal field. A total of 215 conferences were held. These were attended by 20,470 persons representing 9,856 law enforcement agencies, banks, savings and loan associations, Federal credit unions, and surety companies.

Another cooperative training activity which the Bureau conducts is the FBI National Academy. The graduation of the 68th session on November 8, 1961, brought the total number of academy graduates to 4,093. More than 28 percent of the graduates now actively engaged in law enforcement occupy positions as the executive heads of their respective departments.

Much of the training for the police officers attending the FBI National Academy and for the training programs for Bureau personnel at the seat of Government is conducted at the Bureau's facilities located at the Marine Corps Schools base, Quantico, Va. These facilities include the Bureau's modern firearms ranges

which are used to provide firearms training of new agents; agents attending in-service schools; those agents assigned to the Bureau headquarters, Washington field office, and the Richmond, Va., office; as well as those law enforcement officers attending the FBI National Academy.

MAINTENANCE OF INVESTIGATIVE RECORDS AND COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

The Files and Communications Division has the responsibility for maintaining the data which this Bureau gathers as a result of its investigative and auxiliary responsibilities. It also has the responsibility for the Bureau's extensive communications system.

During the fiscal year 1961, a total of 1,628,685 name checks were received for handling, an increase of 56,851 name checks over the volume received during the prior year. According to official estimates, furnished primarily by outside sources for which such work will be performed, it is anticipated that the name check work will continue its upward trend with an estimated 1,650,000 name checks being referred for handling during the fiscal year 1963, an increase of 21,315 name checks over the actual receipts during the fiscal year 1961, as follows:

Fiscal year	Volume	Increase over 1959		Increase over 1961	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1959, actual.....	1,542,309				
1960, actual.....	1,571,834	29,525			
1961, actual.....	1,628,685	86,376			
1962, revised estimate.....	1,650,000	107,691		21,315	
1963, estimated.....	1,650,000	107,691	7	21,315	1

NOTE.—The fiscal year 1962 estimate, originally shown as 1,600,000, has been revised upward to 1,650,000 to more nearly conform to the actual trend of receipts.

The great bulk of the name checks are from other agencies. FBI estimates are based upon actual workload experience. Other agency figures are based upon official estimates furnished by them and over which we have no control.

The Bureau's central record file serves many Federal agencies as a result of various Presidential directives and other authority vesting the Bureau with the responsibility of coordinating and disseminating security and intelligence data, particularly as it concerns espionage, sabotage, and related subversive matters affecting the domestic internal security. Of the 1,628,685 names received for search through our files during the fiscal year 1961, a total of 1,374,350 were from other agencies of the Government.

CRIMINAL AND SCIENTIFIC LABORATORY

The volume of scientific examinations received for handling continued to mount throughout the fiscal year 1961, reaching a new alltime high of 224,183. The FBI Laboratory serves as a national service agency and its facilities are available on a cost-free basis to municipal, county, and State law enforcement organizations in all parts of the United States, as well as to other Federal agencies. Thus, all law enforcement agencies regardless of size or location, have at their disposal in their cooperative fight against crime, the finest crime detection facilities in the world. The laboratory technicians who perform the examination of the submitted material are available for expert testimony in local as well as Federal courts.

The workloads of the laboratory have been on a steady rise for many years and reflect the growing importance of physical examination of evidence in the many investigations conducted, not only for the FBI, but for other Federal agencies as well as local agencies on all levels across the country.

The volume of scientific work is expected to continue to increase with the number of scientific examinations reaching an estimated 228,000 during the fiscal year 1963, up 2 percent over the record-breaking volume received for handling during 1961. Again, in keeping with our policy of handling increased work wherever possible without seeking commensurate increases in personnel, we have not requested additional personnel for our laboratory staff for the

fiscal year 1963 to handle the growing volume of scientific work. We will endeavor to absorb the growing volume through research and the development of improved scientific techniques, the use of improved equipment, and the like.

The following tabulation shows the actual volume of scientific examinations for the fiscal years 1959 through 1961 together with the estimated volumes to be received for handling for the fiscal years 1962 and 1963.

Fiscal year	Volume	Increase over 1959		Increase over 1961	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1959, actual	184,993				
1960, actual	210,745	25,752	14		
1961, actual	224,183	39,190	21		
1962, revised estimate	226,000	41,007	22	1,817	
1963, estimated	228,000	43,007	23	3,817	2

NOTE.—The estimate for the fiscal year 1962 was revised upward from 212,000 to 226,000 to more nearly conform to the actual trend of receipts.

FIELD JUSTIFICATION

OVERALL PICTURE

The fiscal year 1961 brought a sharp jump in our field investigative work, particularly in the criminal field. The 1961 volume is a continuance of the upward spiral in field workloads which have been on a constant increase for many years. As a result, there is an urgent need for a sufficiently adequate staff to keep pace with the mounting volume of work in the overall criminal, security, and civil fields of operation.

New legislation passed since the submission of the Bureau's appropriation request for the fiscal year 1963 will add substantially to our already sharply mounting workloads, both in the current fiscal year and throughout the fiscal year 1963. No funds or personnel have been made available to handle the new work.

The new legislation includes such items as:

Public Law 87-27, approved May 1, 1961

Substance: Has as its purpose the alleviating of conditions of unemployment and underemployment in certain economically distressed areas. It provides penalties for false statements, embezzlements, false entries, and the like, which offenses are under FBI jurisdiction.

Public Law 87-197, approved September 5, 1961

Substance: Amends the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for the application of Federal criminal law to certain events occurring on board aircraft in air commerce, such as (a) hijacking of the aircraft; (b) interfering with the flight crew; (c) carrying of concealed weapons aboard the aircraft; (d) commission of certain crimes while aboard the aircraft; and (e) conveying or imparting false information concerning attempts to do any act which would be a crime under the above prohibitions.

Public Law 87-216, approved September 13, 1961

Substance: Prohibits the use of a wire communication facility for the transmission in interstate or foreign commerce of bets or wagers on any sporting event or related information.

Public Law 87-218, approved September 13, 1961

Substance: Prohibits the interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia.

Public Law 87-221, approved September 13, 1961

Substance: Prohibits the willful destruction of, or injury to, certain property moving in interstate or foreign commerce.

Public Law 87-228, approved September 13, 1961

Substance: Prohibits travel or transportation in interstate or foreign commerce in aid of racketeering enterprises.

Public Law 87-293, approved September 22, 1961

Substance: Provides for the Peace Corps, a new program. The act provides that if the agency making the investigation of personnel of the Peace Corps develops data reflecting that the person being investigated is of questionable loyalty or is a security risk, the investigating agency shall refer the matter to the FBI for the conduct of a full field investigation.

Public Law 87-297, approved September 26, 1961

Substance: Established the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The Civil Service Commission (CSC) is to conduct the applicant investigations regarding personnel of the new agency, but in the event CSC determines the person investigated may be or may become a security risk, or may be of doubtful loyalty, the matter is to be turned over to the FBI for a full field investigation.

Public Law 87-306, approved September 26, 1961

Substance: Amends the statute pertaining to interference with the Government's communications system and increases the scope of the facilities covered.

Public Law 87-342, approved October 3, 1961

Substance: Extends the scope of the Federal Firearms Act to make it unlawful for any person to move any firearm or ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce who has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year.

Public Law 87-347, approved October 3, 1961

Substance: Provides for subsidies to small domestic producers of lead and zinc. Penal provisions are provided for the submission of false statements, and the like, which offenses are under FBI jurisdiction.

Public Law 87-368, approved October 4, 1961

Substance: Broadens the FBI's jurisdiction to locate local fugitives who have fled across State lines by including under the Fugitive Felon Act all State crimes punishable by death or which are felonies in the place from which the fugitive fled or which, in the case of New Jersey, are high misdemeanors.

Public Law 87-371, approved October 4, 1961

Substance: Amends the interstate transportation of stolen property statute to prohibit the transportation of fraudulent State tax stamps in interstate or foreign commerce.

On December 1, 1961, there were pending in the entire field service a total of 108,144 investigative matters of all types, of which 6 percent were in a delinquent status. This represented an average assignment of 21 matters for each special agent in the field.

The sharp rise in our fieldwork is reflected in the fact that 591,226 investigative matters were received during the fiscal year 1961 as compared with 537,335 during 1960, a 10-percent increase. The 1961 volume was far in excess of the 530,000 matters originally estimated to be received during that period and on the basis of which funds were made available.

The upward trend is expected to continue. Before the passage of the new legislation, it was estimated that 615,000 investigative matters in the criminal, civil, and security classifications would be referred for action under our direct appropriation request for 1963.

Investigative volumes received during the fiscal years 1959 through 1961, together with the estimated receipts to be received during the fiscal years 1962 and 1963, are shown in the following tabulation. All figures are exclusive of any reimbursable type of work.

Fiscal year	Volume	Increase over 1959		Increase over 1961	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1959, actual.....	513,855				
1960, actual.....	537,335	23,480	5		
1961, actual.....	591,226	77,371	15		
1962, revised estimate.....	603,000	89,145	17	11,774	2
1963, estimated.....	615,000	101,145	20	23,774	4

NOTE.—The estimate for the fiscal year 1962 was revised upward from 563,000 to 603,000 to more nearly conform to the actual trend of receipts.

Our investigative staff, over the years, has been making substantial personal sacrifices in an endeavor to adequately discharge the tremendous increase in our investigative responsibilities and work. For example, during the fiscal year 1961 the overtime of our investigative staff amounted to an aggregate 3,668,416 hours, an average of 2 hours 50 minutes overtime on the part of each special agent during each workday throughout the year.

Public Law 763, approved September 1, 1954, provides, among other things, that certain employees whose duties require unscheduled and administratively uncontrollable overtime duty may be paid up to 15 percent of the entrance salary of grade GS-9 as a salary differential where they qualify for this benefit. The Attorney General approved payment of these benefits to investigative personnel of this Bureau. This permitted the partial reimbursement of the 3,668,416 hours of overtime during the fiscal year 1961, which overtime represents the equivalent of 1,764 special agents on a full-year basis. Had it been necessary to employ the additional 1,764 agents represented by this overtime, the cost would have been an estimated \$18,702,387. However, under Public Law 763, this overtime service during the fiscal year 1961 was compensated only to the extent of \$5,611,168, representing, in effect, a salary savings to the Government of \$13,091,219 when compared with the value of the total overtime performed.

The 1963 appropriation estimate contains funds to continue these payments for unscheduled and administratively uncontrollable overtime duty.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

Despite the public denial by Soviet leaders, the fact is that the Communist Party, U.S.A., has always been, and is today, unalterably welded to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Under the guise of a political organization, the Communist Party, U.S.A., acts as the subservient mouthpiece of international communism with the Kremlin setting the line to be followed. International issues expedient to the Soviet Union's stated intent of world domination by communism are rotely echoed throughout our country by the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The U.S. Supreme Court, on June 5, 1961, lifted the thin veil of legitimacy when it judicially affirmed the oft-repeated contention that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is not a legitimate political party but a subversive group directed and controlled by the Soviet Union.

Never in the history of mankind have free men been confronted with the challenge the international movement is making toward world domination, and the Communist Party in this country is part and parcel of this international Communist conspiracy.

Accordingly, it is vital that we follow all phases of activity of the Communist Party, U.S.A., so that the U.S. Government will be aware of the plans, tactics, and programs of this subversive organization. This requires continuous and widespread investigative activity since the tentacles of the party spread octopus-like throughout the Nation. Many of its activities are carried on through front organizations. These cover every sphere of activity which the Communists assess as important or significant to the Communist program. Through this front organization, the party conducts pressure campaigns, disseminates Communist propaganda, distributes Communist literature, raises funds, and insidiously exploits the masses of people and public opinion to further its revolutionary aims and purposes.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

The Supreme Court decision on June 5, 1961, upheld the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Communist Party, U.S.A., must register with the Attorney General under the Internal Security Act of 1950 as a Communist-action organization. This opens up the possibility of an entire new field of action against the Communist Party, U.S.A.

In view of past statements of the Communist Party, U.S.A., it cannot be expected that the party will comply with all of the provisions of the act. It will then devolve upon the FBI to furnish the Department with data so that compliance will be obtained and violations uncovered. Dependent upon the extent of the evasive action of the party, and the prosecutive steps taken by the Department of Justice, the upholding of the registration order of the Subversive Activities Control Board could cause a tremendous upsurge in the expenditure of manpower on the part of our investigative staff.

ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

For over three decades the Soviet Union has directed a vicious, concerted, espionage attack against the United States. There has been no abatement in this activity. In fact, throughout the history of the world never has espionage been emphasized to the extent and with the fanatical dedication as that practiced by the Soviet-bloc countries. Over the years they have attempted to obtain every conceivable type of information in this country. Every source available is pressed into service and no method is too reprehensible if it holds the promise of deluding the prospective source to provide services or information to the Communists.

The intensity with which the Soviets and their satellites are driving in their quest to penetrate the defenses of this country through their espionage apparatus makes it vital that the FBI have adequate manpower to meet this threat to the security of America.

CRIMINAL OPERATIONS

The Bureau's criminal-type work increased substantially during the fiscal year 1961. Not only are most major criminal offenses under our jurisdiction on the increase, but throughout the calendar year 1961 we have handled a vast amount of additional work in connection with the Government's stepped-up drive against organized crime in the United States.

As a result of our continuing inquiries regarding hoodlums and their activities, we have furnished voluminous data to the Department of Justice. Many of these investigations have national ramifications. Also during the fiscal year 1961, the FBI disseminated 101,210 items of criminal information to local and Federal law enforcement agencies pertaining to the hoodlum element. This has been of material assistance to other law enforcement agencies in assisting them in breaking up hoodlum gangs, in locating dangerous fugitives, in recovering stolen merchandise, and in contributing in various ways to the solution of law enforcement problems.

The accelerated drive against organized crime requires that we have broad coverage of the underworld elements. It demands the development of numerous informants and detailed data regarding the criminal proclivities of hoodlums and racketeers, their sources of income, financial manipulations, and infiltration of legitimate or front-type business activities—all of which requires the assignment of considerable additional investigative personnel on a continuing basis.

ANTITRUST INVESTIGATIONS

The Bureau's work in the antitrust field has greatly increased. This is reflected in the accomplishments growing out of our investigations in this category. During the fiscal year 1961 there were 198 convictions recorded, resulting in sentences totaling 122 years and 7 months, and in fines totaling \$2,641,000. These are substantially in excess of those during the prior year when 120 convictions with sentences totaling 14 years and 9 months, and in fines totaling \$1,027,650, were recorded. The great bulk of these investigations have extensive ramifications and require the heavy assignment of investigative personnel over extended periods.

The FBI's antitrust workload commitments will continue to rise because of the emphasis being placed by the Antitrust Division upon criminal prosecutions and the increased number of inquiries to be made as to possible violations being committed by racketeers in the labor field, price fixing in industry, and the like. In addition, added emphasis is being placed upon the enforcement of civil judgments and inquiries into mergers. All of this will require the assignment of additional manpower.

SPECIFIC INCREASES: CRIMINAL AND CIVIL WORK

The following tabulation indicates specific increases in several classifications of criminal and civil work during fiscal year 1961.

Investigative matters received

Classification	Fiscal year		1961 increase Percent
	1960	1961	
Election law matters.....	171	1,134	563
Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (criminal).....	457	1,076	135
Interstate transportation of obscene matter.....	1,579	2,423	53
Antiracketeering.....	3,748	5,657	51
Bombing or racial matters.....	2,979	4,077	37
Antitrust.....	1,337	1,767	32
Civil rights.....	2,246	2,903	29
National Bankruptcy Act.....	1,222	1,518	24
Obstruction of justice.....	178	220	24
Escaped Federal prisoners.....	5,883	7,237	23
Admiralty matters.....	303	365	20
Pardon and parole matters.....	837	970	16
Federal Reserve Act.....	3,449	3,969	15
Selective Service Acts.....	28,218	32,001	13
Labor Management Relations Act, 1947.....	441	499	13
Fugitive bond default.....	600	678	13
Kidnaping.....	1,332	1,499	13
Bank robbery.....	8,575	9,612	12
White Slave Traffic Act.....	9,625	10,790	12
Illegal wearing of uniform.....	1,150	1,271	11
Court of Claims matters.....	399	438	10
Interstate transportation of stolen property.....	62,023	67,830	9
Crimes on Government reservations.....	6,680	7,277	9
Interstate transportation of lottery tickets.....	189	205	8
Theft or embezzlement of Government property.....	8,433	9,117	8
Extortion.....	3,377	3,614	7
Unlawful flight violations.....	16,590	17,495	5
Interstate transportation of stolen motor vehicle or aircraft.....	86,416	90,171	4
Thefts from interstate shipments.....	22,383	22,910	2
Federal Housing Administration matters.....	2,243	2,280	2

CONCLUSION

The estimates for the fiscal year 1963 do not provide for potential contingencies resulting from additional investigative duties conferred upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation by new legislation or that may accrue through departmental or other official sources, after the preparation of our initial estimates.

Mr. ROONEY. The request is in the amount \$130,700,000, an increase of \$3,484,000 over the amounts appropriated in the current fiscal year.

We are once again pleased to have with us and honored by the presence of the distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, the Associate Director, the Honorable Clyde Tolson, and the Assistant to the Director, the Honorable John Mohr.

Mr. Director, will you please proceed.

GENERAL STATEMENT

FUNDS AND PERSONNEL, FISCAL YEAR 1963

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, our direct appropriation request, as indicated by the chairman, exclusive of reimbursements, allowed by the Bureau of the Budget for the fiscal year 1963 totals \$130,700,000.

It will provide for 13,797 full-year employees.

FUNDS AND PERSONNEL, FISCAL YEAR 1962

Direct funds, exclusive of reimbursements, approved for the fiscal year 1962 total \$127,216,000.

It will allow 13,579 full-year employees.

TOTAL OVERALL INCREASE, FISCAL YEAR 1963

Funds: Our request for 1963 represents an increase of \$3,484,000 when compared with the appropriation for the current fiscal year.

Personnel: Our personnel request for 1963 represents an increase of 218 full-year employees—145 agents and 73 clerks—when compared with the total for 1962 of 13,579.

COST OF ADDITIONAL EMPLOYEES

The total amount included in our 1963 request for the additional 218 employees is \$1,720,903—that is, \$1,401,953 for salary cost and \$318,950 for other expense items. The 145 additional special agents requested would enter on duty in grade GS-10 at \$6,995 per annum. Of the 73 additional clerical employees requested, 36 would enter on duty in grade GS-3 at \$3,760 per annum, and 37 would enter in grade GS-4 at \$4,040 per annum.

MAJOR FACTORS AFFECTING NEEDS

All of the additional 218 employees requested for 1963 are for assignment in the field service. The requested increase is based primarily upon our critical need for additional manpower to discharge greatly expanded investigative responsibilities which have been shouldered by the Bureau in connection with the Government's stepped-up program directed against organized crime and racketeering.

In addition, we have been faced with a mounting volume of work in the overall criminal and civil field. Most of the major criminal offenses under our jurisdiction are on the increase, and there has been a substantial rise in investigative volumes in the antitrust category.

Our investigative activity under the Government's stepped-up drive against organized crime greatly increased beginning in January 1961, in keeping with the Attorney General's announced coordinated drive by all Federal agencies under the then existing laws. This stepped-up activity was undertaken to develop a vast amount of data regarding the organized crime picture for the assistance of the Department of Justice in carrying out this drive. This intelligence-type investigative activity, which is of a continuing nature and has involved the submission of thousands of reports to the Department throughout 1961, was done under the authority existing at that time and no new legislation was involved.

In regard to the new legislation, this was not generally enacted until September-October 1961, while our request for funds for the fiscal year 1963 was submitted in May 1961, and in keeping with the Bureau of the Budget regulations, it did not include funds or personnel to handle work resulting from legislation which might subsequently be enacted into law.

Thus far, we are endeavoring to absorb the cost of the added work resulting from the new legislation passed last fall. We will continue to absorb it as long as we can, and should it reach such a volume that this can no longer be done, I of course will make a request for a supplemental appropriation, but that is not contemplated at the present time.

At the same time, we must continue to meet our security and counter-intelligence objectives against communism, espionage, Communist-infiltrated front organizations and nationality groups, and the like.

I would like to submit at this time a list of the new legislation showing the cases which have been received since it was enacted.

Mr. ROONEY. We shall insert this exhibit at this point in the record. (The exhibit referred to follows:)

NEW LEGISLATION

1. *Area Redevelopment Act*.—Public Law 87-27, approved May 1, 1961, has as its purpose the alleviating of conditions of unemployment and underemployment in certain economically distressed areas. It provides penalties for false statements, embezzlements, false entries, and the like, which offenses are under FBI jurisdiction. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, none.)

2. *Crime aboard aircraft*.—Public Law 87-197, approved September 5, 1961, amended the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for the application of Federal criminal law to certain events occurring on board aircraft in air commerce. This legislation brings a wide range of violations under the FBI's jurisdiction, including (a) hijacking of the aircraft; (b) interfering with the flight crew; (c) carrying of concealed weapons aboard the aircraft; (d) commission of certain crimes while aboard the aircraft; and (e) conveying or imparting false information concerning attempts to do any act which would be a crime under the above prohibitions. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 25.)

3. *Interstate transmission of wagering information*.—Public Law 87-216, approved September 13, 1961, prohibits the use of a wire communication facility for the transmission in interstate or foreign commerce of bets or wagers on any sporting event or related information. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 1,381.)

4. *Interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia*.—Public Law 87-218, approved September 13, 1961, prohibits the interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 507.)

5. *Destruction of property moving in interstate or foreign commerce*.—Public Law 87-221, approved September 13, 1961, prohibits the willful destruction of, or injury to, certain property moving in interstate or foreign commerce. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 68.)

6. *Interstate travel or transportation in aid of racketeering*.—Public Law 87-228, approved September 13, 1961, prohibits travel or transportation in interstate or foreign commerce in aid of racketeering enterprises, such as travel in furtherance of activities concerned with gambling, liquor, prostitution, narcotics, extortion, and bribery. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 294.)

7. *Peace Corps Act*.—Public Law 87-293, approved September 22, 1961, provides for the Peace Corps, a new program. The act provides that if the agency making the investigation of personnel of the Peace Corps develops data reflecting that the person being investigated is of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk, the investigating agency shall refer the matter to the FBI for a full field investigation. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 23.)

8. *Arms Control and Disarmament Act*.—Public Law 87-297, approved September 26, 1961, established a U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, a new agency. The Civil Service Commission (CSC) is to conduct the applicant investigations regarding personnel of the new agency, but in the event CSC determines the person investigated may be or may become a security risk, or may be of doubtful loyalty, the matter is to be turned over to the FBI for a full field investigation. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 1.)

9. *Interference with Government communications system*.—Public Law 87-306, approved September 26, 1961, amended the statute pertaining to interference

with the Government's communications system and increases the scope of the facilities covered. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 20.)

10. *Extending scope of Federal Firearms Act.*—Public Law 87-342, approved October 3, 1961, extends the scope of the act to make it unlawful for any person to move any firearm or ammunition in interstate or foreign commerce who has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year. (Heretofore, the act applied only to persons convicted of, or fleeing to avoid prosecution for, a crime of violence, such as murder, kidnaping, rape, and the like.) (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 2.)

11. *Lead and Zinc Stabilization Act.*—Public Law 87-347, approved October 3, 1961, pertains to a program of stabilization payments to stabilize the mining of lead and zinc by small domestic producers on public, Indian, and other lands. Penal provisions are provided for the submission of false statements, and the like, which offenses are under FBI jurisdiction. (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, none.)

12. *Broadening of Fugitive Felon Act.*—Public Law 87-368, approved October 4, 1961, greatly broadens the FBI's jurisdiction to locate local fugitives who have fled across State lines to avoid prosecution, custody, confinement, or giving testimony by including under the Fugitive Felon Act all State crimes punishable by death or which are felonies in the place from which the fugitive fled or which, in the case of New Jersey, are high misdemeanors. (Heretofore, the unlawful flight to avoid prosecution, custody, or confinement was limited to certain specific types of crimes [murder, kidnaping, burglary, robbery, mayhem, rape, assault with a dangerous weapon, arson punishable as a felony, extortion accompanied by threats of violence, or attempts to commit any of these crimes].) (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 967.)

13. *Broadening of interstate transportation of stolen property statute.*—Public Law 87-371, approved October 4, 1961, extends the coverage of the act to prohibit the transportation of fraudulent State tax stamps in interstate or foreign commerce. (Previously, a portion of the interstate transportation of stolen property statute included the interstate or foreign transportation of forged, altered, or counterfeited checks, bonds, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness. The new amendment specifically makes fraudulent State tax stamps a violation under this portion of the statute.) (Cases received as of January 1, 1962, 1.)

EFFECT OF NEW LEGISLATION

Mr. HOOVER. The new legislation enacted since the submission of our estimated needs for 1963 further extends our jurisdiction and will substantially add to our mounting workloads during the current fiscal year as well as 1963. Indicative of the amount of new work being handled, a total of 3,289 cases have been opened as a result of the new legislation that is contained in the exhibit I just presented.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT STAFF

The mounting volume of investigative work throughout the field has been accompanied by overall increases in our seat of government service functions with respect to name checks, fingerprint checks and laboratory examinations. We have not requested any additional personnel at the seat of government to handle this growing volume of work. We will endeavor to absorb it with our present staff.

COMPARISON OF FUNDS AND PERSONNEL, 1962-63

This exhibit which I hand to the committee shows for the fiscal years 1962 and 1963 the number of special agents and clerks for the seat of the government and the field, as well as a breakdown of the amounts of personnel compensation and for other expenses. It shows specific increases for each item, accounting for the overall increase of \$3,484,000 for 1963.

Mr. ROONEY. We shall insert this exhibit at this point in the record.
(The exhibit referred to follows:)

Details: Funds and personnel, fiscal year 1962 versus 1963

	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963	Increase
Personnel (full-year employees):			
Seat of government:			
Special agents.....	471	471	
Clerks.....	4,419	4,419	
Total (SOG).....	4,890	4,890	
Field:			
Special agents.....	5,464	5,609	145
Clerks.....	3,225	3,298	73
Total (field).....	8,689	8,907	218
Total:			
Special agents.....	5,935	6,080	145
Clerks.....	7,644	7,717	73
Total (SOG and field).....	13,579	13,797	218
Funds: Personnel compensation.....	\$105,270,762	\$107,636,848	\$2,366,086
Other expenses:			
Personnel benefits.....	7,026,345	7,251,707	225,362
Travel and transportation of persons.....	4,606,152	5,063,387	457,235
Transportation of things.....	493,598	504,476	10,878
Rent, communications, and utilities.....	3,046,076	3,418,631	372,555
Printing and reproduction.....	171,790	173,970	2,180
Other services.....	1,629,230	1,636,642	7,412
Supplies and materials.....	1,615,901	1,641,843	25,942
Equipment.....	3,351,146	3,367,496	16,350
Insurance claims and indemnities.....	5,000	5,000	
Subtotal, other expenses.....	21,945,238	23,063,152	1,117,914
Total all expenses.....	¹ 127,216,000	130,700,000	3,484,000

¹ Of this amount \$90,088 is to be transferred to General Services Administration to cover rental of space acquired in 1962.

EXPLANATION OF INCREASE FOR 1963

Mr. HOOVER. Of the total overall increase, \$2,366,086 is applicable to personnel compensation items and the remaining \$1,117,914 to other expense items.

The \$2,366,086 increase for personnel compensation is accounted for by two factors. First, the salary cost for the 218 additional employees requested amounts to \$1,401,953. Secondly, there is an increase of \$964,133 to continue the Bureau's promotional program throughout 1963, which includes \$339,500 for within-grade promotions, which are mandatory by law.

PROMOTIONAL PROGRAM

I have discussed our promotional program in some detail in previous appearances before this committee. This program enables us to continue to retain qualified and experienced personnel. It is conservative as the funds requested will provide a per annum increase of only \$71 per employee, that is, \$119.05 per agent and \$33.69 per clerk.

I submit to the committee a detailed explanation of the promotional program.

Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert this statement with regard to the promotional program at this point in the record.
(The statement referred to follows:)

BUREAU'S PROMOTIONAL PROGRAM

Clerical employees in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, other than typists and stenographers, are appointed in grade GS-2 at \$3,500 per annum. Typists are appointed in grade GS-3 at \$3,760 per annum. Stenographers are appointed in grade GS-4 at \$4,040 per annum.

Fingerprint classifier vacancies in the FBI are filled from the staff of grade GS-2 (\$3,500 per annum) clerical employees. Clerks are assigned to this duty who demonstrate fitness for training and advancement as technical fingerprint employees. After successfully qualifying in training and work performance for a period of 3 months they are eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-3 (\$3,760 per annum). After 9 months' total service the employee is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-4 (\$4,040 per annum). After a total of 18 months of fingerprint work the employee is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-5 (\$4,345 per annum). Thereafter, after a total of 30 months of fingerprint work he is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-6 at \$4,830 per annum. Fingerprint positions are available only in Washington, D.C.

As all employees qualify for more responsible positions in the Bureau's service, they become eligible for promotion to higher grades as vacancies occur.

Our special agents enter on duty in grade GS-10 at \$6,995 per annum. After performing duties in this grade for at least 2 years, they become eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-11 (\$7,560 per annum). They normally remain in grade GS-11 for 3 years before they become eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-12 at \$8,955 per annum. An agent on regular investigative assignment after completing at least 4 years of satisfactory service in grade GS-12 is eligible for consideration for promotion to grade GS-13 at \$10,635 per annum.

By statute, within-grade Ramspeck promotions are obtained by employees in those grades through GS-10 on an annual basis. Those employees in grades GS-11 and above obtain the within-grade Ramspeck promotions each 18 months.

TENURE OF SERVICE

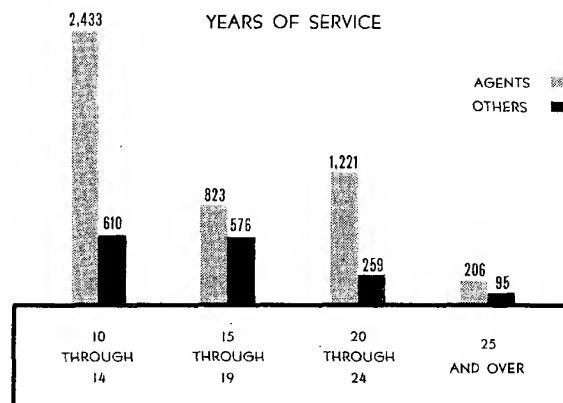
Mr. HOOVER. Since we have been able to retain our experienced personnel it follows that a large number of our employees have been with the Bureau for many years. Having an experienced staff is one of the reasons we have been able to handle a growing volume of work without receiving commensurate increases in personnel.

This chart which I present to the chairman provides interesting information concerning the length of service of our employees. It shows that of the 13,459 employees on the rolls as of January 1, 1962, a total of 6,223, or 46 percent, had served for over 10 years. An impressive 79 percent of our investigative staff, or 4,683, had service records ranging from 10 to over 40 years.

Mr. ROONEY. We shall insert this exhibit at this point in the record.
(The exhibit referred to follows:)

Length of Service - - FBI Personnel

AS OF JANUARY 1, 1962, THERE WERE 13,458 FBI EMPLOYEES, INCLUDING 5,919 SPECIAL AGENTS AND 7,540 CLERKS. OF THESE, 6,223 (OR 46%) HAD SERVED THE FBI TEN YEARS OR LONGER. OF THE SPECIAL AGENTS, 4,683 (OR 79%) HAD TEN OR MORE YEARS OF SERVICE; AND OF THE OTHER EMPLOYEES 1,540 (OR 20%) HAD SERVED AT LEAST TEN YEARS.



PERSONNEL TURNOVER

Mr. HOOVER. The desire of our employees to serve and be made a part of the FBI career service is reflected in the FBI's low personnel turnover rates.

For example, during December 1961, the turnover rate of our special agent staff was three-tenths of 1 percent. For the Bureau as a whole during the same month it averaged 1.7 percent. The latest available monthly turnover rate for Government employees as a whole was reported to be 2 percent, and in manufacturing industries to be 4.1 percent.

EXPLANATION OF INCREASE—OTHER EXPENSE ITEMS

I will now discuss the increases affecting the other expense items as shown in the exhibit which I previously presented.

The 218 additional full-year employees account for \$318,950 of the overall \$1,117,914 in these items.

PERSONNEL BENEFITS

The increase of \$225,362 for "Personnel benefits" results from four factors.

1. An increase of \$96,398 is occasioned by the mandatory contributions which the Bureau must make for the additional 218 full-year employees to the health benefits fund, to the life insurance fund, to the civil service retirement fund and for social security taxes. These are fixed by law.

2. An increase of \$64,174 is attributable to increases in the rates of contributions for social security taxes. Our 1962 funds provide for contributions at the rate of 3 percent of the salaries of the personnel covered. Public Law 87-64, approved June 30, 1961, raised the rate to $3\frac{1}{8}$ percent effective January 1, 1962, and to $3\frac{5}{8}$ percent effective January 1, 1963.

We are absorbing the added cost of the rate increase for the last 6 months of this current fiscal year, but for the next fiscal year we are asking for that additional money, as has been indicated.

3. An increase of \$2,232 is brought about by legislation which requires us to reimburse the Employees' Compensation Fund administered by the Department of Labor in the amount actually paid to FBI employees in injury and death benefits. The first such transfer, covering the 7 months of the fiscal year 1961 during which the legislation was in effect, is to be made from 1963 funds. For the FBI, this amounted to \$2,232.

4. The remaining \$62,558 of the overall increase is attributable to the cost of additional contributions which must be made to the retirement fund as a result of higher average salaries of our overall personnel staff.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION OF PERSONS

The item, "Travel and transportation of persons," shows an increase of \$457,235. Of this total, \$122,235 is to cover the 145 additional field agents at an average estimated expenditure of \$843 each. The remaining \$335,000 of the overall increase represents the additional amount required to cover increased per diem rates, which have been raised from \$12 to \$16 per day.

Mr. ROONEY. What is your policy with regard to these increases in per diem rates as well as with regard to the increase in mileage?

Mr. HOOVER. We pay the full amount of \$16 now. We started out at the rate of \$12. When we found other Government agencies were granting the full amount which Congress has allowed, \$16 a day, we felt we were required to do so also, beginning on October 1, 1961.

Mr. ROONEY. With regard to the increase in mileage rate?

Mr. HOOVER. We held it to the 10-cent-a-mile rate.

RENT, COMMUNICATIONS, AND UTILITIES

The item "Rent, communications, and utilities" shows an increase of \$372,555. Of this amount, \$37,555 is to cover the 145 additional field agents at an average estimated expenditure of \$259 each.

The remaining \$335,000 of the overall increase represents the added amount required to reimburse the Post Office Department as a result of (1) an increase in registered mail rate effective August 15, 1961, from 50 to 60 cents, and (2) a substantial increase in the volume of our mailings of identification and apprehension orders, "wanted" flyers, and check circulars.

The issuance of identification orders, "wanted" flyers, and circulars is an inexpensive investigative technique, when considered in light of the substantial amount of investigative time and effort it saves, which has brought about the apprehension of many badly wanted fugitives. It enables us to enlist the aid of local law-enforcement agencies as well as other groups to bring about the fugitive's apprehension.

Identification orders, for example, enable all law enforcement to have a record of a wanted man and to be on the lookout for him. In the same manner, circular letters serve to alert a particular type of business or profession which might be victimized by the fugitive or be contacted by him.

In the face of the mounting volume of crime throughout the Nation and of increases in most major criminal offenses under our jurisdiction, we have increased substantially the number of mailings of identification orders, "wanted" flyers, and the like. The increased volume of mailings is expected to continue throughout 1963, and in fact may still further increase because of the broadened jurisdiction of the Bureau under the recently amended Fugitive Felon Act.

I hand to the chairman a tabulation which gives further details regarding the increase of \$335,000 requested for payment to the Post Office Department. It shows the extent of our increased mailings of identification orders, "wanted" flyers, and the like, along with the volume of registered mail which will be covered by the increased registered mail rates.

Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert this explanation of increase at this point in the record.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

Explanation of increase (\$335,000) requested for payment to Post Office Department (under item "Rent, communications, and utilities"), fiscal year 1963

Item	Mailed volumes		Increase
	Allowed by 1962 funds	Actual mailings, 1961	
1. To cover increased volume of mailings of identification and apprehension orders, "wanted" flyers, check and other circulars, and outstanding lists:			
Identification orders.....	6, 472, 166	11, 150, 917	4, 678, 751
Apprehension orders.....	2, 094, 397	2, 334, 403	240, 006
"Wanted" flyers.....	1, 636, 660	4, 666, 395	3, 029, 735
Check circulars and other circular letters.....	158, 551	2, 496, 747	2, 338, 196
Outstanding lists (lists issued twice a year showing, for information of law enforcement agencies, the identification orders, "wanted" flyers, and check circulars then outstanding).....	147, 726	194, 371	46, 645
Total mailings.....	10, 509, 500	20, 842, 833	10, 333, 333
Cost at \$0.03 each (3d class mail).....	\$315, 285	\$625, 285	\$310, 000
2. Increase in registered mail rates effective Aug. 15, 1961, from 50 to 60 cents (1962 cost to be absorbed); 1963 costs estimated on basis of 250,000 such mailings at increased cost of 10 cents each, for a total increase of.....			25, 000
Total increase in payment to Post Office Department....			335, 000

Mr. HOOVER. The increases shown for each of the remaining items of other expenses are due to the additional 218 employees requested for 1963. The specific items of increase are:

"Transportation of things," \$10,878; "Printing and reproduction," \$2,180; "Other services," \$7,412; "Supplies and materials," \$25,942; "Equipment," \$16,350.

REPLACEMENT OF AUTOMOBILES

We are authorized to maintain an operating fleet of 3,104 passenger carrying vehicles.

Although we will have an estimated 822 vehicles which will have met the General Services Administration replacement standards, we are requesting funds for 1963 to permit, for replacement, the purchase of only 501, the same number as the committee allowed us last year. I give to the chairman an exhibit which shows a breakdown of the age and mileage of our approved operating fleet.

Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert this itemization at this point in the record.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

Itemization of FBI-authorized fleet of 3,104 passenger carrying vehicles by year models and estimated accumulated mileage groups for fiscal year 1963, with summary showing vehicles meeting replacement standards during 1963

Miles	1951	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	Total
0 to 9,999							5	41	147	193
10,000 to 19,999					3	5	24	140	249	421
20,000 to 29,999				3	23	17	74	153	83	353
30,000 to 39,999				21	104	49	146	90	22	432
40,000 to 49,999		1		91	227	96	106	42		563
50,000 to 59,999	2			129	238	105	70	22		566
60,000 to 79,999		1	1	129	190	138	54	9		522
80,000 to 99,999				1		24	14	2		41
100,000 and over						5	8			13
Total	2	2	1	374	785	439	501	499	501	3,104

Summary showing vehicles meeting replacement standards of either 6 years of age or 60,000 miles of operation

Number meeting mileage standard but not age	444
Number meeting age standard but not mileage	248
Number meeting both age and mileage standard	130
Total number of vehicles meeting replacement standards	822
Replacement included in funds requested	501
Number meeting replacement standards for which no funds are being requested	321

REIMBURSEMENTS

Mr. HOOVER. I submit another exhibit providing an itemization of the estimated reimbursements, totaling \$1,370,960, which we will receive during 1963 for work performed for other Government agencies and from the sale of automobiles to be replaced. These funds, of course, are not included in the pending appropriation request.

Mr. ROONEY. With regard to this itemization, I note that there is not carried the item for loan of personnel to the House Appropriations Committee.

Mr. HOOVER. We never know in advance, Mr. Chairman, what the request of the chairman of the full committee may be. Sometimes he will request a few men; other times he will request as many as 15 or 20 for a temporary period of 3 or 4 months. There are three men full time on the committee rolls at the present time.

Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert this itemization of estimated reimbursements at this point in the record.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

Itemization of estimated reimbursements, fiscal years 1962 and 1963

	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963	1963 decrease
Atomic Energy Commission.....	\$1,190,000	\$1,155,000	\$35,000
Workload: Investigations (at \$350 each).....	3,400	3,300	100
Civil Service Commission (United Nations program).....	\$35,960	\$35,960	
Workloads:			
Name checks (at \$1.56 each).....	1,000	1,000	
Full field (loyalty) investigations (at \$860 each).....	40	40	
House Appropriations Committee: (Loan of personnel).....	\$250,000		\$250,000
Subtotal: Reimbursements from other accounts.....	\$1,475,960	\$1,190,960	\$285,000
Proceeds from the sale of cars to be replaced.....	\$180,000	\$180,000	
Number of cars to be replaced.....	501	501	
Total estimated reimbursements.....	\$1,655,960	\$1,370,960	\$285,000

NOTE.—The above reimbursable funds provide for the following full-year employees:

	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963	1963 decrease
Agents.....	85	68	17
Clerks.....	49	47	2
Total.....	134	115	19

INVESTIGATIVE RESULTS, FISCAL YEAR 1961

Mr. HOOVER. The FBI's growing investigative accomplishments are a reflection, I believe, of the rising amount of crime as well as the mounting volume of work which we have been called upon to handle.

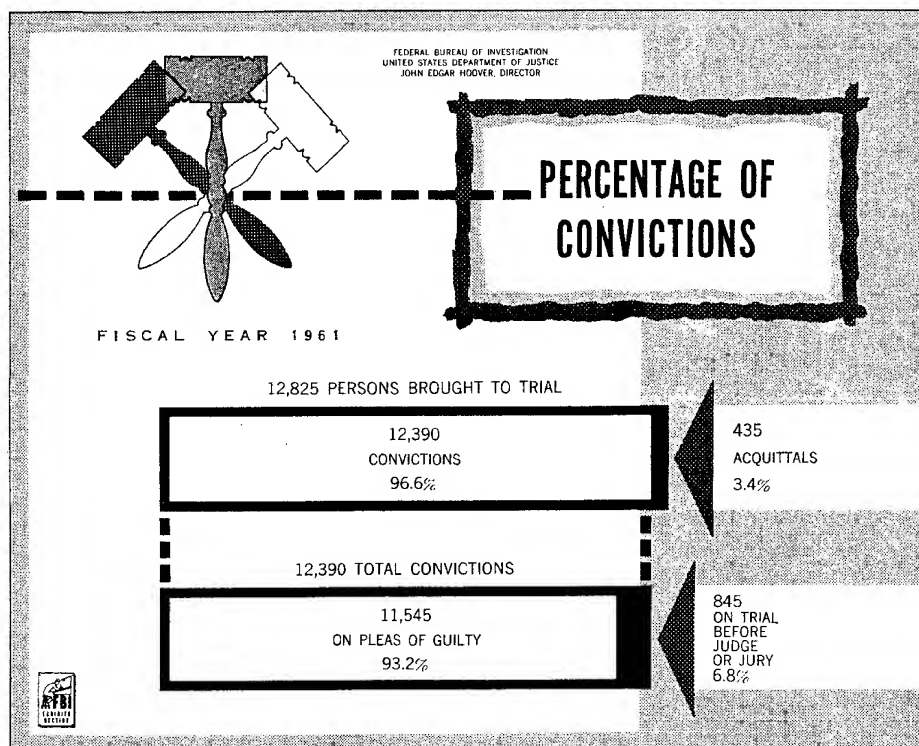
CONVICTIONS

Convictions in cases investigated by the FBI reached 12,390 during the fiscal year 1961, which was an increase of 476 over those recorded during the prior year.

I present a chart which reflects graphically that the convictions obtained during 1961, represent 96.6 percent of all persons brought to trial in FBI cases and 93.2 percent resulted from pleas of guilty.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

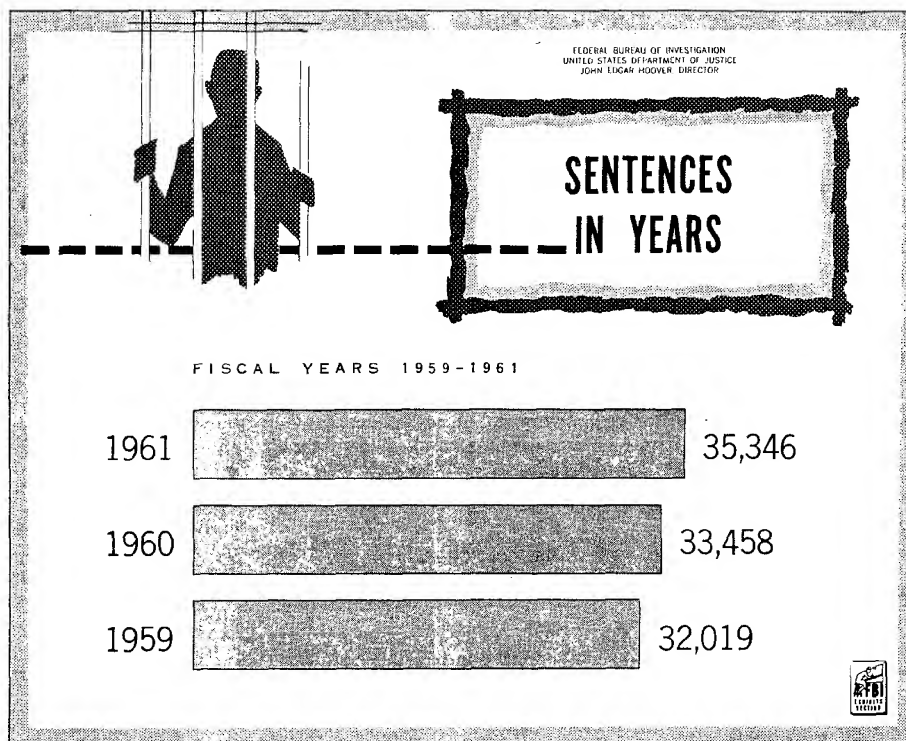
(The exhibit referred to follows:)



SENTENCES IMPOSED

Mr. HOOVER. Sentences imposed, including actual, suspended, and probationary, totaled 35,346 years, an increase of 1,888 years over those of the previous fiscal year. Eight life terms and one death sentence were also imposed in cases investigated by the Bureau. The chart which I submit shows the upward trend of the sentences imposed during 1959 to 1961.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.
(The exhibit referred to follows:)



FUGITIVES

Mr. HOOVER. A total of 9,935 fugitives from justice were located during the investigation of FBI cases during the last fiscal year, which was up 408 over those in 1960. Included in this total were 21 members of the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives" list, as compared to 16 such fugitives during 1960.

FINES, SAVINGS, AND RECOVERIES

Fines, savings, and recoveries in cases investigated by the Bureau rose during 1961 to a new all time high of \$167,654,622. This is an increase of \$24,832,378 over the 1960 record, and it represents a return of \$1.34 for each \$1 of direct funds appropriated to the Bureau during the fiscal year 1961.

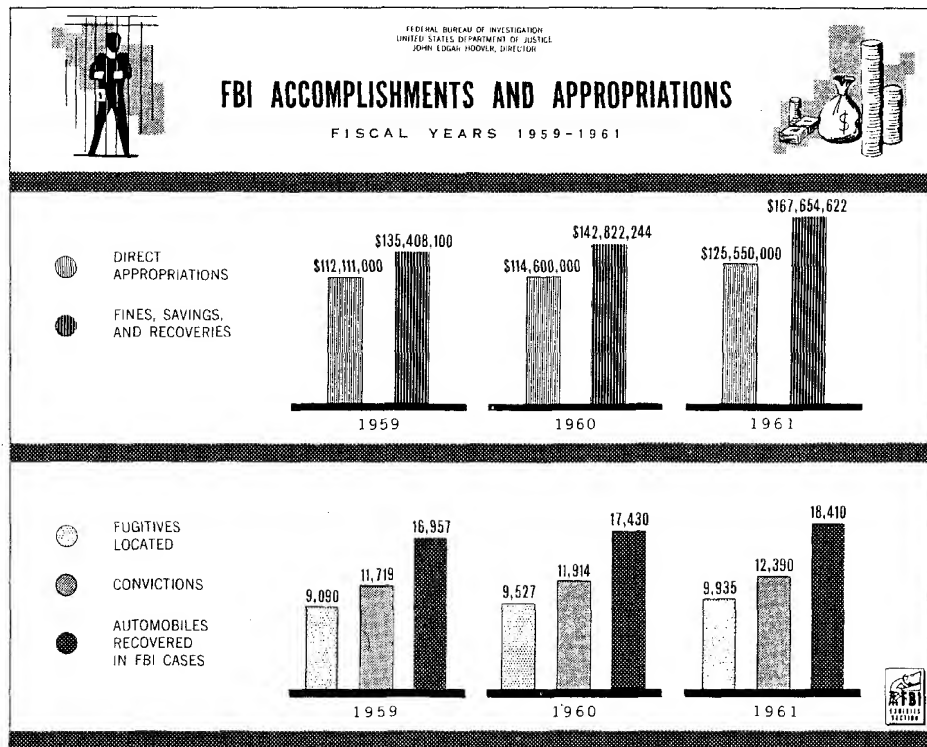
AUTOMOBILES RECOVERED

A record high of 18,410 stolen motor vehicles were recovered in FBI cases during 1961 as compared with 17,430 during the prior year.

The chart which I hand to the chairman shows some of the accomplishments achieved over the past 3 years in the categories I have just discussed, together with the amount of direct funds which Congress made available to us during this period to carry out our responsibilities.

Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert this graphic exhibit at this point in the record.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)



ASSISTANCE OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Mr. HOOVER. Many of our accomplishments were made possible by the splendid assistance of our confidential informants.

During the fiscal year 1961, as a direct result of information provided by our informants, we located 2,194 individuals, including 4 who were on our "10 most wanted fugitives" list. These informants also provided information which resulted in the recovery of stolen merchandise and contraband valued at \$3,138,692.

In addition, during 1961, information received by the FBI from its informants concerning matters within the investigative jurisdiction of local, State, and other Federal law enforcement organizations, resulted in 2,640 arrests and in the recovery of merchandise valued at \$1,605,047 following our dissemination of the information to them.

The chart which I hand to the committee shows the upward trend in the accomplishments in criminal cases directly attributable to FBI confidential informants.

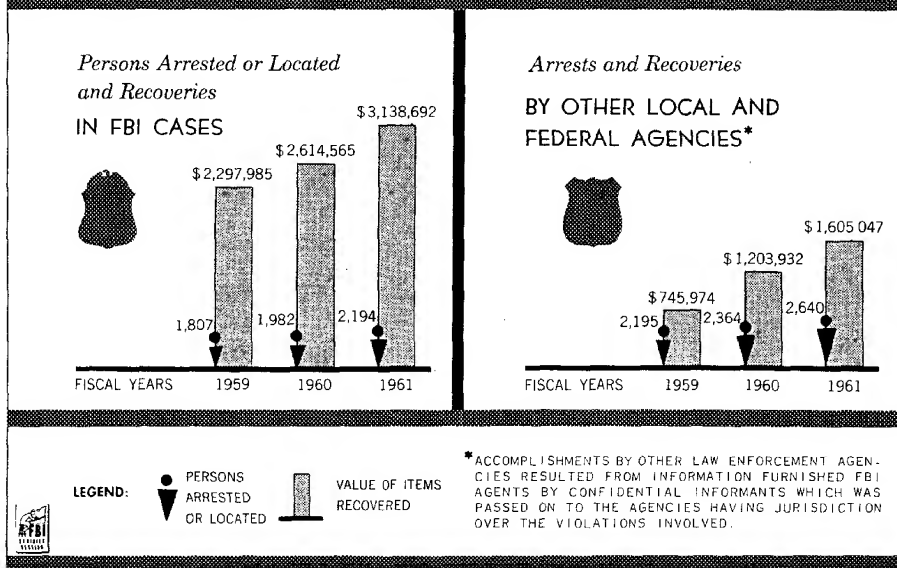
Mr. ROONEY. Do you want this in the record?

Mr. HOOVER. I have no objection, Mr. Chairman. The reason I made the chart available is to refute what we hear so frequently, criticizing the use of confidential informants. The chart clearly reflects the value and assistance law enforcement receives from confidential informants.

Mr. ROONEY. I think it might be interesting if, without objection, we insert that exhibit at this point in the record.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

Accomplishments in Criminal Cases Directly Attributable to FBI CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS



IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

Mr. HOOVER. I will now discuss our Identification Division, which is now in its 38th year of operation, having been established on July 1, 1924, under the authority of this committee.

Serving as a national repository for fingerprint identifying data, it exchanges fingerprint data, on a cost-free basis, with local, State and Federal law enforcement organizations throughout the Nation.

CONTRIBUTORS

During the fiscal year 1961, contributors to this national repository reached an alltime high of 13,427, which includes substantially every law enforcement agency across the land.

I hand to the chairman a chart which shows the steady climb in the number of fingerprint contributors.

Mr. ROONEY. Very good.

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE

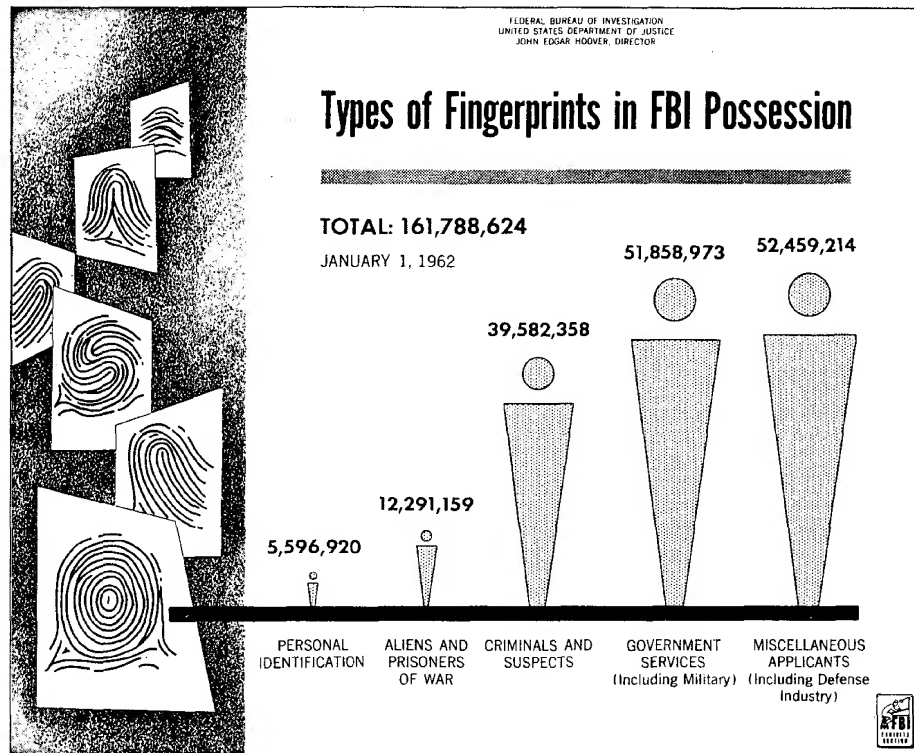
Mr. HOOVER. In addition to the receipt of fingerprint data from contributors in this country, we cooperate with 77 foreign non-Communist nations as well as the Canal Zone, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, in the international exchange of fingerprint information.

FINGERPRINTS ON FILE

Starting with a nucleus of 810,188 sets of fingerprints in 1924, the file as of January 1, 1962, contained 161,788,624 sets of fingerprints, which are segregated into a criminal file and a civil file.

The criminal file contained 39,582,358 prints representing an estimated 14,171,584 persons. The 122,206,266 civil prints represent an estimated 62,231,780 persons.

I submit a chart which shows the makeup of our identification files. (The exhibit referred to follows:)



POLICE RECORD IDENTIFICATIONS

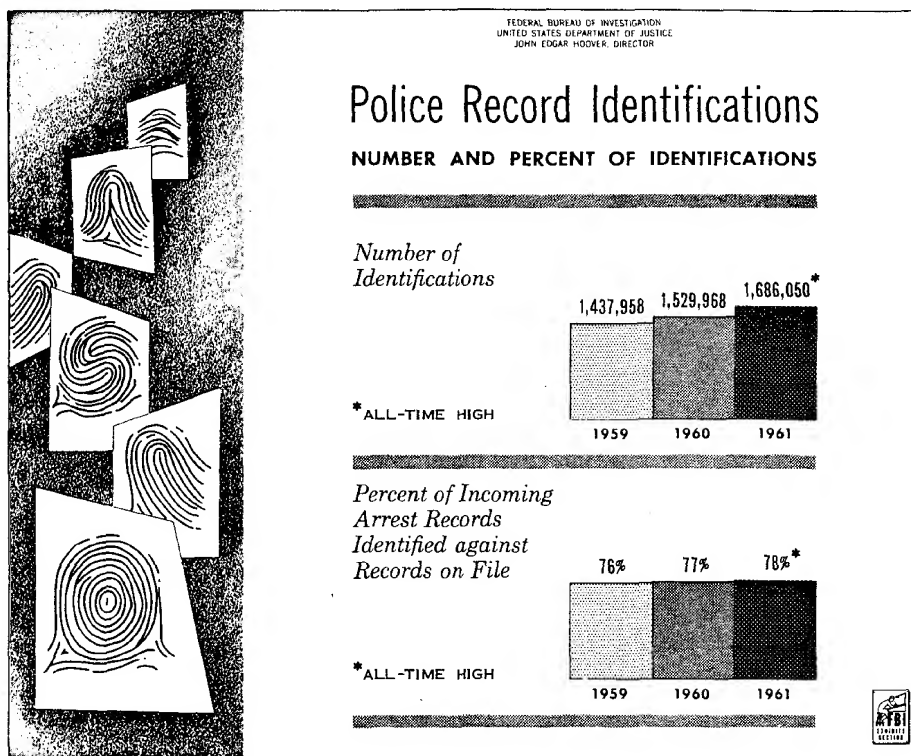
Mr. HOOVER. The outstanding cooperation on the part of all law enforcement and other contributors in submitting fingerprint data has made our national fingerprint file a most effective force in the overall effort of law enforcement in this country to combat crime on a national scale.

For example, in the important matter of identifications made with police prints, during the fiscal year 1961 an alltime high of 78 per cent of the police prints handled by our Identification Division were identified with prior police records.

The chart which I present shows graphically the growing effectiveness of the fingerprint file.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)



FUGITIVES IDENTIFIED

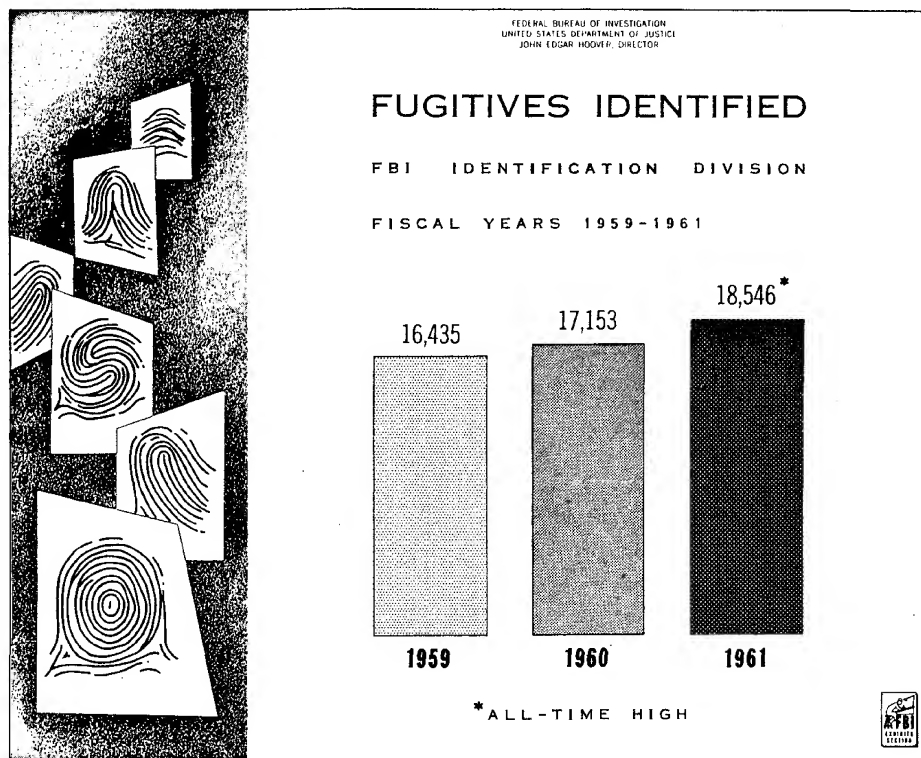
Mr. HOOVER. The growing value of the fingerprint file is also reflected in the number of fugitives being identified. During the fiscal year 1961, an all time high of 18,546 fugitives from justice were identified by fingerprint searches. I hand to the chairman a chart which graphically portrays the increasing accomplishments in this endeavor.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(The exhibit referred to appears on following page.)

WANTED NOTICES

Mr. HOOVER. With the high percentage of identifications being effected on prints received for search, police agencies find that the posting of wanted notices in our fingerprint file is an effective means of locating wanted fugitives who have fled from the local police and the place of their crime. As of January 1, 1962, there were 86,277 such wanted notices on file.



The effectiveness of this service is well illustrated by a recent case with which I think the committee may be familiar, that of Mate Ivanov, an escapee from a New York mental institution on November 15, 1961, who was widely sought by local authorities after 5 members of his brother-in-law's family were brutally murdered in their home on November 25, 1961, at Mineola, N.Y. On December 5, 1961, a man claiming to have the name of Mario Levi, and a native of Italy, appeared in the Florida Keys stating he was a refugee from the Castro regime, having fled Cuba in a rowboat using his clothes as a sail.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service took this man into custody. We were called in to interview him, and fingerprints of him were taken. We found them to be the fingerprints of Ivanov, the man who was sought for the murders in New York. The Nassau County Police Department arranged to have him removed to New York State.

FBI DISASTER SQUAD

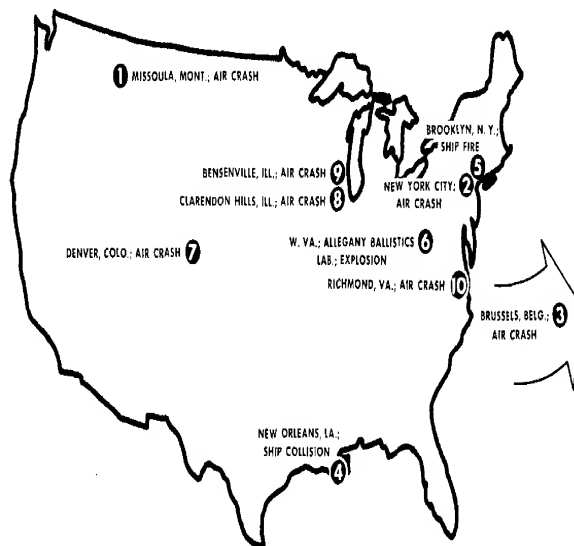
The FBI Disaster Squad, organized in 1940, is a group of specially trained fingerprint experts who are available on request to assist in the identification of persons killed in fires, storms, explosions, airplane crashes and the like. Since being organized, the squad has identified victims in 36 such major disasters. This chart shows the areas in which our Disaster Squad has been called to function since July 1, 1960.

Mr. ROONEY. Very good.
(The exhibit referred to follows:)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

FBI DISASTER SQUAD

SINCE JULY 1, 1960, DISASTER SQUAD SERVICES HAVE BEEN REQUESTED IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF VICTIMS IN TEN DISASTERS.



THESE DISASTERS RESULTED IN 497 DEATHS. DISASTER SQUAD MEMBERS WERE ABLE TO SECURE ONE OR MORE FINGERPRINTS FROM 281 VICTIMS. 223 OF WHOM WERE IDENTIFIED THROUGH FINGERPRINT COMPARISON.

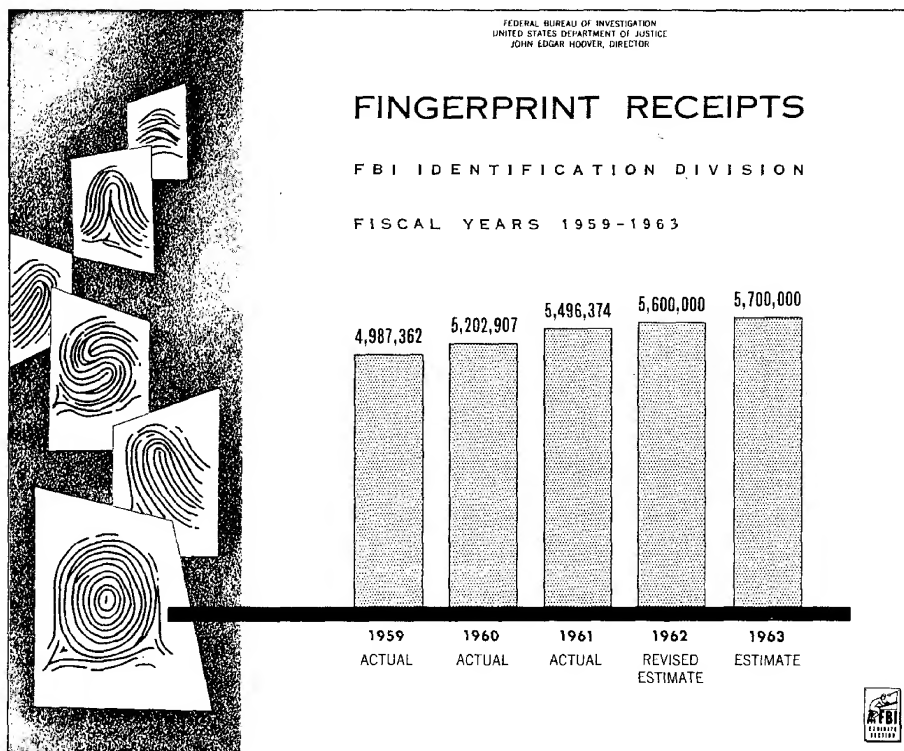


FINGERPRINT WORKLOAD VOLUME

Mr. HOOVER. During the fiscal year 1961, our Identification Division received 5,496,374 sets of fingerprints for handling. This is an increase of 293,467 sets of fingerprints, or 6 percent, when compared with those received during the previous year.

This chart shows the upward trend, actual and estimated, in the receipt of fingerprints from 1959 to 1963.

(The exhibit referred to follows :)



Mr. HOOVER. The steady rise in our fingerprint work can be better visualized when you consider the volume in terms of the average number of fingerprints received each day. During the fiscal year 1960, we received a daily average of 20,484 sets of fingerprints. During 1961, this was up to 21,811 and during the first 6 months of the current fiscal year, the average daily has jumped to 23,520.

Although our fingerprint work has increased substantially, as indicated, we are not requesting any additional personnel in that Division.

TRAINING AND INSPECTION DIVISION

Our Training and Inspection Division has the responsibility of supervising our overall training program throughout the entire service of the Bureau, and carries out our inspection operations. These training and inspection activities fulfill an important need and serve constructively to strengthen and unify our procedures. It amounts to an audit of our field offices and a determination of the uniformity of the procedures utilized and their efficiency.

Upon request, we assist in the training of police officers of other duly authorized law enforcement organizations throughout the Nation.

Over the years, hundreds of thousands of police officers across the country have attended training schools which have been conducted by FBI instructors in all phases of law enforcement.

NEW AGENTS' TRAINING

One of our schools is for newly appointed special agents in the service. We require that applicants for appointment to the position of special agent be between the ages of 25 and 40 and capable of strenuous physical exertion. They must be graduates of resident law schools and have 2 years of accredited resident undergraduate work, or a 4-year resident degree majoring in accounting, with at least 3 years of practical accounting or auditing experience. I may add that each agent is required to take a physical examination each year.

Newly appointed special agents receive an intensive 14-week period of training in Washington, D.C., and at the FBI Academy and firearms ranges on the U.S. Marine Corps Base at Quantico. The training course is a rigorous, concentrated, fast-moving activity which demands the very best of each man.

FBI INSPECTION PROGRAM

Our inspection program over the years has brought about increased economy and efficiency in the operations of the Bureau. Annual inspections are objective and constructive. They cover administration, supervision, and performance at all levels of work, both at the seat of government and in the field. This is one means whereby we can achieve the strictest economy, streamlining of our operations, and maximum use of our available manpower.

FBI NATIONAL ACADEMY

The training which we make available for the benefit of local, State and Federal law enforcement agencies throughout the Nation is one of our important cooperative functions. This includes the FBI National Academy which is a vital and dynamic force in American law enforcement. It was founded in 1935 and is now in its 27th year of operation.

The demand for attendance is extremely heavy. In view of this, the size of each class, beginning with last August, was increased to 80 men. Up to that time, there were approximately 60 men in each class. The 68th session, with 80 officers in attendance, graduated on November 8, 1961, bringing the total number of graduates to 4,093. More than 28 percent of the graduates now actively engaged in law-enforcement work are the executive heads of their respective departments.

LOCAL POLICE SCHOOLS

For many years we have participated, upon request, in police training schools offered by local law-enforcement agencies for their officers. During the fiscal year 1961, we participated in a total of 3,464 such local police training schools at the invitation of local authorities.

This chart shows the widespread nature of this cooperative police training, and it indicates the number of schools which were held during the last fiscal year at the request of the local departments.

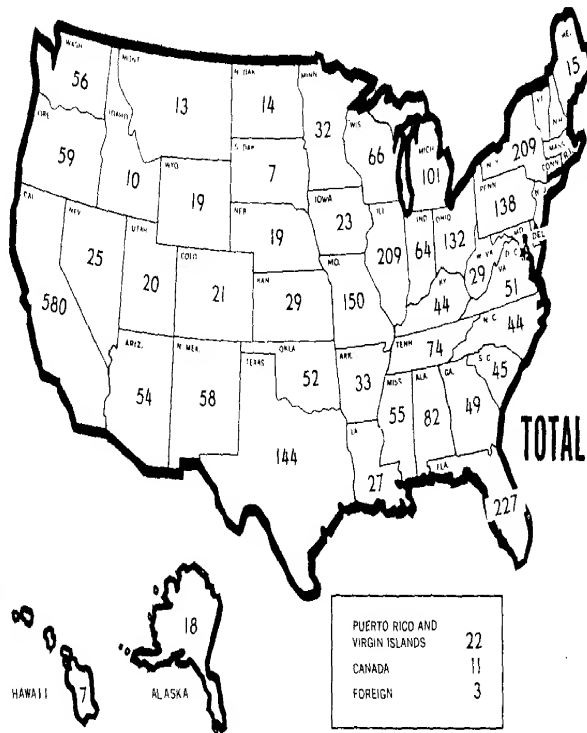
Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

NUMBER OF LOCAL POLICE SCHOOLS IN WHICH FBI ASSISTED AT REQUEST OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

FISCAL YEAR 1961



N. H. 7
VT. 3
MASS. 51
R. I. 10
CONN. 72
N. J. 134
DEL. 11
MD. 21
D. C. 15

TOTAL 3,464

PUERTO RICO AND VIRGIN ISLANDS	22
CANADA	11
FOREIGN	3



REGIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT CONFERENCES

Mr. Hoover. An important auxiliary phase of the FBI's training program is the FBI regional law-enforcement conferences. These conferences are sponsored annually throughout the United States, and they permit the mutual exchange of ideas and the analysis of pressing problems confronting law enforcement as a whole.

During the fall of 1961, a series of 215 FBI regional conferences were held on the organized crime problem, largely based upon the new legislation which was enacted during the last session of Congress and which broadened our jurisdiction, and on the growing bank robbery problem. All aspects of the new legislation and how it could be used as a weapon in combating organized crime as it exists in this country today were covered. These conferences were attended by 20,470 persons representing 9,856 law-enforcement agencies and other interested groups.

FBI LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN

For the information of the committee, I submit a copy of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. It is prepared for the use of law enforcement organizations throughout the country. It is distributed on a monthly basis, and appraises the officers at the local level of new developments in their work and provides a national medium for the mutual exchange of ideas within the profession.

CHILD MOLESTER POSTER

Mr. Hoover. The child molester is a revolting criminal who may strike in any of our communities. A foremost measure of crime prevention against this type of criminal is a program of educating children in regard to the dangers of being lured by strangers. As a primary weapon in this campaign, the FBI in 1956 began distributing coloring sketches for elementary schoolchildren, pointing out the menace of the child molester. We make it available without cost and it has received a tremendous response. Over 18 million copies have been distributed to date to law enforcement agencies, schools, civic and service organizations, and the like.

"THE STORY OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION"

The booklet, "The Story of the Federal Bureau of Investigation," a copy of which I hand to the chairman, was initially prepared a number of years ago at the suggestion of this committee, and continues to be very much in demand. To date, over 800,000 copies have been distributed free of charge. It costs 3 cents per copy to produce.

Since it provides information regarding the background, activities, and accomplishments of the Bureau, it serves to answer many of the inquiries which we receive for this information from individuals and from educational and civic organizations and Members of Congress.

NATIONAL CRIME TRENDS

Regretfully, there has been no change in the national crime trend. Crime continues to increase rapidly and to rise four times faster than the population.

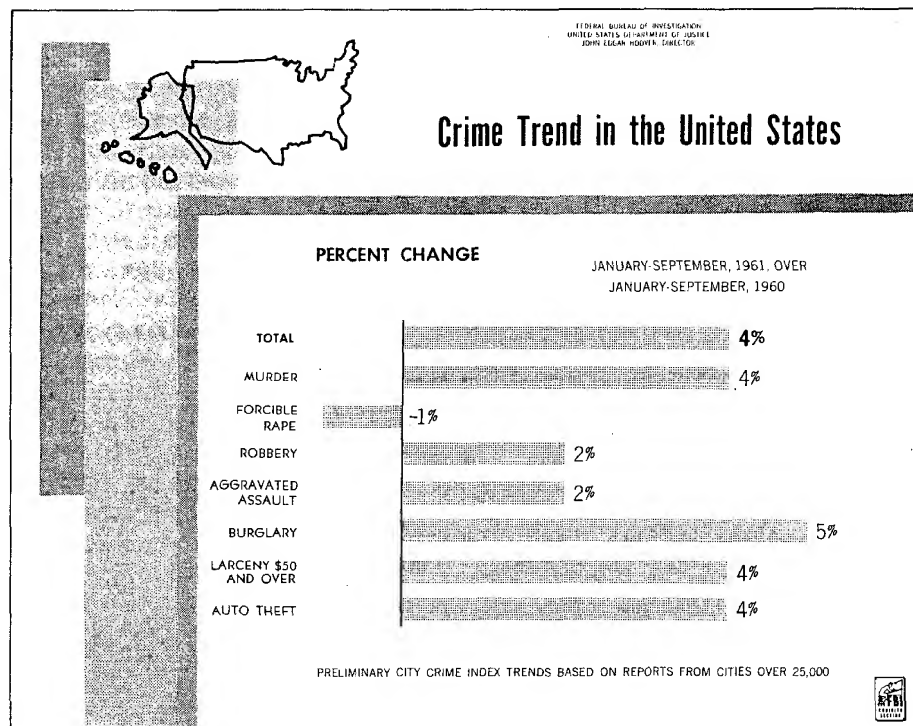
Based on reports from more than 7,700 law enforcement agencies throughout the Nation, there were an estimated 1,861,300 serious crimes committed during the calendar year 1960, an increase of 14 percent over 1959.

Preliminary figures for 1961 show that this upward surge is continuing. Except for forcible rape, which decreased 1 percent, all major crime classifications reflected an increase during the first 9 months of 1961 when compared to the same period of the previous year. On an overall basis, crime was up 4 percent during this period. Burglaries rose 5 percent; murders, automobile thefts, and larcenies over \$50 moved ahead 4 percent; and robberies and aggravated assaults increased 2 percent.

I submit a chart which graphically portrays the increases in serious crime to which I have referred.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)



CRIME HIGHLIGHTS AND COST

Mr. HOOVER. Even those Americans who may be fortunate enough to personally escape a frontal attack by some lawbreaker help pay the staggering crime bill estimated at \$22 billion a year. Equally divided, this bill averages out to a sum of \$128 for every individual in the United States. To further illustrate the magnitude of financial waste in the cost of crime, one has only to consider these figures: For every dollar spent on education, \$1.11 goes to crime; for every dollar donated to religious organizations, crime claims \$9.

Averaging out the total number of serious crimes in 1960, we discovered that each day of the year an estimated 25 persons were feloniously killed; 356 suffered an aggravated assault; 43 were forcibly raped; 243 robberies, 2,243 burglaries, and 1,298 larcenies over \$50 occurred; and 878 motor vehicles were stolen. These figures reveal an average of 5,086 serious crimes were committed in the United States each day in 1960.

FACTORS AFFECTING CRIME TREND

The ultimate weapon in the fight against crime is the American citizen. In military parlance, law enforcement agencies are operating in the field of combat without the benefit of support troops. Their supply lines, especially, are thin and inadequate, for the American people are not "passing the ammunition" in the form of information about illegal operations.

I dare say that at this very moment there are literally hundreds of thousands of Americans who possess vital information about various criminal activities, which, if placed in the hands of law enforcement officers, could start an offensive against the lawless hordes that would result in a complete rout of the forces of crime.

I do not mean to imply that Americans fail to cooperate with law enforcement officers in the investigation of such serious crimes as murder, rape, and robbery—most of them do. But when it comes to those offenses which support organized crime and breed the murderer, the rapist, and the robber, the vast majority of Americans turn their heads, apparently feeling that illegal gambling, prostitution, the sale of narcotics and obscene material, and other such vices do not affect them and are none of their business.

The overlords of organized crime could be dealt, I believe, a death blow if citizens would stop trading with the bookie, the prostitute, the drugpusher, and other "salesmen" of the criminal empire. The pennies, nickels, dimes, and dollars funneled into the underworld bankrolls provide the means for the hoodlums and racketeers to spread graft and corruption throughout the Nation. Too, the customers of organized crime, desperate for funds, often turn to robbery, burglary, or other such crimes.

ASSAULTS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

I would like to say just a few words about assaults on police officers. Vicious, sadistic attacks on law enforcement officers are increasing daily, and the tragic fact is that many of these attacks are carried out in the very presence of disinterested citizens—men and women who had neither the courage to interfere nor the sense of duty to summon assistance. Statistics collected by the FBI disclose that 6 of every 100 police officers were the victims of physical assaults during 1960. All too often the margin between serious injury and death is much too thin. There is no way of determining how many of the officers assaulted escaped death by a hairbreadth. To me, the most alarming thing about these atrocious assaults is the complete indifference of so-called "decent" members of society and the lack of any feeling of civic responsibility to combat this growing evil.

I am fully aware that there are dishonest members in the law enforcement profession. The same is true in every other profession.

I say this not as an excuse but as a statement of fact. Any officer who accepts bribes, protects hoodlums, lies, steals, or in any way—either actively or passively—engages in illicit activities or improperly uses his authority, generates a feeling of suspicion which is directed against the entire law enforcement profession.

I would like to say something off the record.

(Off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. Inadequate pay in many areas still is a bar to the recruitment of the best qualified personnel at the local level, but in spite of this and other hardships, law enforcement agencies have progressed to the point where the American people, I feel, can and should take great pride in them and provide the support they need and deserve. Certainly, an alert interest in local affairs by honest citizens can prevent the hoodlums and their political supporters from gaining control.

YOUTHFUL CRIMINALITY

The expanding scope of youthful criminality in the United States is one of the most disheartening things that I can think of today. The frequency and viciousness of the criminal acts being committed by our young people, already alarming, are speeding toward certain tragedy unless the current trend is some way arrested.

We are allowing a group of disrespectful young people who have no sense of moral responsibility to develop into hardened criminals. This is true because these children are being allowed to just grow up, rather than receiving proper home training. They are being neglected and denied the love, care, and guidance in the home necessary to proper development as good, law-abiding citizens.

I realize, of course, that this is a damning indictment of many parents, but in case after case of vicious crimes committed by young people which I have studied, there has been gross parental neglect of the children. A recent poll among teenagers throughout the Nation revealed that 50 percent of them held parents responsible for their delinquent children. This poll was conducted by Purdue University and published in October 1961.

This same poll, however, brought out some disturbing opinions with respect to the handling of young lawbreakers. Forty-eight percent of the youths believed that youthful offenders should not be sent to correctional institutions, but should remain in the community for rehabilitation. Even a more alarming fact is that 28 percent advocated nothing more than a serious lecture following the first two offenses, with confinement after a third offense. This is an attitude so prevalent among the young hoodlums arrested by police regardless of the seriousness of their crime. They seem to feel that their tender age entitles them to special treatment.

This belief was not born in the young minds of our children. It was planted there by those misguided sentimentalists who contend that society must protect a juvenile, no matter what he does wrong. The continued use of the pampering phrase, "juvenile delinquency," to describe all illegal acts committed by young people also contributes to this belief. There must be a line drawn between the mischievous pranks of the young people, which may indeed be called juvenile delinquency, and the depraved deeds of teenage thugs who rob, rape,

and kill. These acts, I feel, should be labeled for exactly what they are, which is "youthful criminality".

I am a firm believer in fitting the punishment to the crime. To excuse a willful murder, rape, or robbery committed by a young man, merely because he has not reached his 18th birthday, defies all sane logic. Such action can only encourage greater disrespect for law and order.

There are other great and serious causes of the moral decay which is taking place among the children of our Nation. I speak of those depraved individuals who seek out our young people of this country as customers for all forms of obscene material, narcotics, and intoxicating beverages. Many of the crimes of violence committed by juveniles result from the use of drugs or intoxicants or exposure to obscene movies or literature.

Even the various entertainment media must share their part of the blame for the weakening of the morals of our young people. Many movies, television shows, and theatrical productions have overstepped the bounds of decency. Likewise, these media have flooded the land with scenes of violence which cannot avoid affecting young minds.

How serious is the crime problem among our young people? Statistics for the calendar year 1960 give the answer. Throughout our Nation, arrests of youths under 18 increased 9 percent over 1959, and represented 14 percent of all arrests made in the United States. They accounted for 61 percent of arrests for automobile theft, 49 percent for burglary, 47 percent for larcenies, 26 percent for robberies, 18 percent for forcible rape, 11 percent for aggravated assault, and 7 percent for murder. Girls under 18 contributed greatly to the increase of juvenile arrests, with a rise over 1959 of 14 percent.

Perhaps even more startling is the 20-year trend in the arrests of juveniles. During this period, total police arrests were up 61 percent and while adult arrests increased 53 percent; juveniles nearly doubled the adult percentage rise. This chart shows arrest trends from 1940 to 1960.

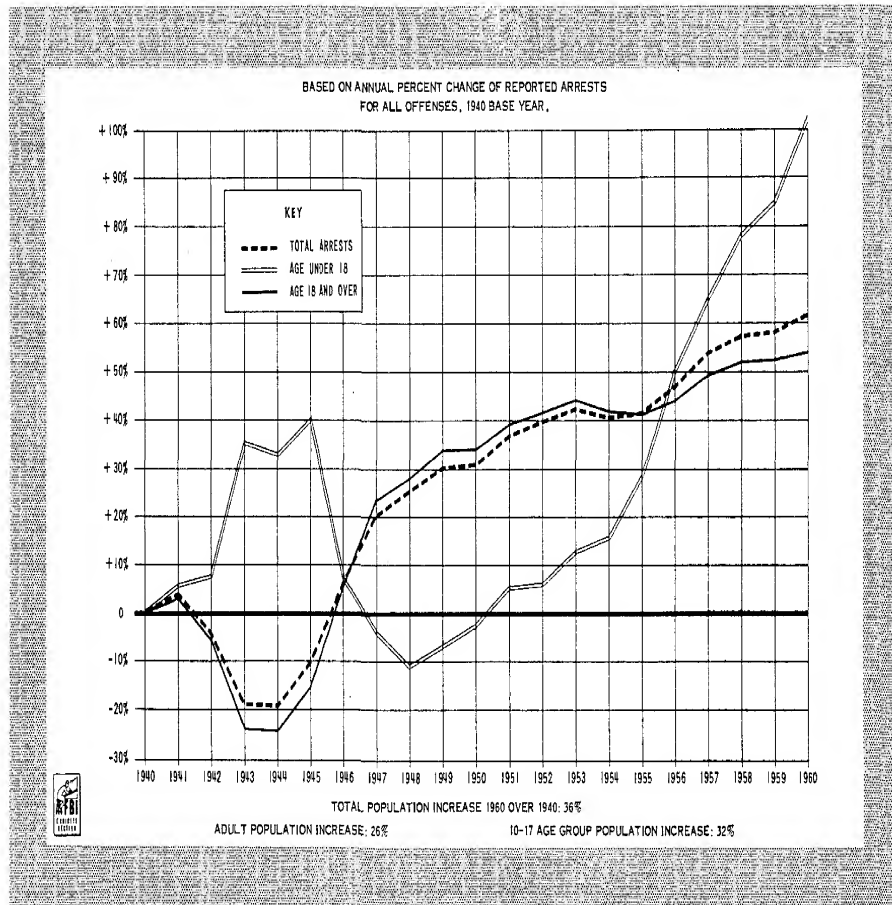
Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert this exhibit at this point in the record.

(The exhibit referred to appears on following page.)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

ARREST TRENDS

1940-1960



Mr. HOOVER. It is most disheartening to view the arrest picture of juveniles for the 5-year period from 1955 through 1960. During this 5-year interval we find that the population of persons between 10 and 17 years of age increased 25 percent, while arrests by city police for serious criminal code offenses surged 48 percent. Some of the types of criminal activity contributing to this increase were a 105-percent rise in arrests for buying, selling, and receiving stolen property; 65 percent for driving while intoxicated; 49 percent for robbery; and 41 percent for sex offenses.

This chart graphically shows the percentage increase in arrests for 16 offenses which average out to a 48-percent rise over the past 5 years.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(The exhibit referred to appears on following page.)

Mr. HOOVER. During the year 1960, there was one reported arrest for every 26 youths between the ages of 10 and 17, and arrests for young people in cities were recorded at a rate three times that for rural areas.

While it is true that youthful criminality is a matter of vital concern to all of us, it would not be fair to overlook the fact that the vast majority of our Nation's youth are upright, law-abiding citizens. We, of course, cannot permit the unlawful acts of a few, a small percentage of our youthful population, to unduly influence our thinking to the point where it results in an indictment of an entire segment of our society. There is presented, however, a real challenge to our democratic system to materially reduce the incidence of youthful criminality in our country.

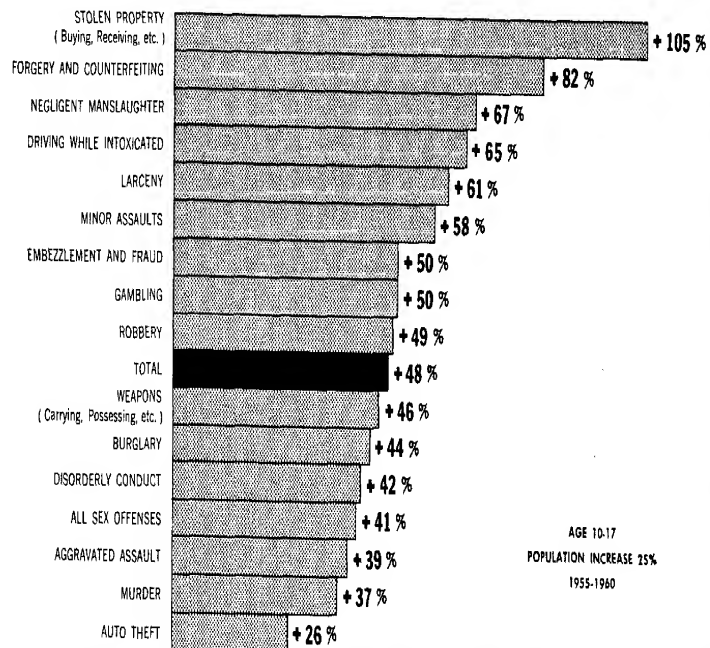
PAROLE, PROBATION AND CLEMENCY ABUSES

Nothing can be more discouraging and disheartening to a law enforcement officer than to see some criminal he has risked his life to capture set free through unwarranted leniency in the form of a suspended sentence, parole, or probation.

I fully realize the worth and necessity of rehabilitation efforts, and I stand firmly behind the principles of parole, probation, and other forms of clemency. But I have seen too much abuse and maladministration of these systems and too many instances where little or no consideration was given to the need of protecting society by isolating depraved individuals. The scales of justice should be balanced; the emotion of pity should not enter into any deliberation as to whether or not a criminal should be confined or granted leniency.

ARRESTS OF PERSONS UNDER 18 PERCENT CHANGE 1955-1960

(BASED ON REPORTS OF CITY POLICE)



I thought you might be interested to hear the results of a survey we recently made regarding police officers killed in 1960. I have already presented one with regard to those who were attacked. Forty-eight city police officers lost their lives in line of duty during that year, 28 of them at the hands of vicious killers. A total of 34 individuals were arrested for these 28 killings. In looking at their prior criminal history, it was found that these 34 murderers had compiled, among them, a total of 248 prior arrests for an average of 7 arrests each. Burglary was the most common arrest as a group, followed by assault, larceny, and armed robbery. Twenty-seven of these killers had prior convictions ranging from 1 to 24. Twenty-five had been imprisoned at least once. But most significant is the fact that 24 of these men had been granted some form of leniency for past criminal acts, while 12 were on parole or probation at the time they killed a police officer in 1960.

The demands on law enforcement agencies throughout our Nation are heavy enough without the added burden of tracking down hardened criminals who, through unmerited clemency, are turned loose to again prey on the public.

Indicative of the frequency with which ill-advised trust has been placed in convicted criminals is the fact that, of the 86,277 persons listed as wanted in the FBI Identification Division files, 21,286 are wanted as parole or probation violators. Of the 162 criminals who have appeared on the FBI's "10 most wanted fugitives" list since March 1950, 137 have previously received some form of leniency.

FBI LABORATORY

Turning to the work of our crime laboratory, I would like to point out that it was founded on November 24, 1932, and through the years there have been continuing advances in the application of science to the problems of detecting and apprehending the lawbreaker.

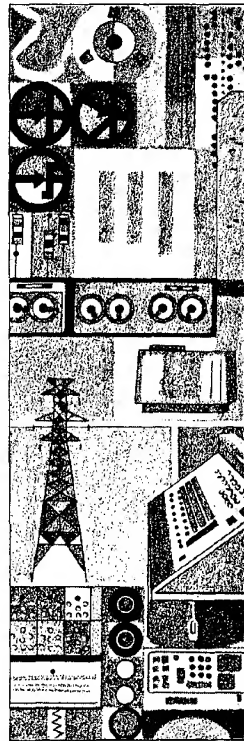
As a service agency, the laboratory works closely with local police agencies across the land. Its facilities are available on a cost-free basis to these law enforcement agencies, and the FBI laboratory experts are available to testify in court as to their findings.

A new record-high volume of 224,183 scientific examinations were handled by the FBI laboratory during the last fiscal year. Of this number, 27 percent were from sources other than the FBI—from local and other law enforcement agencies. This marks the 11th consecutive year that our work in this field has been on the increase.

The chart which I present shows the volume of scientific examinations handled since 1959, as well as the estimated receipts for 1962 and 1963. We have not asked, however, for any additional personnel for the laboratory work.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

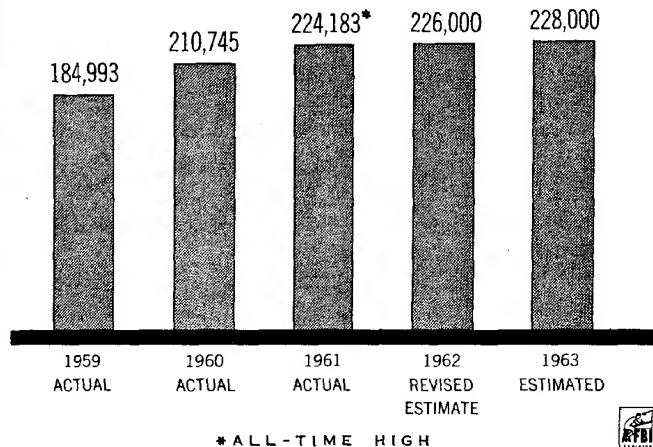
(The exhibit referred to follows:)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

Total FBI Laboratory Examinations

FISCAL YEARS 1959-1963



Mr. HOOVER. Local law enforcement agencies from every State of the Union, as well as agencies from several locations outside the country, called upon the laboratory for assistance in 1961. This widespread cooperative activity I think is best portrayed in this chart.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(The exhibit referred to appears on following page.)

Mr. HOOVER. I would like to make a statement off the record, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well, Mr. Director.

(Off the record.)

FIELD OPERATIONS

Mr. HOOVER. I submit to the committee a map which shows the setup of our field organization.

Our 55 field offices, the hub of FBI field investigative activity, are located in the major cities of the United States and in San Juan, P.R., and have personnel on duty 24 hours a day throughout the year. In the interest of economy and to facilitate the immediate handling of investigative matters within our jurisdiction, we also maintain resident agencies in approximately 500 cities and towns, each of which is under the immediate supervision of a field office.

FOREIGN LIAISON

In order to better coordinate matters in which the FBI has an interest in both the criminal and internal security fields, the FBI has a nominal staff assigned to strategic liaison posts in 11 foreign countries.

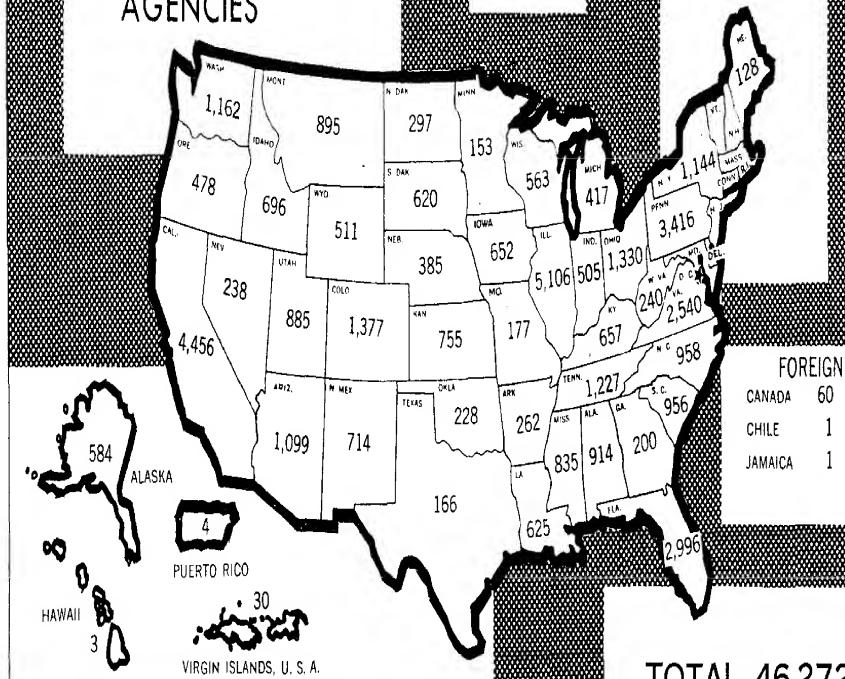
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

FBI LABORATORY EXAMINATIONS MADE FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

FISCAL
YEAR

1961

N. H.	158
VT.	182
MASS.	328
R. I.	256
CONN.	470
N. J.	547
DEL.	241
MD.	1,448
D. C.	996



FOREIGN

CANADA	60
CHILE	1
JAMAICA	1

TOTAL 46,272



These employees have no jurisdiction abroad, but are liaison in operation.

Substantial benefits are derived from our foreign liaison offices. The location of the far-ranging criminal, who often operates across international boundaries, is an example. A man by the name of Donald Roy Tait went on a yearlong checkpassing spree which took him from the United States to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Brazil, where he was located in September 1960. Upon his arrest by Brazilian police, he chose immediate return to the United States. Through arrangements made by our liaison representative in Brazil, he was brought back to this country and charged with interstate transportation of stolen property. He was sentenced in November 1960 by the Federal court in New York City to imprisonment for 18 months.

I hand to the committee a world map showing where our various liaison representatives are located throughout the world.

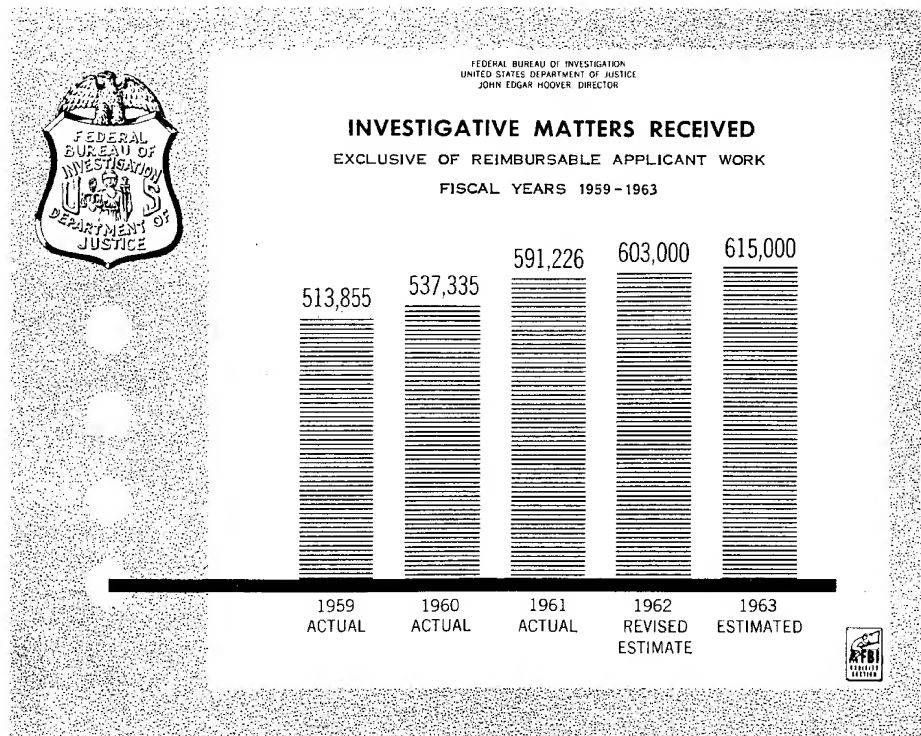
OVERALL PICTURE: FIELD INVESTIGATIVE COMMITMENTS

On January 1, 1962, there were pending throughout the field 111,329 investigative matters of all types, of which 7 percent were in a delinquent status. This represents an average assignment of 22 matters for each special agent.

During the fiscal year 1961, a sharp jump occurred in the receipt of investigative matters in the overall criminal, civil, and security field, reaching a total of 591,226 matters, an increase of 10 percent when compared to the 537,335 matters received during 1960.

This chart outlines in graphic form the actual and estimated increases in investigative receipts since 1959.

(The exhibit referred to follows:)



OVERTIME

Mr. HOOVER. The great bulk of the mounting volume of work throughout the field must be handled immediately. Through diligence and the performance of voluntary overtime, our field staff is making every effort to handle as much of the extra work as possible.

This has been typical of the services of the field employees and of the employees of the Bureau at the seat of government. The criminal, the spy, and the subversive, of course, do not operate on an 8-hour day or a 40-hour week. They operate 24 hours a day throughout the year. As a result, our staff has to work many extra hours in meeting this challenge.

During the fiscal year 1961, the overtime of our investigative staff totaled 3,668,416 hours, averaging nearly 3 hours for each member during each workday throughout the year.

Looking at it another way, this voluntary overtime service represented the equivalent of 1,764 agents on a full-year basis. Had it been necessary to actually employ the additional 1,764 agents, the cost would have been an estimated \$18,702,387. However, under the fringe benefits law this overtime was compensated only to the extent of \$5,611,168, resulting, in effect, in a salary savings to the Government of \$13,091,219.

INTERNAL SECURITY OPERATIONS

The FBI, as a result of Presidential directives and the enactment of legislation, has investigative jurisdiction over communism, espionage, sabotage, treason, subversion, and related matters within the United States, as well as the responsibility of correlating all security information and disseminating it to appropriate Federal agencies.

The developments on the international scene make it necessary that the FBI continue to have the best possible coverage of the activities and plans of the enemies of democracy within this country which would threaten our security on the homefront.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

I will briefly review some of the current developments in regard to the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Never in the history of our country have we been confronted with the challenge which the international Communist movement is making today toward world domination.

There is a tendency to minimize the internal threat of Communist activity. This tendency can have tragic consequences, since the Communist Party, U.S.A., the largest subversive organization in our Nation today, is part and parcel of the predatory empire of the international Communist conspiracy whose ultimate objective is world domination by communism. In any showdown with the United States, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union would rely heavily on the party as an advance detachment within our borders, ready and willing to carry out any hostile act within its capability. The threat, therefore, is both internal and external.

Despite the public denial by Soviet leaders, the fact is that the

Communist Party in this country has always been and is today unalterably welded to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Under the false guise of a political organization, the Communist Party in this country acts as the subservient mouthpiece of international communism with the Kremlin setting the line to be followed.

This thin veil of legitimacy was, however, publicly lifted when the Supreme Court last June judicially affirmed the oft-repeated contention that the Communist Party in the United States is not a legitimate political party, but a subversive group directed and controlled by the Soviet Union.

I would like now to go off the record, if I may.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well, Mr. Director.

(Off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. The 22d Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, promoted as the "Congress of the Builders of Communism," was held in Moscow from October 17 to October 31, 1961. It was attended by representatives of Communist Parties from over 80 countries of the world and set into play the Soviet Union's strategy for world domination. Actively participating in this Congress was a delegation from the Communist Party, U.S.A., headed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the party chairman. Flynn, in speaking before the Congress, praised the achievements of the Soviet Union in engulfing the world with communism and brazenly predicted that the United States would be a socialist-Communist-country by 1980.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., alined itself still more completely at the Congress with the Soviet Union by joining in attacks on Albania for failure to adhere to the dictates of the Soviet masters.

ORGANIZATIONAL REALINEMENT

As a defensive measure the party is in the process of streamlining its organizational structure. It is eliminating its apparatus between the district and club levels, and district committees as well as clubs are being reduced in size. This is being done as a result of the upholding by the Supreme Court of the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Club meetings are being held less frequently and when held are masquerading as meetings of "garden clubs," "bridge clubs," and the like. One course of action presently being considered by the party calls for the sending of its members into mass work and the creation of "umbrella organizations" through which the party's continuance can be guaranteed.

In line with its streamlining plans, the party is also considering the dissolution of its National Committee as well as its national executive committee and the placing of the party's reins in the hands of a three-member national board.

NUMERICAL STRENGTH

At a press conference held in party headquarters, New York City, on June 8, 1961, Gus Hall said that the total party membership was 10,000 in 1960 and that it had grown since then. Party officials in giving membership figures to the press for any particular year or years have varied considerably, indicating that the party uses the term "member" to suit its own needs.

Although there has been a decline in membership of the Communist Party, U.S.A., since 1945, I would like to emphasize that the numerical strength of the party as a measuring device for potential dangerousness to our internal security is grossly inaccurate in reflecting the true facts. We should not be lulled into a sense of security simply because the party membership in this country represents a small percentage of our entire population. It is vital to recognize that the present hardcore party membership through its fanaticism, its propaganda, and its masked activities through front groups, and the like, wields an influence far out of proportion to the actual number of party members.

For example, William Z. Foster, the former head of the party who died in Soviet Russia in September 1961, said:

But the influence of the party stretches far and wide beyond the limits of its actual membership.

He also said:

The real power of the party is seen in the mass movements which it initiates * * *

or in other organizations to which it gives its support. As recently as January 1961, Foster said:

The Communist party in the United States today is potentially, if not actually, stronger than it ever was in history * * *

that while—

there was a time when the Communist Party in the United States had more members * * * its opportunity for growth and its potentiality as an organization is beyond compare.

For all practical purposes, the hard-core party membership in this country represents a Trojan horse of rigidly disciplined fanatics unalterably committed to bring this free Nation under the yoke of international communism which has 40 million members and 86 Communist Parties with over 60 of these in non-Communist countries.

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The party carries on many activities to further its subversive objectives. It has continued its efforts to infiltrate the trade union field, among minority groups, in the field of women's activities, among the youth, among the Negroes, and has been intensifying its propaganda and agitational apparatus.

The intensified drive of the party to attract youth continues unabated. Always anxious to spread its venom on college campuses across the Nation, it has launched an all-out campaign designed to lure youth into the web of communism. This is being done by having more national party functionaries appear before various student groups at various universities.

The party welcomes the opportunity to speak before student groups because it gives the party an aura of respectability; an opportunity to plant seeds of dissent in the minds of individuals; and an opportunity to recruit some youthful followers.

Since its inception the Communist Party, U.S.A., has been alert to capitalize on every possible issue or event which could be used to exploit the American Negro in furtherance of party aims. In its

efforts to influence the American Negro, the party attempts to infiltrate the legitimate Negro organizations for the purpose of stirring up racial prejudice and hatred. In this way, the party strikes a blow at our democratic form of government by attempting to influence public opinion throughout the world against the United States.

The fundamental aims of the Communist Party, U.S.A., propaganda are to spread the Communist doctrines among great masses of the people in order to condition them for revolutionary action; to divide, confuse, and weaken anti-Communist opposition; and to defend the Soviet Union.

This barrage of propaganda representing Communist demands is the Communist Party line. The pages of Communist publications are filled with these demands and the public speeches and statements of party leaders are largely based on them.

However vehemently the Communists may campaign for the various proposals which constitute the party line, they are not genuinely interested in "reforms" or improving our society. Communists declare themselves for a lasting international peace—as long as no one stands up to Communist aggression; for peaceful coexistence—strictly on Communist terms; and for freedom of all people—to live under a Communist dictatorship.

At the request of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, we prepared last year a brief analysis of the Communist Party Line, what it is, how it is formed, and how it operates. A reading of this pamphlet, which is available to any citizen upon request, will enable an individual to better understand and interpret the party line, realizing that it is a hypocritical and deceitful Communist technique to hoodwink and beguile us.

FBI COUNTERMEASURES

The FBI carries on numerous counterintelligence programs to be aware of the tactics and actions of the Communists and other subversives. Our coverage is the best that it has ever been.

COMMUNIST-FRONT GROUPS

Over the years the Communist Party, U.S.A., has carried on many of its operations through front organizations established for the purpose, or through the infiltration of legitimate existing organizations.

Through these organizations, the party conducts pressure campaigns, disseminates Communist propaganda, distributes Communist literature, raises funds, and insidiously exploits the masses and public opinion to further its revolutionary aims and purposes.

We have today approximately 185 of these known, or suspected, Communist front or Communist-infiltrated groups under active investigation.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

The Supreme Court in its decision of last June upheld the 1953 order of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Communist Party of the United States is a Communist-action organization and required to register as such with the Attorney General under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

From the outset, the party publicly took the position that it would not comply, showing once again its complete and utter disdain for a government of law and order. The party immediately began numerous, devious maneuvers to thwart the law. Gus Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., with his admonition, "It is not what you know, but what you show!" warned party members to destroy incriminating documents which might be used in prosecutions against them.

They then launched a mass appeal for support. The basic objective of this flood of propaganda was to attempt to destroy the image of the party as an agent of a foreign power and to create an image of the party as an independent political entity.

I would like to go off the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

FBI INFORMANT PROGRAMS

Mr. HOOVER. To penetrate the walls of secrecy which surround the Communist conspiracy, we have continued to rely heavily on the services of confidential informants.

Information provided by these men and women, together with data developed by our investigations, leaves no doubt as to the party's ultimate objective of overthrowing our Government—or its status as an inseparable arm of the Communist conspiracy.

Despite the security measures adopted by the Communist Party, U.S.A., our overall informant coverage continues to improve.

May I go off the record again, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. In carrying out our responsibility for the internal security of the country, the FBI utilizes a number of investigative techniques, including 84 wiretaps. They are utilized only in cases involving or affecting our national security and in cases of kidnaping and extortion—in other words, where the life of our Nation or where the life of an individual may be in jeopardy. They all have to be approved by the Attorney General in advance and in writing.

ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

I shall now review the operations in the counterespionage and domestic intelligence field.

For over three decades the Soviet Union has directed a vicious, concerted espionage attack against the United States. This activity continues unabated and, in fact, throughout the history of the world, espionage has never been emphasized to the extent and with the fanatical dedication now being practiced by the Soviet-bloc countries.

Numerous intelligence-gathering sources make up the highly integrated Soviet-bloc espionage apparatus. Covert intelligence collection is accomplished under the cover of every Russian-run establishment in the United States. Other operatives function clandestinely under false identities without any observable contact with the official establishments. As a part of the overall apparatus, the Soviets greatly increase their intelligence collection potential by pressing into their

service the foreign intelligence facilities of their satellite nations in the United States as well as in other parts of the world. The Soviets not only have access to all data obtained by the satellites but they also maintain an advisor system at satellite headquarters level to make certain that the satellites operate consistent with Soviet interests.

AMTORG TRADING CORP.

The Amtorg Trading Corp. is a New York corporation formed in 1924 and since 1949 it has been registered with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent. It represents in the United States approximately 25 Soviet trade organizations. From the beginning the Soviets have used Amtorg as a cover for industrial espionage activities against the United States. It continues in this capacity and Amtorg employees obviously seek out those American businessmen who sometimes place their desire for a quick profit above their regard for the internal security of the United States.

I would like a discussion off the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. Every means is utilized by the Soviet bloc to penetrate the American way of life. Exploitation of social and business contacts, compromises through sex and perversion, financial gain, Communist sympathies, threats and promises based on hostage situations, are among the techniques brought into play by the Soviet-bloc espionage apparatus to achieve its goal in this country. No method is too reprehensible if it holds the promise of deluding a prospective source to provide services or information for the Communists.

ESPIONAGE TARGETS

Over the years, no phase of American activity has been immune to Soviet-bloc intelligence attempts. The Soviets have attempted to obtain every conceivable type of information. The targets have been all-encompassing and have included aerial photographs, maps and charts of our major cities and vital areas, data regarding the organization of our military services and their training programs, technical classified and unclassified information concerning nuclear weapons, planes, ships and submarines. Of prime interest to the Soviets is information concerning U.S. military bases, including missile sites and radar installations.

They have probed to penetrate our most critical intelligence and counterintelligence organizations. Their interests extend to the collection of data regarding codes and the latest scientific developments in the electronics, jet and missile fuel, and atomic energy fields. Their operatives have been occupied in gathering information concerning American industrial facilities, material with which they can compromise American Government officials, and political and economic data.

SOVIET-BLOC OFFICIAL PERSONNEL IN THE UNITED STATES

Through the years the number of officials of the Soviet-bloc countries assigned in this country has been increasing. Our investigation and penetration of Soviet clandestine intelligence collection has

clearly established that these official personnel assigned to the United States have been used extensively for espionage purposes. In fact, a former Soviet intelligence officer who defected from the Russians has estimated that some 70 to 80 percent of the Soviet officials in the United States have some type of intelligence assignment.

Now, if I may go off the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROONEY. Yes, Mr. Director.

(Discussion off the record.)

TRADE, TOURISTS AND EXCHANGE GROUPS

Mr. HOOVER. Historically, the Soviet-bloc has made extensive use of its official trade organizations as covers for espionage operations. With greater freedom of travel and the opportunity to make direct contact with Americans engaged in commerce and industry, the use of commercial cover is fully exploited by the Soviet-bloc intelligence services.

Since 1957, there has been a steady upward trend in the number of Soviet cultural, technical, and educational exchange groups visiting the United States. Soviet tourists are also on the increase. The Soviet intelligence services make use of these groups to implement their intelligence operations in this country.

COLLECTION OF UNCLASSIFIED STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION

Capitalizing fully on the basic freedoms guaranteed in the United States, Soviet-bloc intelligence personnel employ a variety of techniques in amassing great volumes of extremely valuable but unclassified intelligence information.

For example, during fiscal year 1961, Soviet officials alone made more than 14 intelligence and reconnaissance trips throughout the United States. During such trips, they visited areas of strategic significance, noting military installations and industrial facilities, and collecting available maps, photographs, and other detailed data concerning powerplants, transportation systems, and the like.

They purchase and subscribe to hundreds of U.S. newspapers, magazines, and military, scientific, or industrial publications of intelligence significance.

Through direct correspondence with U.S. industrial facilities and business firms, Soviet-bloc officials obtain blueprints and photographs, production statistics, and other invaluable data concerning U.S. equipment and production methods. In carrying out these activities, they frequently resort to the use of intermediaries or otherwise conceal their official status.

UNITED NATIONS AS A BASE FOR SOVIET-BLOC ESPIONAGE OPERATIONS

With privileges and immunities, Soviet-bloc personnel attached to the United Nations are becoming increasingly more active in Soviet-bloc intelligence operations. These countries are expanding their representation on the United Nations Secretariat, Soviet representation alone having jumped from 30 on July 1, 1957, to 72 on January 1, 1962.

Now, if I may go off the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. The FBI has met the ever-increasing threat of Communist-bloc espionage with aggressive programs designed to disrupt and prevent their effectiveness in our country.
(Discussion off the record.)

CRIMINAL AND CIVIL INVESTIGATIVE OPERATIONS

Mr. HOOVER. Our work in the criminal and civil field has increased substantially during the past year. On an overall basis, there has been a progressive rise in nearly all major criminal offenses within our primary investigative jurisdiction, and our work in the antitrust category has increased substantially. At the same time, the Government's stepped-up and broadened investigative programs directed against organized crime have added greatly to our work. This mounting volume of work is expected to continue through 1963.

ACCELERATED DRIVE AGAINST ORGANIZED CRIME

Beginning in January 1961, the Attorney General stepped up the Federal Government's drive against organized crime. Under this stepped-up drive, Federal agencies, as I previously stated, made a coordinated effort to develop a vast amount of intelligence information that could be used with the laws then on the statute books with the aim of prosecuting notorious hoodlums.

However, there followed in September-October 1961 a number of laws which were enacted by Congress that developed a tremendous amount of additional investigative work for the Bureau adding to its already heavy investigative burden. For example, to date we have transmitted to the Department 4,896 reports covering the activities of approximately 1,800 criminal figures who are operating in this country. In addition, 417 specially prepared summaries reflecting detailed data as to the background and activities of racketeers operating throughout the country were made available to the Department for its assistance. Further, an intensive all-out investigation was launched early in 1961 on 40 of the most prominent and notorious racketeers in the country and we have initiated an intensive investigative operation against additional ones.

During the course of our investigations, we develop many items of information which are of significance to other Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies. This data is promptly disseminated to the appropriate agency which can effectively take action on it. Over 101,000 such items of information have been disseminated during the fiscal year 1961. This has been of material assistance to other law enforcement agencies in assisting them in breaking up hoodlum gangs, in locating dangerous fugitives, in recovering stolen merchandise, and in contributing in various ways to the solution of law enforcement problems. At the same time, the FBI is the recipient of information made available by other law enforcement agencies. They, in turn, cooperate to the fullest extent.

I might point out a recent case where FBI cooperation was of immeasurable assistance to local law enforcement authorities. On October 20, 1961, John A. Kilpatrick, president of the International United Industrial Workers of America, was murdered. The FBI

entered this case following the discovery of Kilpatrick's body to determine if a Federal violation had occurred. An extensive investigation was completed and the Attorney General directed the FBI to make available to Chicago law enforcement authorities the results of its investigation when it was established that the persons responsible for the death of Kilpatrick could not be prosecuted for this crime under any Federal statute. FBI personnel, including scientific experts in the FBI laboratory will be made available to testify should prosecution be instituted in State court. The Attorney General praised the FBI for its thorough and painstaking investigation which resulted in such material assistance to the Chicago law enforcement authorities.

In several instances, information developed in our investigation of hoodlum activities has formed the basis for pursuing Federal prosecution against prominent members of the organized underworld.

For example, information which we developed regarding the assets and income of Meyer "Mickey" Cohen in the Los Angeles, Calif., area was made available to the Internal Revenue Service. I have been advised that this information was of material assistance to the Government's case against Cohen for income tax evasion. Cohen was sentenced on July 1, 1961, to 15 years and he was fined \$30,000. He appealed his case to the circuit court of appeals where his conviction was sustained on January 12, and his bond revoked. Further appeal action is being considered.

Another instance of effective prosecutive action was that which concerned Isadore Blumenfield and associates, known as the Kid Cann liquor syndicate, who have been involved in hoodlum activities in the Minneapolis, Minn., area for many years. They were prosecuted, as a result of information developed by the Bureau, for bribery and Federal wagering-tax-stamp violations. Blumenfield was sentenced in May 1961 on these charges and received sentences totaling 8 years' confinement and fines in the amount of \$30,000. Six others of the Kid Cann group were sentenced for a total of 36 years and the payment of fines amounting to \$80,000.

As a result of our inquiries regarding organized crime, it is apparent that gambling is a major source of income to the underworld leaders. The enactment of antigambling laws by the last session of Congress will assist in the drive against the activities of gamblers who provide the financial lifeblood of some of the country's leading racketeers.

By prohibiting the use of interstate wire communications for gambling purposes, by prohibiting the interstate travel or transportation in aid of racketeering, and by prohibiting the interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia, Congress has provided additional weapons for use against the widespread activities of the gamblers who operate interstate. It enables the FBI to pursue such violations as they come to its attention in its drive against crime.

These new laws have added materially to our jurisdiction and our workload. For example, under the 3 new antigambling laws, which became effective September 13, 1961, we have opened more than 2,100 cases on prominent gamblers who are continuing with their interstate gambling activities. The results of our investigations into these activities are submitted to the Department of Justice for prosecutive action.

As a part of the FBI's continuing crackdown of interstate gambling activities under recently enacted Federal statutes, 10 individuals

were arrested on January 20, 1962, in connection with a large-scale gambling game—dice—that has been in operation in Reading, Pa. Two of the men were charged under the new anticrime law prohibiting interstate travel in aid of racketeering, while the others were charged with aiding and abetting interstate travel with intent to facilitate the above crime.

Our investigation determined the gambling games had been operating continuously since mid-November 1961, and that parties were traveling to and from other States in connection with the nightly gambling activity. Although the games went on every night, the weekends were the most heavily attended with as high as 150 to 200 persons taking part in the gambling at several gambling tables.

FBI agents seized more than \$50,000 in connection with the arrests and also gambling paraphernalia.

Those arrested are awaiting further prosecutive action.

Since the enactment of this new legislation, arrests of gamblers have been made by the FBI in New York, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Michigan. In addition, based on information developed through FBI investigations, the Department of Justice is presenting evidence of gambling operations to grand juries in session in Kansas City, Mo., and in New Kensington, and Philadelphia, Pa.

Also, within the past year, information developed by the FBI presented to Federal grand juries contributed substantially to the successful return of indictments against leading hoodlums in the New Orleans, La., and Covington, Ky., areas. In addition, material developed on racketeering activities by the FBI has been, or is being, presented to grand juries in such other areas as New York, N.Y.; Detroit, Mich.; Cincinnati, Ohio, and Chicago, Ill.

Considerable information has come to the attention of the FBI indicating the very strong deterrent effect this new legislation has had on gambling operations. Several wire services which were actually the "lifeline" of gambling operations suddenly discontinued their activities with the signing into law of this new legislation. Wire services utilized by gamblers in Hot Springs, Ark., Chicago, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Dallas, and Baltimore, promptly discontinued their service.

BANK ROBBERY

Turning now to our primary responsibility in some other fields of crime, I would like to discuss the matter of bank robbery.

The fiscal year 1961 witnessed the largest number of violations of the Federal bank robbery statute in our Nation's history. The 895 violations occurring during that year reflected an increase of 142 offenses over the previous year and included 488 robberies, 304 burglaries and 103 larcenies of banks, credit unions, and savings and loan associations.

Among the reasons for the increase in these crimes against banking institutions is that more and more institutions have been brought under the statute so that the possibility for such crimes which fall under Federal jurisdiction has increased greatly. For example, some 10,000 Federal credit unions were brought under the Federal bank robbery statute since 1959. There has also been an increase in the number of

banks in suburban areas, which is a temptation for many individuals to commit bank robberies.

During recent years the crimes affecting financial institutions have changed perceptibly in their pattern. Today the list of offenders includes the "lone robber," who is oftentimes an amateur with perhaps no criminal record, although the professional bank robbers are still in operation.

Our investigations of the record high number of depredations against banks in 1961 resulted in 426 convictions, with total sentences in excess of 4,425 years and fines of \$430,000. Stolen moneys recovered amounted to \$1,107,486 and 121 fugitives being sought for violation of the Federal bank robbery statute were located.

BANK ROBBERIES SURVEY

We recently made a survey of bank robberies which shows that out of 125 typical cases, only eight robberies netted more than \$10,000, while in 30 instances the bank bandits obtained no loot at all. Even those that do obtain loot are, in many instances, identified and apprehended before they have an opportunity to spend the money. These facts, when coupled with the sentences they face upon apprehension, undoubtedly discourage many potential bank robbers.

KIDNAPING

During fiscal year 1961, under the Federal kidnaping statute, there were 23 convictions resulting in sentences totaling 289 years with 4 getting life and 1, death.

Of the major kidnaping cases investigated since the Federal kidnaping statute was enacted in 1932, all but three have been solved. The three are: Charles Fletcher Mattson, Tacoma, Wash., on December 27, 1936; Peter David Levine, New Rochelle, N.Y., on February 24, 1938; and Mary Lou Olson, National City, Calif., on January 3, 1960.

The case involving 7-year-old Michael Joseph Condetti occurred shortly prior to my appearance before this committee last year. The boy had disappeared on November 14, 1960, after leaving his Washington, D.C., home to visit a neighborhood store. His ravaged body was found on November 17, 1960, in a wooded area near Ardmore, Md.

The FBI, in cooperation with the Metropolitan Police Department and the Prince Georges County, Md., authorities, began an immediate, exhaustive investigation. The tremendous investigative effort we make in these cases can be seen from the fact that our Washington field office alone developed more than 1,800 suspects and that some 11,500 interviews were conducted in the Washington, D.C., area.

Among the suspects developed was Joseph Haverman Alvey. He was arrested at Miami, Fla., on November 4, 1961, and was charged with kidnaping. He is now awaiting trial.

In another case, Melvin Davis Rees, Jr., was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment on a Federal kidnaping charge on April 6, 1961. It was as a result of extensive investigation conducted by the FBI that he had been identified as being involved in the kidnaping and murder of the Carroll Vernon Jackson, Jr., family in Virginia in 1959. The Virginia authorities subsequently tried Rees on

a murder charge in connection with the same crime. He was again found guilty and on January 4, 1962, was sentenced to death. Rees' counsel has indicated this death sentence would be appealed.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF STOLEN AUTOMOBILES AND AIRCRAFT

Continuing the upward trend extending over the past several years, a new record high of 18,410 stolen automobiles which had been moved interstate were located and recovered in FBI-investigated cases. Convictions growing out of these offenses reached an alltime high of 5,329.

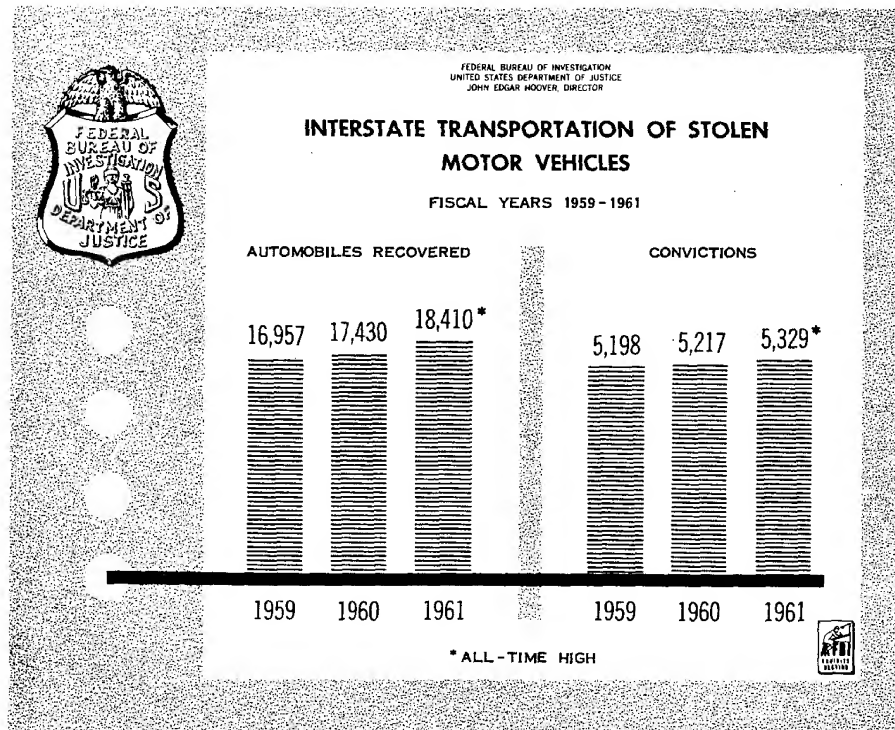
A major problem in this field continues to be the professional automobile theft gangs which regularly transport large numbers of stolen cars in interstate commerce. Approximately 80 such automobile theft rings are now under investigation.

Violations involving the interstate transportation of aircraft have decidedly mounted with the increasing production of small aircraft manufactured for private or commercial utilization. Thieves have found it a simple matter to alter registration data and transport stolen airplanes to distant States or foreign countries where they can be sold to innocent purchasers.

Automobiles or aircraft are also fraudulently obtained by such means as embezzlement and breach of trust and are then subsequently transported in interstate commerce.

This chart which I present to the committee portrays the growing number of automobiles recovered in our cases during the past 3 years as well as the growing number of convictions resulting from our investigative efforts.

(The chart referred to follows:)



CRIME ABOARD AIRCRAFT

Mr. HOOVER. Following several incidents involving the attempted hijacking of commercial passenger planes, Congress enacted legislation amending the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for the application of Federal criminal law to certain events occurring on board aircraft in air commerce.

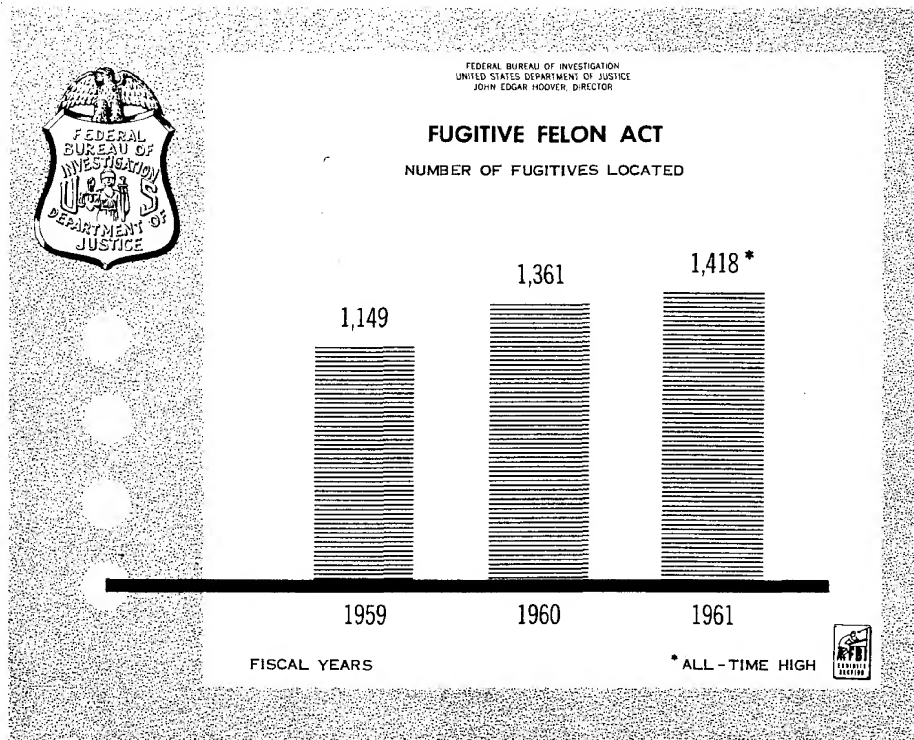
This new legislation brings a wide range of violations under our jurisdiction in addition to the hijacking offense. It includes interfering with the flight crew of the aircraft, carrying concealed weapons aboard the aircraft, and the commission of certain other crimes while aboard the aircraft. In addition, conveying or imparting false information concerning attempts or alleged attempts to do any act which would be a crime under the foregoing provisions is prohibited.

FUGITIVE FELON ACT

During 1961 an alltime high of 1,418 unlawful flight fugitives were located. This represents the eighth consecutive year that a record high number of badly wanted local fugitives were located under the Fugitive Felon Act.

This chart which I hand to the committee shows the steady rise in our accomplishments during the 1959-61 period.

(The chart referred to follows:)



Mr. HOOVER. Public Law 87-368, approved October 4, 1961, amended the Fugitive Felon Act and greatly broadened our jurisdiction to locate local fugitives who have fled across State lines—to avoid prosecution, or custody or confinement, or to avoid giving testimony—by including under the act all State crimes punishable by death or which are felonies in the place from which the fugitive fled or which, in the case of New Jersey, are high misdemeanors.

Heretofore, the unlawful flight to avoid prosecution, custody, or confinement had to be in connection with certain types of crimes—murder, kidnaping, burglary, robbery, mayhem, rape, assault with a dangerous weapon, arson punishable as a felony, extortion accompanied by threats of violence, or attempts to commit any of these crimes.

Under the Fugitive Felon Act we investigate cases only upon specific request for assistance from local law enforcement agencies. In each instance, the local authorities must agree to extradite the fugitive upon apprehension and, as a result, they must assume the costs involved in returning the fugitive to the place of prosecution. Since the local authorities must necessarily undertake the obligations of effecting extradition through State procedures, this limits the requests to the more aggravated cases.

As of January 1, 1962, a total of 967 new cases had been received under the broadened provisions of the act.

Our investigations under the Fugitive Felon Act are not aimed at proving or disproving the State or local crime with which the fugitive is charged—the FBI seeks only to locate and apprehend the fugitive so that he can be returned to the jurisdiction in which he is wanted.

The murderers, robbers, burglars, rapists, and those who committed certain other major crimes have known for years that distance from the scene of their unlawful act is no safeguard from arrest. Now, because of the broadened provisions of the act, those who commit all other felonies are learning the same thing.

Special agents of the FBI are assigned in every major city in the United States and, unlike local and State law enforcement officers, they are not restricted by State lines. They can make arrests anywhere in the Nation. The strategic deployment of our investigative staff coupled with our efficient communications system can and often does mean that a fugitive fleeing from the scene of his crime is greeted at his destination by the FBI and placed under arrest.

Our cooperative assistance under the Fugitive Felon Act means much to local and State law enforcement authorities. For example, in New York a paroled forger left the State in late 1961. A local officer determined the fugitive had fled to Ohio. The New York authorities requested our assistance and a Federal warrant charging unlawful flight to avoid confinement for forgery was issued on November 13, 1961.

Inquiry in Ohio revealed the fugitive had left that State en route to Tennessee. Special agents in Tennessee were immediately notified and quickly located and arrested the fugitive. This man, who previously had served a prison sentence for rape, agreed to waive extradition.

Prior to the amendment of the Fugitive Felon Act, the New York authorities would have been faced with costly and unsatisfactory

alternatives. They could have detailed an officer to personally track down the fugitive through several States—although the officer would not have the power to make an arrest outside New York—or send detailed information to various State and local law enforcement agencies, seeking their aid in locating the fugitive.

As it was, all the New York authorities had to do was contact a special agent of the FBI, furnish him pertinent information including an indication that the fugitive had fled from the State, and ask for help. The special agent thereafter secured a Federal warrant authorized by a U.S. attorney and instructed the appropriate FBI offices to conduct the necessary investigation to locate the wanted man. In less than a month, the fugitive was in custody and New York authorities had been notified where he was being held. Their only expense in getting him back to New York was the necessary cost of transporting him from Tennessee.

"TEN MOST WANTED FUGITIVES" PROGRAM

Over the years, the FBI's 10 most wanted fugitives program has aided greatly in the location of badly wanted fugitives, local as well as Federal. Its success has been due to the splendid cooperation afforded the program by the various forms of public information media throughout the country, by local law enforcement groups and by private citizens.

Since its inception in 1950, a total of 162 badly wanted fugitives has been placed on the list. Of 151 fugitives located to date, 89 were solely by investigative efforts while an impressive 62 were as the direct result of information furnished by citizens who recognized the fugitives from wanted posters or publicity given by various news media.

FEDERAL PROBATION, PAROLE, AND CONDITIONAL-RELEASE VIOLATOR FUGITIVES

Our jurisdiction has been broadened in regard to Federal probation, parole and conditional release violator fugitives. Prior to May 1961, the FBI located such fugitives only in cases where the original prosecution was in a case within FBI jurisdiction. Since that time, on the instructions of the Attorney General, we have undertaken the investigation of all such cases regardless of the original jurisdiction.

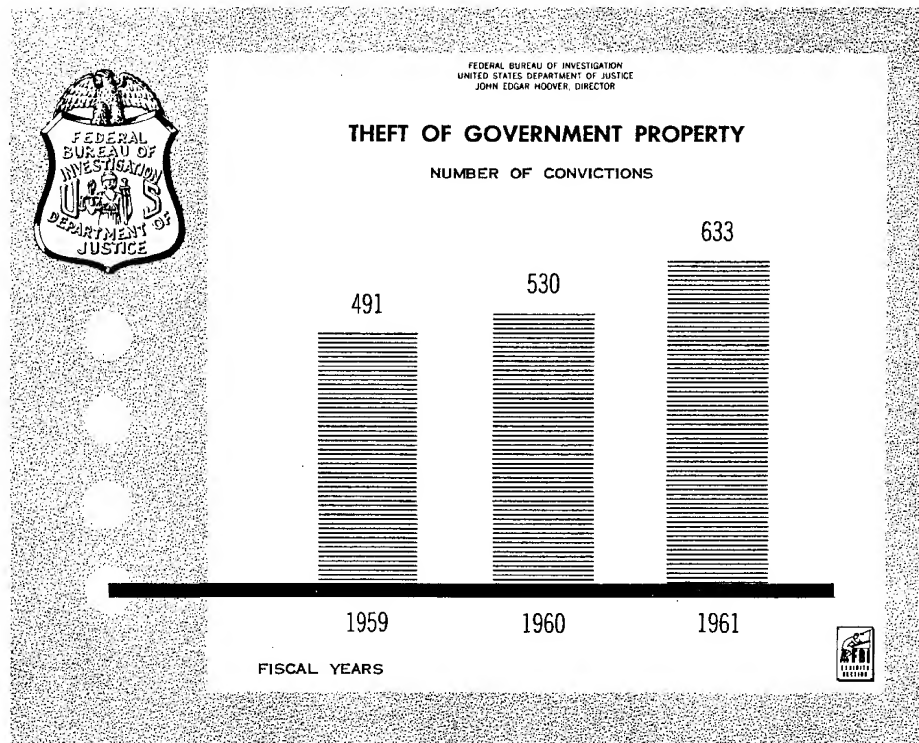
As of January 1, 1962, this expanded jurisdiction had resulted in the receipt of 541 new cases.

THEFT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY

Theft of Government property and related violations give rise to a large volume of work. A total of 633 convictions followed FBI investigations of theft, embezzlement, illegal possession or destruction of Government property in 1961, an increase of 103 over the previous year. Recoveries amounted to almost a half million dollars.

This chart which I present to the committee shows the growing number of convictions resulting from our investigations of these violations during the 1959-61 fiscal year period.

(The chart referred to follows:)



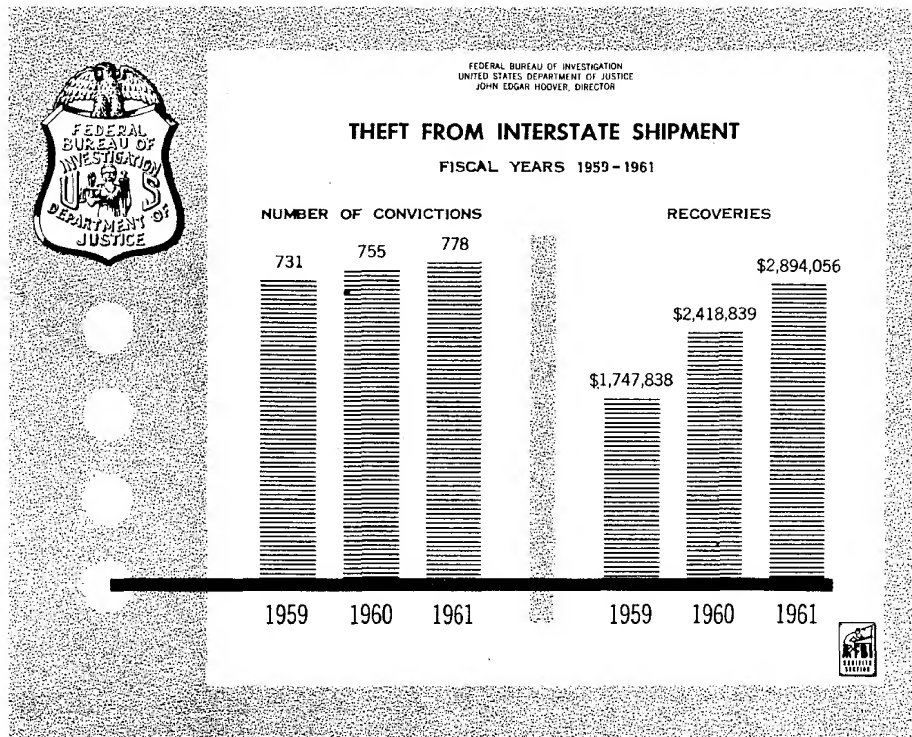
THEFT FROM INTERSTATE SHIPMENT

Mr. HOOVER. Our work concerned with thefts from interstate shipments continues to mount. These violations against shipments moving interstate include hijackings with the use of force and violence, larceny, embezzlement and pilferage.

During 1961, our investigations resulted in 778 convictions and in recoveries of \$2,894,056.

This chart which I hand to the committee shows for the 1959-61 period the growing number of convictions and recoveries resulting from our investigative efforts to combat this type of crime.

(The chart referred to follows:)

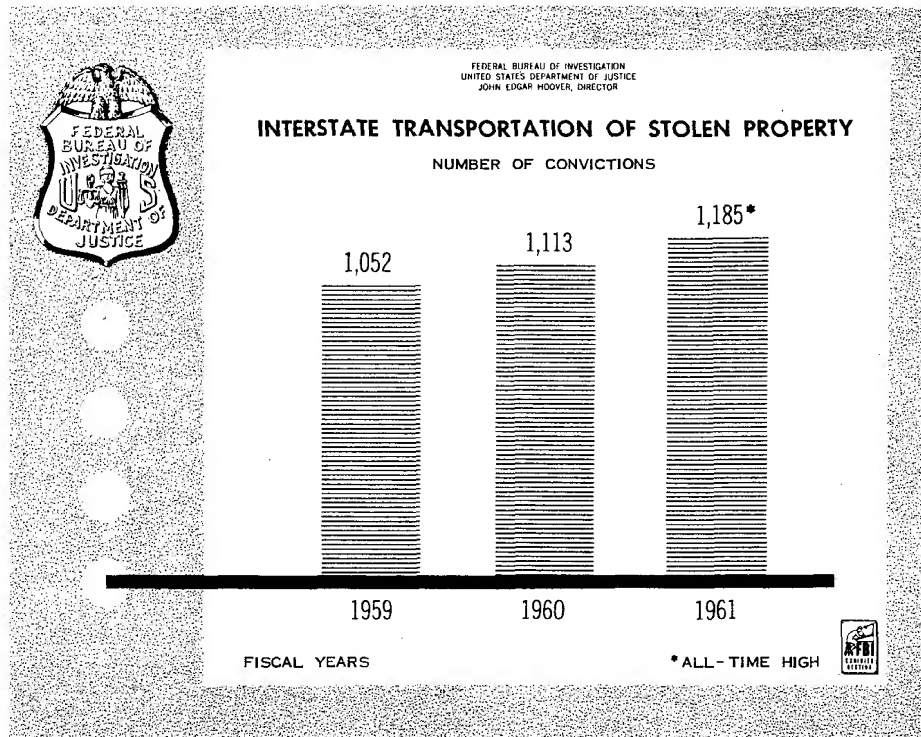


INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF STOLEN PROPERTY

Mr. Hoover. Thieves who carry plunder interstate, the receivers of such stolen goods, confidence men who flee interstate after victimizing the unwary, and bad check passers whose worthless checks are a plague on the legitimate business of a community, often violate Federal laws under our jurisdiction.

Our investigations in this type of criminal activity resulted in an alltime high of 1,185 convictions during 1961. The growing number of convictions obtained is shown in this chart which I hand to the committee depicting the trend over the past 3 years.

(The matter referred to follows:)



Mr. HOOVER. In addition, during 1961 property valued at \$3,754,094 was recovered and 590 fugitives were located.

Our jurisdiction in this type of violation was extended by Public Law 87-371, approved October 4, 1961. This legislation extended the coverage of the interstate transportation of stolen property statute to prohibit the transportation of fraudulent State tax stamps in interstate or foreign commerce.

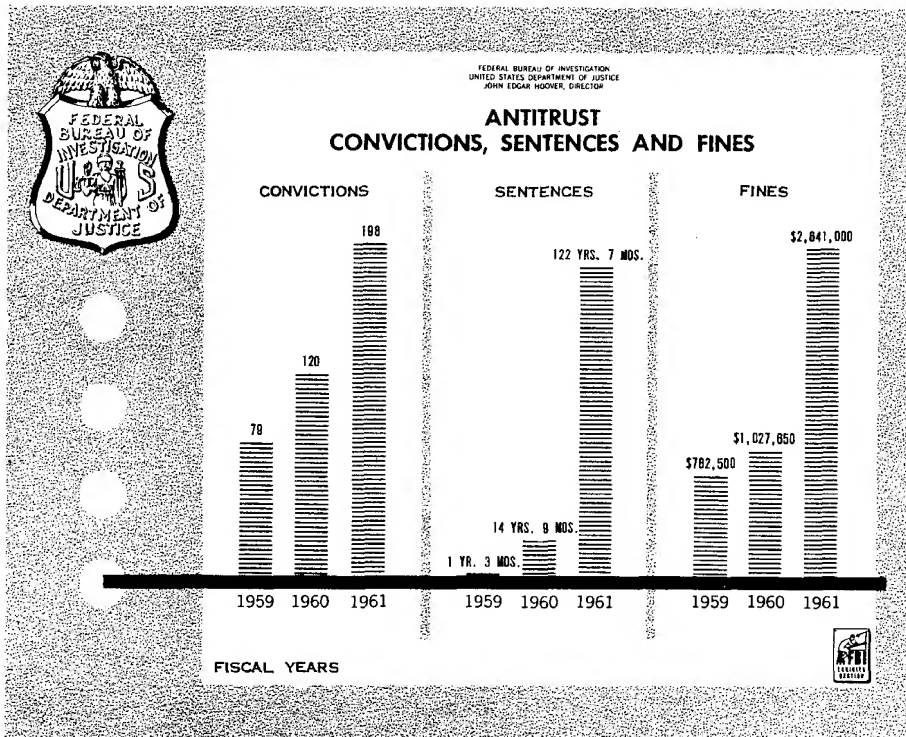
ANTITRUST

The FBI, at the request of the Department of Justice, investigates alleged violations of the antitrust laws. These matters are usually of a complicated nature and the investigative activity often extends over a wide geographical area. In many instances the investigations will require simultaneous handling by numerous of our field offices throughout the Nation. As a result, these investigations often require the heavy assignment of manpower over prolonged periods.

Our work in the antitrust field has greatly increased. This is reflected in the growing investigative accomplishments resulting from our investigations. For example, convictions jumped from 79 in 1959 to 198 in 1961. During the same period, fines assessed rose from \$782,500 to \$2,641,000.

This chart which I present to the committee portrays the investigative results over the past 3 years and clearly reflects the mounting volume of work in this area.

(The chart referred to follows:)



Mr. HOOVER. Our antitrust workload commitments are expected to continue to rise throughout the fiscal year 1963 because of the emphasis being placed by the Antitrust Division upon criminal prosecutions in connection with increased inquiries as to possible violations being committed by racketeers in the labor field, price fixing in industry, and the like. In addition, added emphasis is being placed by the Department upon the enforcement of civil judgments and inquiries into mergers. All of this will require the assignment of additional manpower.

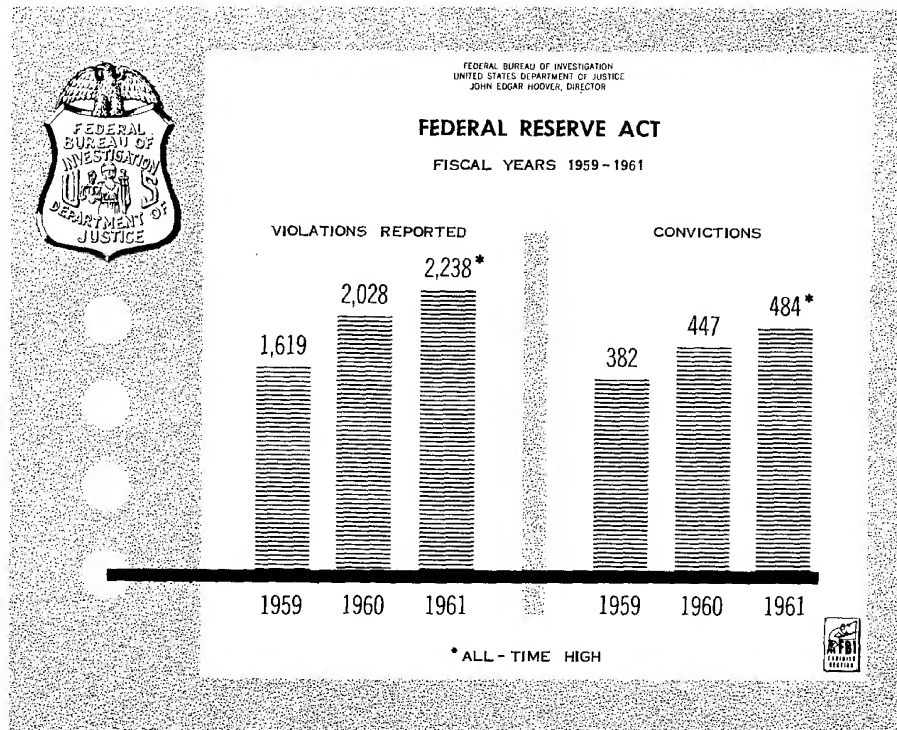
FEDERAL RESERVE ACT

Violations of the Federal Reserve Act, involving embezzlements and related offenses by officers, employees and customers of banks and other financial institutions, continue to increase. An alltime high of 2,238 violations involving shortages in excess of \$11 million were received for handling during 1961. The tremendous jump in this type of violation can be better visualized when you consider that in 1951 violations reported numbered 698.

Our investigations during 1961 resulted in an alltime high of 484 convictions and in recoveries totaling over \$2,800,000.

This chart which I hand to the committee shows the steady upward climb in this type of violation over the past 3 years as well as the increasing number of convictions which have resulted from our investigation of these cases.

(The chart referred to follows:)

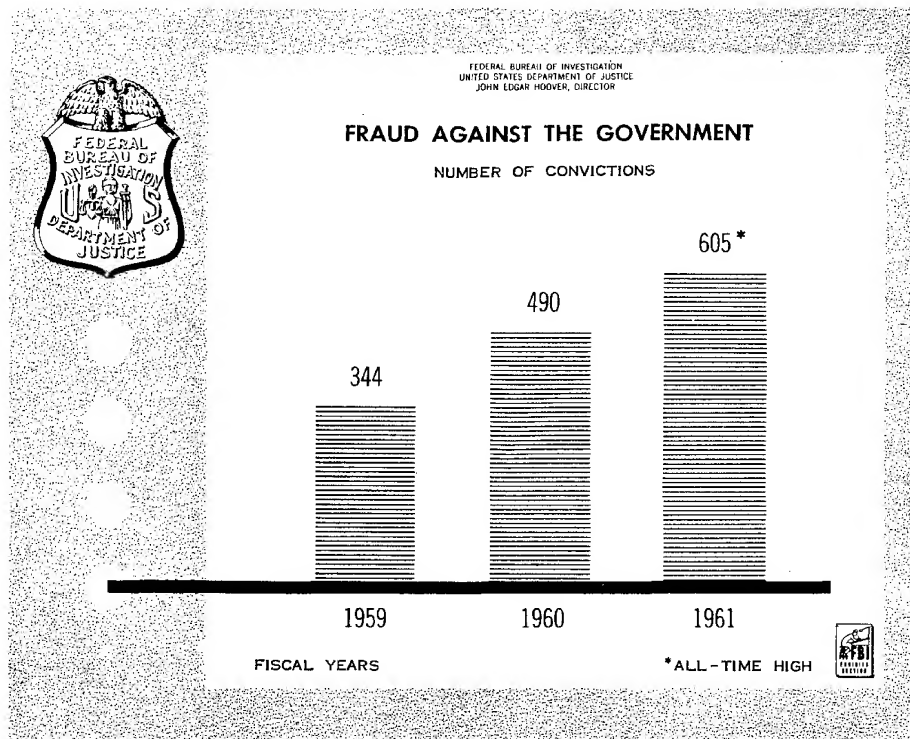


FRAUD AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. HOOVER. Convictions in fraud against the Government matters reached an alltime high of 605 during 1961. These cases arise from false statements or false claims to the Government or in matters within its jurisdiction. Most of the cases grow out of Government procurement contracts for supplies and services, particularly those concerning purchasing operations of the military in the national defense effort.

This chart which I show to the committee portrays the increasing number of convictions we have obtained over the past 3 years in this area of operations.

(The chart referred to follows:)



CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. HOOVER. Pursuant to congressional enactments and instructions of the Attorney General, the FBI is responsible for investigating allegations that individuals have been deprived of rights and privileges guaranteed them under the Constitution and laws of the United States. I will briefly review the procedures we follow to fulfill our responsibilities in the civil rights field.

No organization in the United States has a deeper respect for civil rights than the FBI. Beginning with the training course which is provided our newly appointed special agents, great emphasis is placed upon topics such as constitutional law and the laws and court rulings governing arrests, searches, seizures, confessions and evidence.

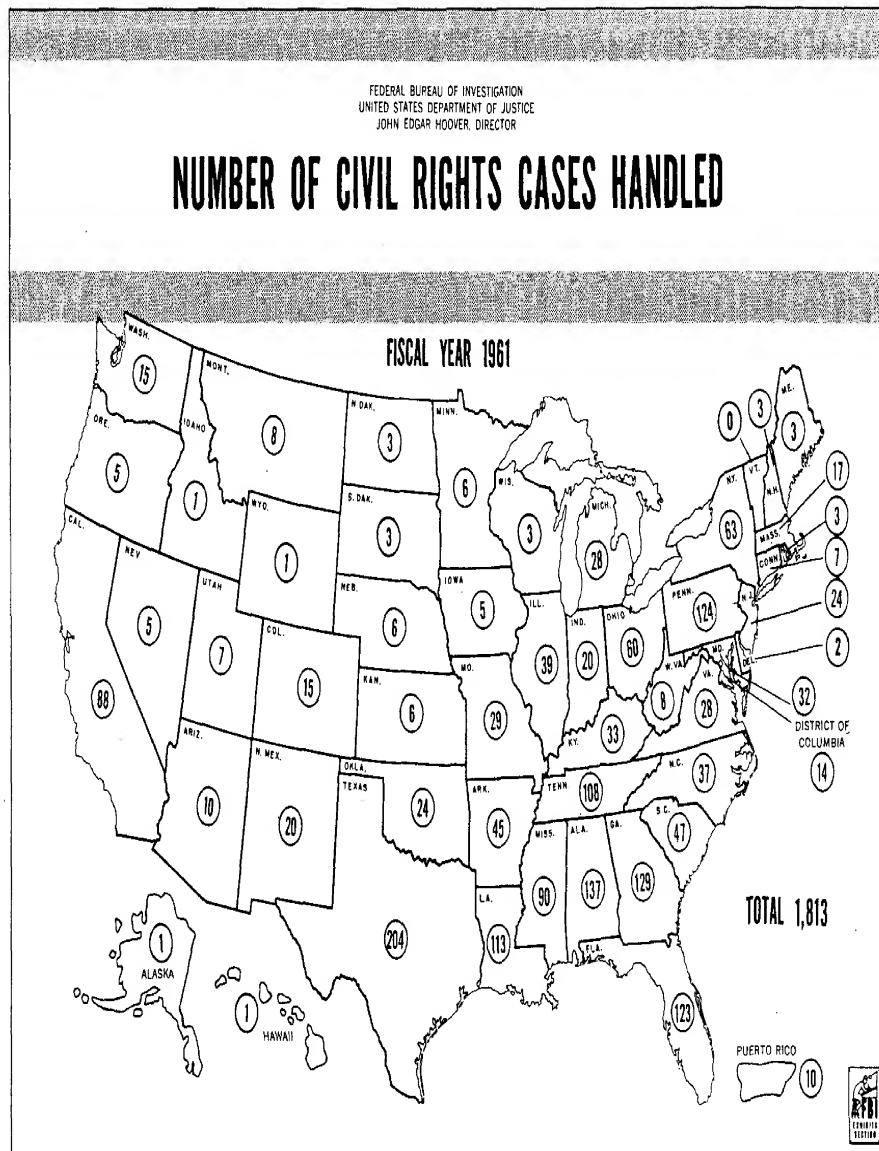
During my tenure as FBI Director, I have insisted that every civil rights investigation be given thorough, prompt and impartial attention. These cases are handled by special agents who have completed advanced training courses which specifically qualify them to conduct civil rights investigations. And at our headquarters, they are supervised by a select staff of men with broad knowledge and experience in these matters.

Some idea of the vast size of our investigative responsibilities under the civil rights statutes may be found in the fact that 1,813 alleged violations of civil rights were reported to the FBI during 1961. The wide distribution of these cases is shown in this map which I present to the committee.

(The chart referred to follows:)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

NUMBER OF CIVIL RIGHTS CASES HANDLED



Mr. HOOVER. The 1,813 civil rights cases handled during 1961 included 1,563 cases involving law enforcement officers. This certainly shows there is no reluctance on the part of victims and others to bring these alleged violations to our attention.

Some sources have inferred that we might be reluctant to investigate personnel of other law enforcement agencies. This assumption is completely unfounded. As long as the civil rights statutes are part of the Federal law, and as long as the FBI is charged with their enforcement, we will carry out this responsibility thoroughly, promptly, impartially and without apology to anyone.

When the FBI receives a complaint alleging police brutality, we immediately launch a preliminary investigation which includes the most thorough type of interviews with the victim, the subjects and witnesses as well as a review of appropriate records. Written statements are obtained during pertinent interviews whenever possible and the results of investigation are furnished without delay to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice for its immediate review and decision as to further action.

From time to time a complaint of alleged police brutality may be received which raises a question as to the desirability of immediate investigation. One example of this would be a matter in which local authorities are taking vigorous action and appear to be proceeding in good faith. In every such instance the facts are brought to the immediate attention of the Civil Rights Division for a determination as to whether the investigation should proceed or be held in abeyance.

If investigation is requested by the Civil Rights Division, it is immediately instituted by the FBI.

When a civil rights complaint is received which involves some matter other than police brutality, the complaint is brought, without delay, to the attention of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice for its immediate review and decision as to action. In order to assist the Civil Rights Division in appraising each alleged violation, our special agents obtain a full and detailed account of the complaint in writing whenever possible. If the complaint has been made by someone other than the victim, we also attempt to locate the victim immediately so that his account of the alleged violation can be obtained. Thereafter, in the event an investigation is requested by the Civil Rights Division of the Department, it is immediately instituted by the FBI.

There is no delay on the part of our field offices in furnishing civil rights complaints to FBI headquarters even when the complaint does not allege police brutality. Dependent upon the urgency of the situation, they are received by telephone, teletype, or the mails. Promptly upon their receipt, they are transmitted, without recommendation or evaluation, to the Civil Rights Division of the Department.

At the outset of a civil rights investigation which involves police officers or personnel of other public agencies, we contact the head of the agency, as well as the Governor if a State institution is involved, and provide a brief explanation of the allegation which has been received and our jurisdiction to investigate. This often enables us to obtain information which has already been gathered by the agency involved; and, in the overwhelming majority of cases, our policy of

contacting the head of the agency materially assists in expediting the investigation. Every responsible law-enforcement official recognizes that our profession has no room for the man who will abuse the very rights which he is pledged to uphold. Police departments realize also that their most effective means of refuting unfounded allegations of brutality and duress is to expose them to the light of an impartial investigation by the FBI.

In civil rights cases, as in all other matters within our jurisdiction, the FBI functions strictly as a fact-gathering and fact-reporting agency. Our special agents do not express opinions as to guilt or innocence; nor do they make prosecutive recommendations or otherwise assume the role of accuser, prosecutor, jury or judge.

I have always felt a deep concern regarding the necessity to protect the rights of the individual against any unlawful infringement, particularly by law-enforcement officers. In order to preserve this basic premise of our democratic society, the FBI in schools conducted throughout the country for local police officers and at the FBI National Academy held in Washington, D.C., emphasizes the responsibility on the part of all law enforcement officers to scrupulously protect these rights in the performance of their duties.

During the course of these schools, we go into detail regarding the rights guaranteed under the Constitution, the statutes covering civil rights, and FBI jurisdiction in regard to civil rights matters, so that the local law enforcing officer will have a better understanding of the various ramifications of the civil rights statutes and the role of the FBI in these investigations.

The FBI has always taken an aggressive stand in the area of training so that law-enforcement officers will have a clear understanding of the basic liberties they share with other Americans. For example, during the mid-1950's the FBI conducted a series of 553 specialized schools in civil rights for law-enforcement agencies throughout the country. These were attended by 27,551 officers. Since 1956, through December 1961, FBI police instructors have given 827 lectures on this subject at police schools attended by 36,061 officers.

There is never any need for any officer to disregard the civil rights of those whom he investigates or arrests. Scientific methods of investigation, detection and identification have long since proved that a professionally trained officer can effectively handle any law-enforcement problem by legal means.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my statement.

Mr. ROONEY. I should like to ask you whether or not it is a fact that a number of Swiss banks have been taken over by Communists. (Discussion off the record.)

PEACE CORPS INVESTIGATIONS

Mr. ROONEY. With regard to the Peace Corps to which reference was made in one of your exhibits inserted in the record, I noted that you had 23 full-scale investigations as of January 1.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. ROONEY. Can you tell us, either on or off the record, what are the facts with regard to these investigations?

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Chairman, you will recall when the Peace Corps was organized, the head of the Peace Corps came to see me and asked

whether I would investigate his people. I told him I would do it on a limited basis; namely, that we could not agree to investigate all of his personnel, but we would help as much as we could until he could work out satisfactory arrangements with the Civil Service Commission to do these investigations. The Peace Corps Act, Public Law 87-293, approved September 22, 1961, provided that if the agency, which in this case would be the Civil Service Commission, making the investigation of personnel of the Peace Corps develops data reflecting that the person being investigated is of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk, the investigating agency shall refer the matter to the FBI for a full field investigation. As I have indicated, since this act was approved, the FBI has received through January 1, 1962, 23 such cases to investigate.

Mr. ROONEY. In the first instance, it is then turned over to you for a full investigation?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes.

Mr. ROONEY. But of the 23, were those under the arrangement you had with Mr. Shriver?

Mr. HOOVER. No; they were received under the arrangement with the Civil Service Commission under the Peace Corps Act. When they develop data reflecting that the person is of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk, then it is referred to the FBI for a full field investigation.

Mr. ROONEY. How did the whole thing shape up?

Mr. HOOVER. As I have indicated, we have received 23 cases from the Civil Service Commission thus far.

Mr. ROONEY. Do you have any results as yet?

Mr. HOOVER. We have completed the investigations on 16 of the 23. The reports were forwarded to the Civil Service Commission for dissemination to the Peace Corps.

Mr. ROONEY. How about the top echelon people; pretty clean?

Mr. HOOVER. We conduct the investigation to determine the facts. We make no evaluations or issue any clearances since this is entirely up to the employing agency.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM BETWEEN SOVIET UNION AND UNITED STATES

Mr. ROONEY. Have you had any instances in the past year with regard to this so-called cultural exchange program between the Soviet Union and the United States?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, we have. As I testified earlier, the Soviet intelligence services continue to make use of all of these groups to implement their intelligence operations in this country.

Mr. ROONEY. Last week we had some people down here on the question of our nuclear policy and also in opposition to bomb shelter programs. Do you have any information with regard to the background of that organization?

Mr. HOOVER. I would like to respond off the record.

Mr. ROONEY. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

SOBELL CASE

Mr. ROONEY. What is behind all of this business about Sobell?

Mr. HOOVER. There, again, we witness one of the most intensive propaganda drives made in this country since the *Rosenberg* case. As you recall, in that case, there was a great effort made to commute the sentences of the Rosenbergs.

The clamor died down with the execution of the Rosenbergs.

Sobell, who was part of the Rosenberg espionage apparatus, is now serving as a great propaganda issue for those seeking to get his release from prison.

CASELOAD PER AGENT

Mr. ROONEY. Do you have the figure on your present caseload per agent?

Mr. HOOVER. Twenty-two.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Sikes?

"OPERATION ABOLITION" FILM

Mr. SIKES. How do you evaluate the film "Operation Abolition"?

Mr. HOOVER. Although we did not participate in the preparation of the film I should like to point out, however, that the House Committee on Un-American Activities did cause to be published a report on the student demonstration based on the FBI's investigation of Communist Party activities, from eyewitnesses on the scene, and from official records of local authorities involved. It outlined the agitational tactics used by Communists during the May 1960 hearings to build the agitational pitch of the demonstrators to an explosive point—the point at which an effort was made to supplant the rule of law with mob action. These facts speak for themselves. Despite confusing and contradictory statements which have been made about the affair, the truth is that the students went beyond the limits of the law and broke up a duly constituted hearing.

In view of the subsequent additional publicity over this affair, a responsible eyewitness to the riot wrote to me and in part summarized:

To sum it all up, there was a fracas on the hearing room side of the barricade involving a young man whose identity I do not know, triggering the mob violence immediately preceding the police use of the hoses. There is no question as to this sequence of events.

Insofar as the film shows how demonstrators can be induced by Communists to go beyond the limits of the law, I believe it serves an educational purpose.

I understand that the committee has revised the film. However, I have not seen this version of it.

Mr. SIKES. I am glad to have your reaction. We have made it a point to have it shown as frequently and in as many places as we could in my district in the last few months.

Mr. HOOVER. You will find in many areas of the country there are staged demonstrations where the film is going to be shown even by picketing against it.

Mr. Bow. Would you yield at this point?

Mr. SIKES. Yes.

Mr. Bow. I might say that I stayed home a little late this morning in order to see the "Today" show where they were going to take up

the film "Operation Abolition." I was very much amazed and disappointed to find that show put on the defense for the Communists and to see they made comments criticizing "Operation Abolition" and claiming that it was exaggerated, and not factual. To me, this was a rather disturbing thing.

Mr. ROONEY. Is it not strange, too, that that "Today" program went on television today, at a time when there is a concerted campaign to deny funds for the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. Bow. That is right.

Mr. HOOVER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM

Mr. SIKES. Will you tell us something about the particular problems that have been brought to you as a result of the Cuban refugee situation in this country?

Mr. HOOVER. That problem is a very difficult one and imposes a very heavy burden on us because in the Miami area proper there are nearly 100,000 refugees who have come into this country from Cuba.

There is no way of stopping them from coming in. As a matter of fact, Castro urges some of them to leave. Others come in surreptitiously on the Keys and other areas in Florida. They are taken into custody by the local authorities, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. There is a very close working arrangement among the Government agencies in Florida.

One of the great problems with which we are faced is the fact that Castro's spies may be coming into this country. We have to be constantly alert that an individual who alleges to be a refugee, under severe pressure by Castro, who has had to leave his home and had his property confiscated, may in fact be a spy. His objective may be to spy upon the great number of Cuban refugees who are against Castro, loyal to this country and who would like to see him overthrown.

It has put tremendous pressure and a great burden on our three Florida offices which have to contend with the problem.

Mr. SIKES. With so many refugees, do you not have an almost impossible situation to detect the people who are sent here as agents for Castro?

Mr. HOOVER. It is a very difficult problem.

(Discussion off the record.)

RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER LANDRUM-GRIFFIN ACT

Mr. SIKES. There is some feeling in this country, and I do not know how accurate it is, that the Government does not now, and has never, particularly wanted to rigorously enforce the Landrum-Griffin bill.

Is your agency called upon to make investigations which would have to do with the enforcement of this act?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, and I can assure you the FBI is handling its responsibilities under the act vigorously.

Following the enactment of this law the Attorney General and the Secretary of Labor executed a memorandum of understanding on February 16, 1960, by the terms of which the Labor Department retained jurisdiction with respect to all civil enforcement actions and the

investigation of some criminal provisions. This agreement also delegated responsibility to the Department of Justice for the investigation of certain other criminal provisions of the act. Briefly, these involve sections of the labor statute concerned with:

(1) Embezzlement of union funds, (2) payment by an employer of a fine imposed upon a labor union officer convicted of violations of the act, (3) prohibition against Communists and convicted felons holding union office, (4) picketing for extortion purposes, (5) deprivation by force or violence of the rights of union members, (6) retention by the FBI of an amendment in the act broadening the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 so as to prohibit illegal payments made to middlemen or others acting for an employer or as a representative of employees.

INCREASE IN CRIME

Mr. SIKES. You told us that crime is increasing four times as fast as the population and there is constantly more crime despite the fact that each year we spend more money and have more people in law enforcement programs.

How do you explain that situation?

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Congressman, there are a great many factors affecting the increase of crime. These include the density of population and the size of the community and the adjacent metropolitan area; the composition of the population, especially with reference to age, sex, and race; economic status of the population; climate, including seasonal weather conditions; education, recreational, and religious facilities in the community; effective strength of the police force and the policies of the prosecuting officials and courts; standards regarding appointments to the police force and the efficiency of these agencies; and the attitude of the general public toward law enforcement problems.

The tremendous mobility of our population also is a factor. There is a great migration from one area to another and a rapid urbanization. Since 1940, population in metropolitan areas has increased by 55 percent. As of 1960, 63 percent of the total population of the United States was located in metropolitan areas.

I feel that the general moral decay which has taken place in our Nation, the decline of parental authority, public apathy toward the crime problem, unwarranted and unrealistic lenient treatment of willful and hardened criminals, and the lack of citizen cooperation with law enforcement agencies are among the most important factors.

We are living in a society today where, to a great extent, indulgence has replaced discipline. There has been an increasing breakdown of authority and moral standards in the home, the neighborhood, and, frequently, in the entire community. These factors, I think, are especially pertinent to the great rise in juvenile crime. Children must be taught to respect the rights and property of others. Law enforcement certainly is not a substitute for parental authority and a good moral code.

Unwarranted lenient treatment of willful criminals has virtually killed any respect for the forces of law and order among the lawless. America now has the most efficient law enforcement profession in its

history, yet many of those persons who regularly engage in illegal activities look upon an arrest as little more than a minor inconvenience. Experience has shown that even if convicted the criminal stands a good chance of going free with little or no punishment. Many of the crimes in the United States are committed by repeaters. A number of burglaries, robberies, automobile thefts, and other such serious crimes often are committed by the same gang before its members are arrested. Even capture and conviction frequently mean only a relatively short break in the gang's crime activities. Many of them go right back to the same criminal acts as soon as they are released. The problem here, in my opinion, is the fact that a number of them are set free almost immediately through suspended sentences, parole, and probation. While I firmly believe in the principles of rehabilitation, I abhor soft treatment of hardened criminals which only fosters contempt for law and order and encourages others to embark on a life of crime. Criminals and those inclined toward a life of crime must be taught the full meaning of the old adage, "Crime doesn't pay."

Public apathy and the lack of citizen cooperation with law enforcement agencies is one of the shocking great weaknesses in the fight against crime. In effect, citizens who are basically honest support the criminal empire and at the same time protect it. They must be made to realize that the small bets they place with illegal gamblers and the money they feed into illegal gambling devices make up the working capital for organized crime. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are funneled into the treasury of the underworld each day from various types of illegal gambling. If these citizens will stop dealing with the hoodlums and report what they know about gambling operations, two things will result: (1) The major source of income for organized crime will be eliminated; (2) Law enforcement, armed with the information supplied by the citizens, can mount an offensive which will quickly rout the forces of organized crime. Here again, the matter of lenient treatment arises. In many areas of the country, operators of illegal gambling activities are sentenced to nothing more than a fine following conviction. This actually amounts to the mere payment of a local license fee to operate and certainly will not deter the bookmaker and others like him.

Public indifference to the crime problem also is evident in other ways. Many of our citizens have become totally unconcerned about the welfare of their fellow man. There is an increasing number of incidents where citizens stand idly by while some innocent person, or even a law enforcement officer, is assaulted. They lack courage to aid the victim personally or the interest to summon help. Such a case occurred in Washington on Christmas night when a taxi driver witnessed a man being beaten by a group of teenagers. He reportedly made no move to assist the victim and although his cab was equipped with a two-way radio, he did not even summon help until after discharging a passenger and returning to the scene.

Law enforcement agencies lack sufficient officers to patrol all streets and other areas in our Nation where trouble can break out. Law enforcement agencies must depend on citizens to report criminal operations, potential lawbreakers and danger areas.

UTILIZATION OF FBI SERVICES BY LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Mr. SIKES. There is very general and widespread appreciation for the work of your Agency and I am sure this is true in all the States. I note, however, that the number of local police schools, for instance, varies quite widely; 227 in Florida and 27 in Louisiana.

The FBI Laboratory examinations made for law enforcement agencies varies just as widely; 2,996 in Florida and 166 in Texas.

Why is it, in your opinion, that there is not a more uniform utilization of the services that the FBI can give local law enforcement agencies?

Mr. HOOVER. We never make any examination or conduct police schools except on request.

Mr. SIKES. I understand that.

Mr. HOOVER. In Florida, you have a rapidly developing State, very much like California and consequently such a State would request more services.

The situation will vary from State to State, with some having local, or State laboratories or training facilities that do the work for the local people. Wherever they have done that it takes care of the problem.

We will not accept evidence if a previous examination has been made since this would be a duplication of someone else's work, resulting in inefficiency. If the evidence is submitted to us in the first instance without previous examination we will do it for any law enforcement organization, State, local, or Federal. No charge is made for these services.

CHILD-MOLESTER PROBLEM

Mr. SIKES. You discussed the problem of child molesters.

Not long ago, in my area a man was arrested and charged with such a crime, yet one would never have suspected any such inclination on his part.

Is there a pattern of behavior? Do people who are potential child molesters generally follow a certain behavior pattern?

Is this something that can become manifest at any age without previous indications or is it something that has been there throughout a person's life?

Mr. HOOVER. Some psychiatrists have indicated it is inherent in the early stages of life and may remain latent for varying periods of growth or it may never manifest itself patently. Therefore, there may or may not be any recognizable evidence of this tendency.

From a practical point of view, I wish they would under State or local law or regulation, take fingerprints of teachers who are employed in our schools because recently in one of the school districts near Washington, D.C., a teacher was arrested as a child molester. He had a previous record for a similar offense. We had this record of him in our fingerprint file obtained when he taught in another part of the country.

Therefore, I have advocated that fingerprinting of persons in contact with children in schools should be required. Some protest that this is a reflection upon their integrity. I cannot share that view. I think that a fingerprint is no different than a man's signature. Our school children are entitled to this protection.

EVALUATIONS OF INVESTIGATIONS

Mr. SIKES. Investigations of applicants for jobs with the Government sometimes fail to show Communist connections or even to show such undesirable traits as homosexual tendencies. Does that mean the investigation was not thorough enough?

Mr. HOOVER. If it was made by the FBI, we would probably find it.

Mr. SIKES. Yet I note there have been cases of homosexuals who were found in the State Department several years after they have been employed.

Mr. HOOVER. If those men were properly investigated by their agency, that could have been found if there had been outward manifestations of their tendency.

The crux of the matter is how carefully the results of any investigation are evaluated by those having that responsibility.

I have heard the argument some people make that homosexuality is not something to preclude an individual from working in a sensitive security position. I think it is, because there have been instances where such individuals have been blackmailed into compromising the security of their country.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Director, we find ourselves in a situation where there is a quorum call going on and by the time we answer our names, it will be another 15 minutes.

On top of that, there will be a rollcall vote on the postal rate increase bill, so I would like to ask you, because the minority have announced they have some questions, to come back at 1:30.

Mr. HOOVER. I would be happy to do so, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROONEY. Then we will try to finish promptly.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. ROONEY. The committee will please come to order.

Mr. Marshall?

FREEDOM RIDER MOVEMENT

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Director, the Federal Bureau of Investigation under your able direction is the most highly respected and regarded by the vast majority of my constituency, of any Department of our Government. I am wondering, has there been any evidence of Communist participation in the so-called freedom rider movement?

Mr. HOOVER. In regard to the freedom rider movement, as I pointed out previously, Communists as a tactic do not initiate these movements as a rule, but there are always a few Communists who will join in any movement relating to a vital public issue in an effort to exploit it for their own sinister purposes. In a few of the freedom rides throughout the South, there have been individuals who have subversive connections. The freedom rider movement was not initiated by them and they are not in the majority in such activities, but they play a part.

Mr. MARSHALL. Just one comment off the record.

(Off the record.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Bow?

BANK ROBBERIES

Mr. Bow. Mr. Director, in my area of the country there seems to be quite a rash or outbreak of bank robberies. Is that pretty generally true throughout the country, or is it centralized in this particular area?

Mr. Hoover. It is generally true all over the country. During the last quarter of 1961 we held 215 conferences with local law enforcement officers and members of the banking profession on a nationwide basis to discuss ways and means of combating this problem, including cooperative efforts of law enforcement agencies and protective measures which might be taken by banking institutions.

Mr. Bow. I am wondering whether the modernization of banking equipment and furniture, where they have tried to get away from the cages and things of that kind, has had anything to do with this. It seems to me it is rather an invitation to people to come in.

Mr. Hoover. The trend toward modern decor in design of our new banking institutions has resulted in the removal of the protection previously afforded the bank employees by high cages and protective bars. Easy access to the bank working area is an open invitation to those considering a bank robbery.

The removal of protective features has given courage to lone individuals contemplating bank robberies. No longer is it necessary for a gang, such as the Karpis and Dillinger gangs that robbed banks years ago, to participate in a bank robbery. This may account for the large increase in the number of so-called lone bandit bank robberies.

During our recent conferences we pointed out to the banks various steps which they could take to prevent bank robberies and to assist law enforcement in the prompt apprehension of bank robbers should a bank robbery occur. In addition to protective devices, considerable emphasis was placed on the training of bank employees so they would know what was expected of them in the event of a robbery. These points are also covered in an instructive booklet which we published for the information of banking institutions.

In the figures I gave earlier this morning, there were 895 violations reflected, which was an increase of 142 over the previous year. It is the largest number of violations of bank robbery in the history of the Nation. Positive deterrent action is necessary to halt the continued increase of these violations.

Mr. Bow. Let me ask this question on bank robberies. It has seemed to me that in most instances, in our area at least, they have been apprehended within a comparatively short time. Is this generally true? Are most of them being apprehended?

Mr. Hoover. They are. It is one factor that should be a deterrent. I stated this morning in my testimony that we had made a study of 125 typical cases which showed only 8 robberies netted more than \$10,000, while in 30 instances the bandits obtained no loot at all. I think that shows that bank robbery does not pay. The very substantial sentences which the courts have imposed in bank robbery cases is another deterrent.

SERVICE TO PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICIALS

Mr. Bow. Going to the question of probation and parole, I think it was a staggering figure that we heard here this morning, and one that everybody should be concerned about. I am wondering, when the courts are called upon to hear questions of probation, do they call upon your agency at all for files and background on these people?

Mr. HOOVER. When a local or Federal judge refers a case to the probation officer, taking probation first, the officer generally will check as to the background of the man, his record, family associations, and so forth. At this time, if requested, we will furnish the arrest record from our fingerprint files. In the parole procedure, the parole boards can secure this information from the prison in which the man is incarcerated.

I share your view. One of the strongest contributing factors to our crime problem today is the release of criminals who are not good risks. They should be kept in prison until completion of their term or until it may be reasonably determined they are no longer a threat to society.

Mr. Bow. Are these agencies using to the fullest extent your facilities?

Mr. HOOVER. I frankly would not know. The Federal Parole Board, I know, does. I do not know how many of the State probation and parole officials obtain the information in our files and records.

Mr. Bow. Is it available to them at their request?

Mr. HOOVER. It is available to all probation and parole officials.

Mr. ROONEY. Not the file itself, but the information in the file.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct. I know in the Federal courts, many judges will make a special request that the FBI arrest record be considered in the matter of sentencing. It may provide background to allow the judge to determine intelligently whether the man is a proper probation risk.

AGE GROUPS OF REPEATERS

Mr. Bow. Do you have any charts or records which would show the age group of repeaters, taking in the so-called juvenile delinquent and then 20 to 25, and perhaps different age groups?

Mr. HOOVER. We do not have such charts. Such a chart regarding youthful offenders would not necessarily give you a true picture because juveniles in many jurisdictions are not fingerprinted.

JUVENILE CRIMES

Mr. Bow. What is the record of repeaters among juveniles?

Mr. HOOVER. As I have indicated, there is no reliable data available to answer your question concerning juveniles because many juvenile courts do not allow such data to be released. However, we have observed numerous instances where youthful criminals have been repeaters, particularly concerning serious types of crime.

In speaking of serious crimes I refer to felonies, muggings, rapes, and felonious assaults, as distinguished from what may be called pranks. Some social workers and juvenile court judges favor releasing juveniles regardless of the gravity of their offenses. The age of juveniles is set by law and varies in different States. In some States

it is as high as 21 and in others as low as 16. In New York State they endeavored to raise the age limit. The newspapers by strong editorial protests have helped keep it at 16. I would like to see the age lowered to 16 in all States. I think when one reaches 17 or 18 years of age, he knows the difference between right and wrong. When he commits a murder, rape, felonious assault, or mugging, he ought to be treated as a person of older age would be treated who commits the same crime.

SERVICE TO LOCAL ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Mr. Bow. I should like to say, Mr. Director, that the Wayne County, Ohio, prosecuting attorney has told me of an instance where they had a very brutal murder—I am quite sure it was a murder; a quite brutal assault, at least—and they knew quite well who had committed it but they had trouble getting evidence. Your laboratory and agency were called into the case and did an excellent job. One of your men testified. This resulted in the conviction, and certainly the community and the prosecuting attorney were very pleased with the work done by your agency.

Mr. HOOVER. I am glad to hear that.

Mr. Bow. This is a matter of a local community benefiting quite substantially from your service.

Mr. HOOVER. Many law enforcement agencies throughout the country turn to the Bureau's laboratory for assistance because it is the largest scientific crime laboratory in the world and has facilities to do the work properly without cost to them. In the long run, the sinews of decency in the community are improved when a criminal is removed from society. Specific evidence is essential to prove guilt or innocence. A man may be guilty, but without concrete evidence to prove it he will go free.

Mr. Bow. This prosecutor's feeling was that without the help, information, and testimony of the FBI, they might not have gotten a conviction.

Mr. HOOVER. We have had expressions of that kind from many parts of the country; if the laboratory had not been called in and our representatives had not appeared and testified in court, conviction would not have been obtained.

TELEVISION PROGRAMS

Mr. Bow. Mr. Director, I watched a television show the other night. I do not know whether you are familiar with it or not. On this show there was brought in, behind a curtain, gang girls, gang boys, narcotic mainliner, theft gang, and two boys who were supposed to belong to a gang, who make their living by theft and stealing. They talked about how they organized and how they did it. How can this happen?

Mr. HOOVER. Motion pictures and television shows of this country need to recognize that they exert a great impact upon their audiences. We are all inclined to look at and hear something and get more out of it than we do by just listening. I have always deplored, and have commented, long before the recent drive to revise and improve TV, that there has been too much violence on these shows. While the theme "Crime Does Not Pay" generally comes at the very end of

the program it is only briefly covered. The shows that I have criticized have portrayed extreme violence leaving a deplorable impression in the minds of youth. There are instances in which youths have committed crimes, the idea for which they obtained from looking at TV. A survey of TV programs was made on the west coast recently for a single week and an unbelievably large number of murders and assaults were shown.

Mr. Bow. The thing that disturbed me in this was the fact that where they had the two boys who were supposed to belong to a theft gang in New York, the one boy admitted a number of thefts he had done and told how they go out and steal. Their fence is a doctor on Madison Avenue. When he was asked whether he had ever been arrested, no, he had never been arrested. Here on television before the public was a boy admitting that he was a thief, that he had a fence to get rid of these things, but had never been arrested. Yet he was telling this to the whole world. It just seemed to me to be a terrible thing.

Mr. HOOVER. That is deplorable.

Mr. Bow. The inference was that they had police protection. I just wondered whether that had come to your attention and how they can get by with it.

Mr. ROONEY. I would doubt that they have police protection.

Mr. Bow. I am not saying they did. I am saying this is the inference. I do not believe it, either.

Mr. ROONEY. It was encouraging disregard for the dignity of the law.

Mr. HOOVER. That is right.

Mr. Bow. That is the thing I am concerned about, how they can do this in public and put a show on. It would seem to me that certainly if law enforcement agencies had seen that show, they would have been perfectly justified in going into the studio and picking those fellows up.

Mr. HOOVER. On so many shows of the type depicting violence they seldom portray the typical day-by-day life. By innuendo or inference, they leave the impression that all law enforcement is venal. There are unfortunately some venal officers in law enforcement, but the great majority of the profession is honest and dedicated. I doubt that the particular event portrayed on that show is a common practice, or is a common occurrence in New York City, because the New York City Police Department is a very efficient department.

Mr. Bow. I had no intention of leaving an inference that could be construed as adverse to the New York police.

Mr. HOOVER. Unfortunately, exaggerated TV portrayal of inefficiency and dishonesty in law enforcement has caused a misconception prevalent among some segments of our population.

Mr. Bow. The reason I raise the point is that I think it is a deplorable situation that they can put on that kind of show and leave that impression, and other juveniles who might see it say, "These fellows get by with it and get protection."

Mr. HOOVER. Television programs receive ratings based on the number of people who are attracted to them. Unfortunately, many people are drawn to certain programs purely by the excitement generated through the violence and brutality portrayed. So-called gossip columns are often widely read because something bad is said about a

person. Similarly, it seems, certain television programs, to attract viewers, use the technique of portraying unusual and often unrealistic episodes and situations involving violence and brutality. Regrettably, this type of program often attracts a larger segment of viewers than those adhering strictly to truthful, realistic situations.

Television and motion pictures should recognize that this situation is at least partly responsible for the moral decay we see within the home and the resultant increase in juvenile criminality.

INCREASE IN IMMIGRATION FROM SOVIET BLOC

Mr. Bow. One further question. I noticed one chart you had here this morning showed the great increase in immigration from the Soviet bloc. How are they coming in?

Mr. HOOVER. Many of them come in through a third country. They leave—

Mr. Bow. How do they get in?

Mr. ROONEY. They have plenty of Poles coming in now.

Mr. Bow. In what way? Under the quota?

Mr. HOOVER. Under the visa and quota systems.

Mr. Bow. I thought our quotas were pretty well filled.

(Off the record.)

Mr. Bow. Thank you.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Lipscomb?

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Director, it is always a privilege to hear your testimony. It is straightforward and concise, and very enlightening. I personally believe that the record of the FBI is outstanding under your leadership, and that of your officers and members of your staff.

I wish also that every American could hear your testimony. Certainly every American should join the fight against organized crime. If they could only read the testimony on communism and other materials available to them which you have written and have spoken about, I think we would all be better educated to the threat of communism to our Government.

It is always a privilege for me to be here when you appear.

I would like to ask a few questions.

UNITED NATIONS PROGRAM

Mr. Director, on your exhibit where your estimated reimbursements are itemized, underneath the place which indicates you do some work for the Civil Service Commission it says, "United Nations Program." It evidently involves name checks and investigations.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. What kind of program is this?

Mr. HOOVER. Investigations are made of American citizens employed by the United Nations. The character investigation is done by the Civil Service Commission and we make a name check. It is similar to the procedure we follow with the Peace Corps. If in the course of their investigation the Civil Service Commission develops some question regarding applicant's loyalty, it is referred to the FBI for a full field investigation.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. These are American citizens going to work for the United Nations?

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, sir.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Is this also the case for other international organizations?

Mr. HOOVER. Only when it has been specified by law as Congress has done a number of times.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. So the only international organization you now do investigative work for is the United Nations?

Mr. HOOVER. The United Nations, the International Labor Organization and World Health Organization.

INVESTIGATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO BE EMPLOYED BY
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. LIPSCOMB. As I understand it, when American citizens go to work with any international organization, as U.S. representatives or otherwise, a check must be made on them by the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. HOOVER. I do not know whether that is a fact.
(Off the record.)

Mr. LIPSCOMB. If that is not the case, if the Civil Service Commission does not check loyalty, it would have to be put in the law to have somebody do it.

Mr. HOOVER. There would have to be legal basis to have it done.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. I have heard of an organization where each American that goes to work for it must be checked by either the Civil Service Commission or the State Department. I do not know which.

Mr. HOOVER. I think this is a desirable procedure.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. But I have also heard it alleged that the organization has within it people who infiltrated as employees from other nations and who lean toward communism. There does not seem to me to be any way to correct this.

Mr. HOOVER. It is an agency created by Congress?

Mr. LIPSCOMB. No. It is an international organization. We participate in it.

Mr. HOOVER. Appropriations are made by Congress for American participation?

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Yes.

Mr. HOOVER. I think there should be some provision to require an investigation of employees who are American citizens.

Mr. ROONEY. Those employees have already been investigated, have they not, when they first went to work for one of the agencies, for instance, the State Department?

Mr. HOOVER. They might have, Mr. Chairman, if it had been done within recent years. It was not the procedure to check all persons coming into the Government until some years ago, when there was quite some concern about Communists infiltrating the Government. When they transfer from one place to another, it is likely they could have been investigated. It does not necessarily follow that they all were. It was under the Truman administration that the loyalty program was started. That later was changed in the Eisenhower administration to the Federal employees security program. That is the program that is now followed.

RESPONSIBILITY IN ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN UNITED STATES

Mr. LIPSCOMB. If it is a proven fact that there is Communist infiltration in an international organization, from a foreign country, all our Government can do is to try through appropriate agencies to influence the international organization to get rid of them?

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct. Of course, when any person engages in espionage activities in this country it is our responsibility to endeavor to learn about it and, if we find he is connected officially with the United Nations, we then make a report to the State Department and they in turn take it up with the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, which takes it up with the Secretary General. In most instances, I know that the individual then departs from the United States.

If he is in an embassy, the State Department has on occasion, after we have supplied them the information, declared the person persona non grata, and then he has to leave this country. Sometimes, if the Ambassador learns that action is coming, he will send him back on his own initiative. Usually when the State Department declares a Soviet-bloc official persona non grata his country retaliates by declaring someone in the American Embassy there persona non grata.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. You fulfill most of your responsibility when you report this to the State Department?

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct. We do not deal with international organizations or the United Nations as such.

(Off the record.)

DANGERS OF TRADING WITH SOVIET BLOC

Mr. LIPSCOMB. You have mentioned in your testimony the subject of American businessmen trading with the Soviet bloc. Would it be helpful in any way if the Commerce Department and the State Department if necessary with the cooperation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, would prepare some sort of pamphlet that could be given to American businessmen so they would understand the dangers of trading with the Soviet bloc? There are dangers to our country and to themselves. There are many factors involved. Would this be of any help?

Mr. HOOVER. From the practical point of view, my observation has been that the average American businessman in trading with the Soviet bloc knows what he is doing. He is not doing it through ignorance.

(Off the record.)

Mr. LIPSCOMB. When you were giving your testimony you said, I believe, that there are agents within the Amtorg Trading Corporation.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. I wonder how many businessmen who are willing to sell machine tools to the Soviet bloc realize when Amtorg contacts them they could well be dealing with a Soviet agent who is out—

Mr. HOOVER. It would be only personal opinion. A Senate committee brought out a great deal about this very problem some years ago.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. This is a pretty sad situation.

(Off the record.)

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Director, you were also very specific in your remarks about cultural exchange.

Mr. HOOVER. Yes, I was.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. I believe at the present time our Government is negotiating a new cultural exchange agreement with the Soviet Union.

Mr. HOOVER. That is a fact.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. If this is going to take place and it is insisted we need cultural exchanges, is there anything we can do to limit their operations and activities as Soviet agents?

(Discussion off the record.)

DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING COMMUNIST MENACE

Mr. LIPSCOMB. This goes along with your question, Mr. Chairman, in regard to the group which came down here by train and picketed the White House. In October, Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, sent out a pamphlet. I received one. In this pamphlet he was talking about the need for two Germanys, coexistence, nuclear and general disarmament, and so forth. In closing he said:

* * * What is missing to bring this into full play so that Government policy can be influenced for peace is a resurgent, fully developing mass peace movement that will really reflect the deep concern of the American people. We must seek every avenue to **this end**.

To me, it appears that he is calling for these peace movements. This was on October 2.

On October 19, a nationwide peace strike was started. It was started by a woman in Washington or Chicago, I believe.

Then our offices began getting loaded with mail from Women for Peace from Chicago, advocating a peace strike, and the Voice of Women in different parts of the country, advocating a program of this nature.

Just this morning I received a letter from a woman who says she is confused, that everything these people say sounds good. She just does not know what to do. She said she does not know these organizations. She wants peace. I have a pamphlet here that she sent me. It was handed to her by a picket. It is from the Pacific Non-Violent Action Group in Los Angeles, Calif., and advocates such things as participation in civil disobedience demonstrations. It states, in part, "There are times when laws are used to conceal great injustice." They say "Support the turn toward peace movement. Participate in the Los Angeles Easter peace walk and rally."

Some of the policies to stop tensions are: "recognition of East Germany and China although we may not agree with their methods; neutralization of West Germany as part of a neutralized central Europe with internationally guaranteed access to Berlin; social, cultural, intellectual, and economic exchange programs which will bring people with differing ideologies together and increase the awareness of human communities."

We have stated before today that many people just do not know what these things are and what they represent. Often it may sound good to people who are not up on this or as knowledgeable as you are.
(Off the record.)

Mr. HOOVER. The great problem is the definition of "peace." We define it as we understand "peace" in our dictionaries. The Russians and their sympathizers and satellite nations have an entirely different meaning for "peace." Theirs is peace on their conditions. They add

the phrase "as long as there is no opposition to communism." Some of the people who support these movements and march as pickets are thoroughly sincere in their desire for peace, but they may have been influenced by some of the Gus Hall propaganda.

To me, an interesting thing is how these Communists and some of these organizations were able to twist, when Russia resumed atom testing, and then they all had to reverse themselves.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. We can put out pamphlets by the millions for fallout shelters. We can put out millions of baby books. We can do all these things. Is there not some way that we can put this down for people who write to us and ask, "What can I do about communism?" in a manner and form that calls a spade a spade? It seems to me that somehow we are not getting to the people what the Communist menace is.

Mr. HOOVER. Of course, much literature has been put out by committees of Congress on that subject.

Mr. ROONEY. I take it you are not assuming there are a great many people in the country who subscribe to that sort of business. I think the rank and file of people in this country are sensible people.

Mr. HOOVER. They are not the most vocal.

Mr. ROONEY. There are a few people who are vocal.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. They are the most vocal ones, but I am not assuming anything. What I do believe is that we have a lot of apathetic people in this country who do not assume one way or the other. Therefore, I believe we all ought to be knowledgeable about it and we can act better in unity as a nation.

Mr. HOOVER. This morning I mentioned the document called "The Communist Party Line." I do not know how many thousands of copies the committee of the Senate has issued, although I have been told by the chairman there has been an enormous demand. This document spells out in simple language just what the Communist Party line is.

The American Bar Association's board of governors, through its president, has asked us to prepare a textbook suitable for use in high schools and colleges. The seed forms there as a result of the influence of some professors who are sympathetic to the Communist movement or are so unrealistic that they are apologists for communism. When they begin to explain matters of political "isms," they do not stress the positive values of democracy. They tell you all the things that are wrong with this country and all the things that are good with Russia.

There is a need, as you say, for something that will educate the people and arouse them from their apathy. Steps are being taken to meet the situation.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. It may not be as black as I picture it, but I want to keep moving on it.

Mr. HOOVER. There is real concern. I think that is one of the reasons you find today that some people are aroused. That is why some people join organizations to fight communism when they know very little about the organizations and probably do not accomplish as much as they would like to, such as extremist organizations of the "radical right."

Mr. LIPSCOMB. I want to have a responsible approach to it.

Mr. HOOVER. A responsible, penetrating, and objective approach

will bring positive results. As I have said many times, it is not enough to be against communism. You must be for something.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Thank you very much, Mr. Director.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you, Mr. Congressman. I appreciate your remarks.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Magnuson?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Director, can you tell us what the situation is with respect to identifying and locating, if necessary, the officers of the Communist Party in this country who have failed to register?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MAGNUSON. Has there been any effort on the part of the actual leaders to drop out of sight?

(Off the record.)

Mr. MAGNUSON. I have no more questions.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Cederberg?

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Director, I only have one question.

PASSPORT REGULATIONS

As I understand it, the State Department recently issued a regulation in the Passport Division whereby if an individual was denied a passport for security reasons, he would have the right of confrontation to determine the basis upon which the evidence was presented so the denial could be made.

Do you know anything about this?

Mr. HOOVER. I have read the regulations. They pose a problem as to identifying confidential informants of the FBI.

All pertinent information the FBI has is sent to the State Department and the question of making confidential informants available is determined on the merits of each case.

We should not uncover a confidential informant necessary to the security of this country. The Communists would like to identify our sources. Therefore, Communists will demand to be confronted if the State Department denies a passport, and they will want to know the identity of the FBI source. Thereafter he would be of no value.

Mr. CEDERBERG. That is the specific reason I raised this question and I am delighted to have the answer that you gave. I can see all kinds of problems that would be raised by the denial of a passport and the very situation you have stated could result.

It would appear to me, and I discussed this with the Attorney General when he was before our committee, that there really is not much we can do about it unless we change the security statutes.

Mr. HOOVER. I think the Congress by legislation could solve that problem by giving to the Secretary of State appropriate authority to deny a passport in any case where the internal security will be imperiled by disclosing FBI confidential sources of information.

Communists go abroad on trips to Moscow and all over the world, and they do not do our country any good. They make speeches as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn did, portraying falsely the conditions in this country. They have to have passports.

Congress has under consideration a bill to meet this very problem you raise.

Mr. CEDERBERG. That is all I have.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Director, Mr. Tolson, Mr. Mohr, I should like, on

behalf of this subcommittee, to extend to you our thanks for the highly informative and interesting sessions which we have had both this morning and this afternoon.

Mr. Hoover. We appreciate that very much, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee.

STATEMENT BY AMERICAN LEGION REGARDING FEDERAL BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION

Mr. ROONEY. We shall at this point in the record insert a letter under date of January 11, 1962, to which is attached a resolution of the American Legion with regard to the appropriation request for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We are pleased to learn that once again they are not opposed to the appropriations requested for that highly important Bureau.

(The letter and attachment follow:)

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Washington D.C., January 11, 1962.

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on State, Justice, and Judiciary, House Appropriations
Committee, The Capitol, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROONEY: I am writing to you in connection with hearings to be held by your subcommittee, during which consideration will be given to the budget request for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

As you know, the American Legion has always supported adequate funds for this Bureau, the most recent resolution being Resolution No. 132, adopted at the 1960 national convention, a copy of which is enclosed.

We are not asking for the privilege of a personal appearance but we sincerely ask you and the members of your subcommittee to give this matter favorable consideration. In addition, we respectfully request that you incorporate this letter and the resolution in the record of the hearings.

Thanking you for any consideration you may give to this request, I am,
Sincerely yours,

MILES D. KENNEDY, *Director.*

1960 NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION HELD IN MIAMI BEACH,
FLA., OCTOBER 17-20, 1960

Resolution No. 132.

Committee: Americanism Commission.

Subject: Organize support to combat communism.

Whereas it is self-evident that the world conspiracy of communism has as its main objective the subjugation of all free governments everywhere, and endeavors to accomplish this through subversion, treaty breaking, and the creation of chaotic conditions; and

Whereas as wartime veterans we are determined that our freedom, gained at such great cost, shall be maintained so that not only we but all other nations may not succumb to communism: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled in Miami Beach, Fla., October 17-20, 1960, That as evidence of our unity of national purpose we pledge our unqualified support to the national administration in its efforts to deal with communism in whatever manner it may deem necessary; and be it further

Resolved, That proper support and funds be provided to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to successfully wage this fight.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: July 18, 1962

FROM : J. P. MOHR

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY
RE EDGAR C. BUNDY

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
DeLoach	✓
Evans	✓
Malone	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holmes	✓
Gandy	✓

Reference is made to the attached memorandum dated July 13, 1962, from Mr. Morrell to Mr. DeLoach which reflects that by letters July 10 and 11, respectively, Congressman John J. Rooney and Congressman Robert Sikes, both on the Committee on Appropriations, sent the Director identical copies of a letter dated July 6, 1962, which they received from Edgar C. Bundy, Executive Secretary, Church League of America. Bundy referred to "Communism on the Campuses" and said he had read the Director's testimony but did not notice any reference to this communist activity on our campuses in the testimony. He asked that the Congressmen question the Director concerning this activity in the future so that Mr. Hoover's evaluation will be "on the record." It was recommended and approved that I see the Congressmen or their Administrative Assistants and explain the background regarding Bundy and specifically point out that the Director did refer to communism on the campuses in his testimony on page 50 when he was discussing recent activities of the Communist Party, USA.

I saw Congressman Sikes this morning, returned Bundy's letter to him, since it was the original with the enclosure from Bundy, and I explained Bundy's background and specifically referred to page 50 where the Director had covered the matter in his testimony. Congressman Sikes expressed deep appreciation for the Director's thoughtfulness and he said that was all he needed to know.

In the absence of Congressman Rooney, I spoke to Jenalee Nivens, Administrative Assistant to Congressman Rooney, and I filled her in as I did Congressman Sikes and she said as far as Congressman Rooney was concerned she did not plan to acknowledge Bundy's letter. She said she would advise Congressman Rooney of my call and if she had any further questions she would get in touch with me.

The foregoing is submitted for record purposes.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach

JPM:hif

(3)

JUL 30 1962

REC-55

JUL 24 1962

EX-108

XEROX

JUL 25 1962

CRIME RECORDS

RECORDED COPY

JOHN J. ROONEY
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

SUITE 1114
NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MEMBER
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS:
STATE
JUSTICE
COMMERCE
JUDICIARY AND
RELATED AGENCIES
MEMBER:
FOREIGN OPERATIONS
DEFICIENCIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

July 10, 1962

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Director Hoover:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of
a letter from Mr. Edgar C. Bundy, Executive
Secretary of the Church League of America,
as well as the June 1962 issue of NEWS AND
VIEWS, the official publication of their
organization.

Your comments in connection with
the enclosures will be appreciated.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

John (Rooney)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

JJR:jas

REC-26

62-104576-81

17 JUL 12 1962

XEROX

JUL 25 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

53 JUL 31 1962

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

EXP. PROC.

38 JUL 12 1962

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-3346

62 - 104576 - 81

ENCLOSURE

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

1407 HILL AVENUE • WHEATON, ILLINOIS

6 July 1962

NATIONAL LAYMEN'S COUNCIL

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Edgar C. Bundy

SUB-EDITOR DIRECTOR

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Mr. Edwin L. Wiegand
Mrs. H. Dillon Winship, Sr.
Mrs. Gladys Zindem

LEGAL ADVISERS

Weiniser, Koch,
Kiely & Alessandrini
New York, N. Y.

Hon. John J. Rooney
U. S. House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Rooney:

I have just finished reading the hearings before your Sub-Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives concerning the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations For 1963.

As usual, I was struck by the forthrightness of J. Edgar Hoover's testimony on the internal security problem resulting from communist activity.

I am enclosing for your attention the June 1962 issue of NEWS AND VIEWS, the official publication of the Church League of America, which is concerned with the penetration of communist propaganda on the campuses of leading universities and colleges throughout our nation.

We attempt to expose this activity as far and wide as possible. However, this activity continues unabated, as evidenced by the news stories appearing in THE WORKER and THE PEOPLE'S WORLD, official newspapers of the Communist Party.

I did not notice any reference to this communist activity in the testimony of the Director.

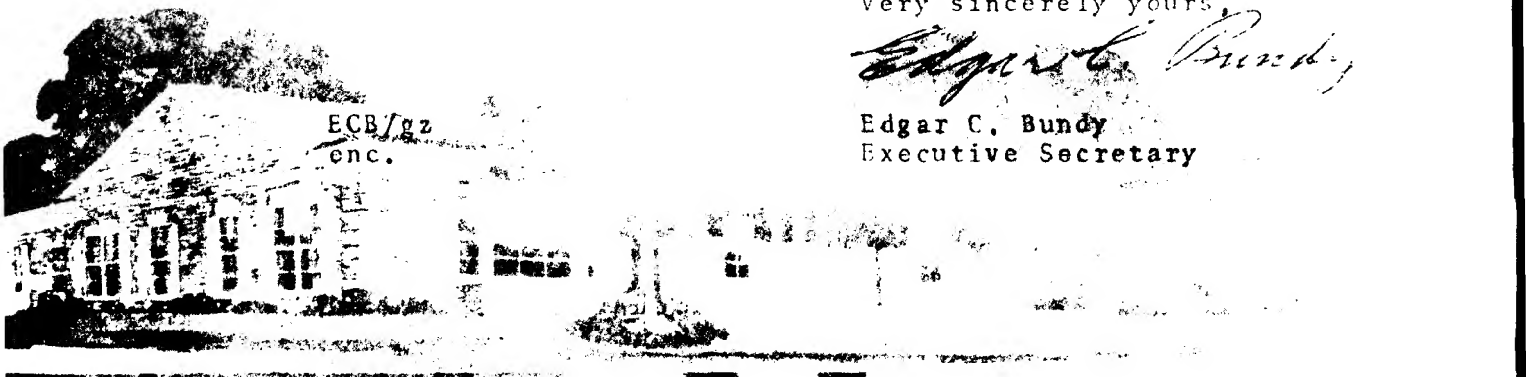
It would be very helpful to us if you would ask him questions concerning this activity when he appears to give testimony in the future so that we can have his evaluation on this phase of communist activity on the record.

Very sincerely yours,

Edgar C. Bundy

Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary

ECB/gz
enc.





NEWS & VIEWS

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

Vol. 25, No. 6

WHEATON, ILLINOIS

June 1962

COMMUNISM ON THE CAMPUSES

ACADEMIC FREEDOM OR ACADEMIC SUICIDE ?

On March 26, 1947 the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, John Edgar Hoover, appeared before one of the two major committees of the United States Congress investigating subversive activities within the Nation and made the following statement:

"I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby Communists and fellow travelers under the guise of academic freedom can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermines faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority, and sabotage our revered Constitution."

There seem to be several very important elements in this small portion of testimony which need to be emphasized and drawn to the attention of every American citizen in the light of what has happened within this Nation, and specifically on major university and college campuses since Mr. Hoover's warning was uttered.

First of all, "toleration" under the guise of "academic freedom", will allow Communists (Party Members or concealed ones) and fellow travelers (front joiners and sympathizers):

1. To destroy.
2. To undermine.
3. To scorn respect for.
4. To sabotage.

WHAT?

Our homes. Our Faith in God. Authority (Law and Order). Our Constitution (Our form of government).

This is what the man charged with maintaining our *Internal* security said. Now here is what the Chancellor of a great university said in answering the following question put to him by the great scholar Dr. Joseph Brown Matthews: "Now, Doctor, let's get to the point of what educators think about this. Is there any doubt that the Communist party is a conspiratorial fifth column operating in the interest of a foreign state?"

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins (then chancellor of the University of Chicago, an American Baptist Convention institution):

"I am not instructed on this subject. I understand many Communists say they do not operate under instructions of a foreign state. I know nothing about the Communist party except what I have

read and the various writings from various types of books."

(Special Report, Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, State of Illinois, April-May, 1949)

Please note that Dr. Hutchins made this statement under oath before a joint legislative committee of the State of Illinois two full years after J. Edgar Hoover warned the entire Nation of what Communists and fellow travelers do in academic institutions.

Could it be that some college or university presidents never learn, or do they not wish to?

In the hearing conducted by the State of Illinois, Mr. Hutchins then reiterated, time and again, that he saw nothing wrong with having a Communist club on the University of Chicago campus, front-joining professors on his faculty, and Communists speaking on the campus. In addition to this he felt it was perfectly alright to allow his professors to participate in national Communist front meetings.

A short time after this hearing Dr. Hutchins was promoted to be the Associate Director of the multi-million dollar Ford Foundation and President of the Fund for the Republic!

Here is a supreme example of the type of academic "tolerance" which has opened the flood-gates to a wave of Communist Party officials and their supporters who are now appearing on scores of university and college campuses all over the United States, and who are addressing vast throngs of students and faculty members. Some of these Red propagandists are fresh out of the Federal Penitentiary to which they were sent after the Supreme Court of the United States had upheld their convictions by lower courts.

Any day now, we can expect to see professional dope peddlers invade the chemistry labs and conduct courses in the various uses of dope, and the sundry ways to absorb it (with illustrations), while supplying unlimited free samples to the experimenting and researching students! Why not? The Bible says: "Fear not them which kill the body, but rather fear him, which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

In July of 1960 the House Committee On Un-American Activities released the report of J. Edgar Hoover on the Communist-led student riots which took place in San Francisco in May of 1960, entitled COMMUNIST TARGET-YOUTH. This was the factual story of how the Communist Party leaders of California planned to enlist the sympathetic support of students and faculty members on the campuses of various universities and colleges in Northern California

against the House Committee On Un-American Activities which had subpoenaed leading Communist officials to be heard under oath in the San Francisco City Hall. Their campaign was highly successful as judged by what took place during the hearing, and in the aftermath.

Here are several significant paragraphs from Mr. Hoover's report:

"Particularly unfortunate is the fact that many youth and student groups in our Nation today are totally unaware of the extent to which they can be victimized and exploited by Communists. The sad proof of this fact was nowhere more apparent than in municipal court in San Francisco on June 1, 1960, when Judge Albert A. Axelrod, dismissed riot charges against 62 of the persons arrested as a result of the mob violence which erupted during demonstrations protesting the hearings held in that city by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), May 12-14, 1960.

The judge pointed out that there were ample grounds for conviction in the cases involving the 62 defendants, most of whom were college students, but he added that the defendants were, for the most part, "clean-cut American college students" who could well be haunted for the rest of their lives by the stigma which a conviction would attach to them. In response to this action on the part of the judge, 58 of the defendants signed a statement distributed immediately after he had rendered his decision. It read, in part: "Nobody incited us, nobody misguided us. We were led by our own convictions and we still stand firmly by them."

Even more important was what the Communist Party decided to do in order to follow up the "success" at San Francisco in using university students to do their dirty work. Here is what Hoover relates:

"The Communist Party, USA, is elated with the success it enjoyed in attempting to make a fiasco of the HCUA San Francisco hearings, which, notwithstanding these attempts at disruption, did develop valuable and needed information concerning the strategy, tactics, and activities of the party in northern California. The party's elation is so great, in fact, that it bears witness to the truth of the observation that such a Communist coup has not occurred in the San Francisco area in 25 years. Immediately after the affair ended, the party's national leader, Gus Hall, congratulated the West Coast comrades for the initiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the demonstrations.

"Particularly pleasing to party officials was the number of students involved in the demonstrations. They commented that there had not been that much "political activity" among student groups for years. Archie Brown, especially, was commended for the tremendous job he had done among the students, working with them in the corridors of City Hall and winning their sympathy.

"Mickey Lima expressed his pleasure at the number of former party members the affair had brought back into the fold. He said that individual supporters the party had not seen or heard of in years seemed to "emerge from the woodwork" in response to the party's campaign.

"Various party functionaries on the West Coast reported that the successful demonstrations had a noticeable effect on lukewarm party members. One party official commented that it was a "shot in the arm" for the party, as shown by the fact that attendance at club meetings had risen sharply.

"The management of the party's West Coast publication, "People's World," was jubilant about the beneficial effect the demonstrations had had upon a fund drive being conducted for the newspaper. The paper reportedly received

letters from individuals throughout this country, as well as from others abroad, supporting the drive.

"In short, the consensus in the Communist Party was that the riot was the best thing for the party that had occurred in years. Party leaders expressed the opinion that it was especially significant that the party had been able to enlist the support of so many people in all walks of life when the party, itself was publicly under attack by the HCUA. The feeling was that not only had the party taken a major step toward its goal of abolishing the HCUA, but also it had taken a major step toward playing a greater role on the American scene.

"The party did not rest on its laurels after the success it enjoyed in the attack on the HCUA. It is campaigning harder than ever to attract youth and student groups to its ranks and is using the successful demonstrations to implement the campaign.

"At a party meeting on the night of May 20, 1960, Archie Brown disclosed how the party intended to use a followup campaign with campus students as the target. He stated that the party planned to emphasize "police brutality" as a rallying cry to attract the sympathy of student groups. He pointed out that he was particularly pleased with the fact that he had been invited to speak at Stanford University, adding that he had already spoken to students at the University of California in Berkeley. Brown said that the "People's World" had prepared a special supplement about the demonstrations for distribution to all the colleges and universities in the area, as well as for distribution to all waterfront workers.

"The campaign is being carried out exactly as Brown outlined it. Not only Brown, but other Communists too, have been addressing student and youth groups in the area.

"The party prepared 20,000 leaflets for distribution on campuses in the area. Captioned "From Blackmail to Blackjack," the leaflets stress the theme that, at the HCUA hearings, "students were peacefully defending the most cherished American freedoms," when "fire hoses, clubs and blackjacks" were used against them "without warning and without provocation" to "browbeat and smash the public opposition" to the HCUA. These leaflets were distributed by the party organization without cost for the sole purpose of exploiting the oncampus sympathies of students in the area.

"A very significant feature of the leaflet is the lure it dangles for the innocent. It contains a box to be filled in by those who would like to receive a complimentary copy of "People's World."

"While it must be granted that the San Francisco riot at the HCUA hearings was the best thing that had happened for the benefit of the Communist Party in years, Americans, too, can benefit from this display of Communist strategy and tactics in operation. In fact, it is impossible to stand idly by in the face of the challenge that this Communist success represents.

"The Communists demonstrated in San Francisco just how powerful a weapon Communist infiltration is. They revealed how it is possible for only a few Communist agitators, using mob psychology, to turn peaceful demonstrations into riots. Their success there must serve as a warning that their infiltration efforts aimed not only at the youth and student groups, but also at our labor unions, churches, professional groups, artists, newspapers, government, and the like, can create chaos and shatter our internal security.

"The Communists also demonstrated that the menace of communism is not a simple forthright threat. Instead, it is conspiracy which can be controlled only through full

understanding of the true nature of the conspiracy and the ability to separate truth from propaganda. Seen in the true reporting of the facts, the San Francisco incident exposes the conspiratorial nature of the party. Every such exposure of the tactics of communism can be used to destroy its ideological appeal and used to strengthen this Nation against the psychological pressures Communists constantly apply against every aspect of our society to weaken us.

"Throughout the world today, governments are toppling with stunning rapidity. Whether large or small, the role Communists are playing in these events must not be discounted. The growing strength of our Nation over the years has not proven a deterrent to relentless efforts on the part of the Communist Party, USA, to destroy our security and prepare our Nation for a similar fate.

"Looking at the riots and chaos Communists have created in other countries, many Americans point to the strength of our Nation and say 'It can't happen here.' The Communist success in San Francisco in May 1960 proves that it can happen here."

Ever since the California riots the Communists and their supporters have been having a "field day" in academic circles!

The following dispatch from St. Louis, Missouri was carried in the New York Times for January 27, 1962:

"The Communist Party in this country is stepping up a nationwide campaign to influence students, an official of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said yesterday.

Cartha D. De Loach, assistant director of the FBI, said in one of his infrequent speeches that in recent months 'the Communists have grown increasingly ambitious in their designs upon youth.'

Party functionaries have been making speeches at colleges across the country, he said.

The FBI is investigating the party's progressive youth organizing committee, De Loach noted. He said it was formed 13 months ago 'to pave the way for greater Communist influence among American young people,' including 'broad segments of our college students.'

This committee fills a void created in 1957 when the party's labor youth league was disbanded, he said.

The FBI official said the party also was circulating a monthly newspaper, New Horizons for Youth, without a Communist label despite its Communist control.

The paper, which was first published late in 1960, is edited by Daniel Rubin. He is the national youth director of the party, De Loach said, although he doesn't use the title in his newspaper or campus work.

The Federal investigator said that during an extensive tour in the midwest last fall, Rubin appeared, 'both officially and unofficially,' before student groups and 'papered a number of campuses with Communist literature.'

De Loach traced the Communist Party's 'renewed emphasis on youth' to its national convention in New York City in December, 1959, when, he said, Gen. Sec. Gus Hall noted an opportunity to take advantage of the campus trend toward 'non-conformity.'

'The party realizes,' De Loach said, 'that the high school and college students of today will guide America's destiny in the years immediately ahead.'

The following item appeared in the *Blu-Print*, publication of the Foothill Boulevard Baptist Church of Oakland, California, editor G. Archer Weniger, issue of March 27, 1962:

"President Arthur S. Fleming of the University of Oregon at Eugene who welcomed Communist Gus Hall to the campus on Monday, Feb. 12, and defended his appearance, will be remembered as the one who presided at the National Council of Churches triennium session in San Francisco on Dec. 6, when Bishop Pike delivered one of his addresses."

In the Columbus (Ohio) *Dispatch*, dated February 16, 1962, page 10A, there appeared a story in which Governor Michael V. DiSalle and Ohio State University trustees were urged to take a closer look at the Student Senate's symposium Thursday and Friday on "The idea of a University."

Mrs. Vivienne Suarez, chairman of the Franklin County Anti-Communist Study Group, charged three of the educators on the program have lent their names to organizations cited as pro-Communist by the U. S. attorney general, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, and House Un-American Activities Committee.

She was critical of DiSalle's "lending" of his office to the symposium.

The persons which Mrs. Suarez named were: Dr. Howard Mumford Jones, professor of Humanities at Harvard University; Dr. Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Amherst College; and Prof. Stringfellow Barr of Rutgers University.

Mrs. Suarez said: "There are persons on the campus who are responsible for these invitations and we believe it is time for the board of trustees to show more interest."

The People's World, West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party, for Saturday, February 24, 1962, had a large black headline in it entitled, "Gus Hall's Coast tour: talked to 19,000 on five campuses."

The communist newspaper then listed the following universities as having heard Hall: Stanford University on February 15; Reed College, at Portland, Oregon, on February 14; Lewis & Clark College, at Portland, Oregon, on February 13; Oregon College of Education at Monmouth, on February 12; University of Oregon at Eugene, on February 12; Eagleson hall, off-campus YMCA at University of Washington in Seattle, on February 10.

THE WORKER, Communist Party-bi-weekly, published in New York City, for Sunday, February 18, 1962, hailed the appearance of Gus Hall, executive secretary of the Communist Party, whom J. Edgar Hoover described as "a ruthless Moscow-trained ex-convict", at Stanford University, where it was said that 1500 students heard him speak. Also, in this same article in THE WORKER, it was stated that 350 students of Bowdoin College, of Brunswick, Maine, jammed a hall here February 9 to hear Phil Bart, Communist Party spokesman, discuss the 'Communist Party's position on Peace.!' THE WORKER said it was the largest attendance in years for any political meeting at the college.

Prior to the meeting at Bowdoin College, Bart had dinner with the Executive Committee of the Political Club which sponsored the meeting and the club's faculty adviser.

THE WORKER for the same edition stated that Herbert Aptheker, editor of Political Affairs, the monthly theoretical publication of the Communist Party, spoke before two well attended audiences in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. They did not state whether he appeared on the campus of the University of Minnesota or not.

Tampa and St. Petersburg, Florida newspapers carried the news that the University of South Florida would be having a series of so-called outstanding speakers on the campus for 1962, including Dr. Jerome Davis, Dr. Harlow

Shapley, and Dr. Harold Taylor. News of Dr. Jerome Davis' appearance at the university was mentioned in the Tampa Tribune for February 25, 1962.

The Tampa Tribune for February 27, 1962, on page 2B, then carried a story which said that Dr. Jerome Davis had been cancelled, as the speaker in a series of talks, by Dr. John S. Allen, University President.

Dr. Allen said talks by Davis, who is 70, were cancelled 'after it was called to my attention and after I had looked into his background. I decided then it would be inappropriate.'

The coming of Davis to the University of South Florida was defended by Dr. Robert A. Warner, chairman of a general education course titled, "The American Idea". Warner said he asked Davis to lecture while "aware of at least part of his background."

Warner said he was aware that Davis has been sponsoring tours to Russia for years and he "is well qualified to do what was intended—that is to talk on and explore the ideology of Communism."

This cancellation received wide-spread publicity. The Tampa Tribune for March 10, 1962 then published a story under the headline: "Teachers Protest At USF". The story then says that the South Florida University chapter of the American Association of University Professors protested the cancellation of Dr. Jerome Davis' talk by the president of the university.

The university chapter of the AAUP stated: "The integrity of education demands that it be free from tendentious criticism and pressure from outside the responsible faculty. The decision concerning exclusion of Dr. Jerome Davis from a class violated this principle of academic freedom."

Dr. Jerome Davis is one of the foremost apologists for communism in the United States. His record goes back for many decades and the official hearings of the House Committee On Un-American Activities are filled with his pro-Red escapades.

He recently wrote a book called ON THE BRINK, which is a vicious attack upon the United States government and a complete apology for the Soviet Union. This is the second book Davis wrote in this vein. His first book, BEHIND SOVIET POWER, was thoroughly exposed by Reader's Digest in a major article. This book was also exposed by the House Committee On Un-American Activities during the hearings for Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

Jerome Davis was dismissed from the faculty of Yale University after it was discovered by prominent alumni and the Yale Corporation that he was participating in pro-communist rallies all over the United States and dispensing pro-communist propaganda on the campus.

THE WORKER for Sunday, March 11, 1962, gave almost a two-page spread to the triumphal tour of Gus Hall, executive secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., on the west coast of the United States, at which time he made thirty-seven speeches in twelve days.

Hall was quoted as saying, after he had returned from his second tour of the west coast, that he was "ready for a repeat performance" and "It was one of the most exciting experiences of my life, second only to my experiences during the steel strike."

THE WORKER stated that 12,000 people, comprising the entire student body of about 8,000, the faculty and some townspeople of Eugene, Oregon, turned out for the meeting with Hall on the University of Oregon football field.

Questions were asked of Hall, but THE WORKER stated, "A student screening committee had been set up to 'avoid foolish questions'." Hall stated, "they did a good job. The questions were sharp but intelligent." Hall spoke for thirty minutes and then spent one hour and a half answering questions.

THE WORKER then stated that Hall went to the Oregon College of Education at Monmouth and addressed an audience of 3,000.

THE WORKER further recorded that Hall spoke to 1,000 at Lewis & Clark College in Portland.

An aftermath of this meeting was the fact that the president of Lewis & Clark College was bombarded with letters of protest from all over, including many from alumni. The president's excuse for allowing the national executive secretary of the Communist Party to speak on the campus was "freedom of inquiry."

THE WORKER stated that on February 14 Hall spoke to 800 at Reed College in Oregon. It was said that a larger auditorium in Seattle had been turned down by the City Council. As a result, THE WORKER declared, "there was a two hour traffic jam outside the hall (smaller hall) with hundreds outside unable to get in."

THE WORKER said that on February 15 Hall spoke to 1500 at Stanford University.

Hall praised the white students for their participation in the Freedom Rides, for their interest in political exploration, and said that they roared with laughter at his humor when he portrayed Soviet Premier Khrushchev, "as a very honest man, who always had his feet on the ground, even if he didn't always have his shoes on."

Hall warned all the students of the "menace of the Ultra-Right." He said, "the Ultra-Right is a serious danger."

He claimed that the communists were responsible "in signaling the threat of the Ultra-Right."

Hall praised the president of the University of Oregon, Arthur S. Flemming, for allowing him to speak.

Flemming was reported as saying in defense of Hall's right to speak:

"If our university deviates from the policy (freedom of expression) it has followed, it will be placed in the position of being a second-class institution in the eyes of men and women who truly understand the role of a university. It could well be giving up its birthright."

This is the same Arthur S. Flemming who was a Cabinet member in the Eisenhower Administration as head of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and who had been an official in the National Council of Churches for many years.

THE WORKER for Sunday, March 18, 1962, Midwest Edition, first page, carried the headline: "Drake Students Applaud Wilkinson, Heckle Bircher."

The scene was Drake University at Des Moines, Iowa. A debate took place between Frank Wilkinson, convicted member of the Communist Party, who was sent to the Federal Penitentiary, after the Supreme Court of the United States upheld his conviction in 1961 for failing to answer the question before a Congressional Committee on his Communist Party membership. Wilkinson has also been one of the top agitators in the nation, working through a number of notorious communist-front organizations, for abolition of the investigating committees of the Congress.

He admitted, during the San Francisco communist-led student riots, that he was on the scene ahead of time in

every city to help prepare the opposition against the Congressional committee.

THE WORKER stated that he spoke to an overflow crowd of Drake University students.

Several months before Wilkinson's appearance, THE WORKER said a "cordial reception" was given Sam Kushner, WORKER correspondent, by the Drake student body.

THE WORKER declared that "The Drake student newspaper, in reporting the debate, referred to Wilkinson as a 'modern Thoreau.'"

After Gus Hall's so-called triumphant tour of the West Coast of the United States, he was arrested on orders of the United States Justice Department in March of 1962.

THE WORKER for March 25, 1962 devoted five entire columns to an attack on the McCarran Act, under which security law Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, secretary of the Communist Party, were arrested.

THE WORKER then quoted profusely from Hall's speeches to the students on the West Coast of the United States, in which he declared that "the enforcement of the McCarran Act would turn over the government process of this land to the spokesmen of the Ultra-Right, and of the fascist gangsters."

The front page of the Amarillo (Texas) *Daily News* for Saturday, April 7, 1962, carried a long editorial, bordered in red, and entitled "Red Agent Trespasses."

The editor of the Amarillo *Daily News* had been asked to debate disarmament and other issues "with a speaker from the Communist Lecture Bureau on the campus of Eastern New Mexico University in Portales on April 27-28."

The "speaker" was to be Mrs. Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Communist Party of Southern California.

Mrs. Healey was one of the Communist Party leaders in the United States who rejoiced over Supreme Court decisions, a few years ago, which voided certain state laws seeking to deal with the Communist menace.

Mrs. Healey was scheduled to appear before the House Committee On Un-American Activities during their hearings in Los Angeles, April 1962.

The newspaper had been told, in horrified tones, that the "Administration cannot interfere with student activities." That is, the University of Eastern New Mexico at Portales!

Louis Budenz, former editor of THE DAILY WORKER, and official in the Communist Party, who left the party in disgust and became one of the most powerful witnesses for the United States government in cases involving communists, wrote in *The Tablet* (Brooklyn, New York), for Saturday, April 28, 1962, that the purpose of Gus Hall's tour among students was to encourage other comrades of the Communist Party to work among the students and keep them stirred up, particularly for so-called Peace Movements.

Mr. Budenz said, "The other point that Hall brings out is that the Communists must convince those students now so ready to listen (as he claims) that 'the path in the construction of socialism in the United States will necessarily have stamped on it 'made in U.S.A.'"

The Daily Californian, University of California campus newspaper at Berkeley, California, for April 13, 1962, had the incredible announcement under the column entitled, "Campus Memo," that the Student Committee On Constitutional Liberties would sponsor Herbert Aptheker, communist philosopher and historian (also editor of the monthly theoretical magazine of the Communist Party entitled,

POLITICAL AFFAIRS), at noon, Wednesday, in Stiles Hall. The title of his lecture was to be, "Crises In Constitutional Rights."

Ironically enough, the last major address in Berkeley, California by Aptheker was at Wesley House of the Trinity Methodist Church, of which Dr. C. Douglas Hayward is the pastor.

Methodist Bishop Donald Tippet, presiding bishop of the area, refused to cancel Aptheker's engagement on the church property, although he received many letters and phone calls of protest.

THE WORKER for Sunday, April 15, 1962, page 2, reports that Upsala College (East Orange, New Jersey) heard Communist Party secretary Benjamin J. Davis attack the McCarran Security Act, when he spoke before 500 students in the college gymnasium.

Davis labeled the law, which was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1961 as constitutional, as "another repressive law," and "It is the use of state power to change the American way of life to the fascist road. This law would destroy democracy and constitutional liberties."

Davis was the guest of the student council and the faculty at an earlier dinner.

The Student Senate Communications Committee of Emory University, (Methodist Institution of Atlanta, Georgia), in the bulletin entitled, "This Week," for April 9-15, 1962, listed on its calendar of events for Monday, April 9, at 8 p.m., the following: "The Student-Faculty Colloquium presents Carl Braden speaking on "The House of Un-American Activities and the Integration Movement", Room 103, AMB."

Carl Braden was convicted in a Federal Court of Communist Party activities in Louisville, Kentucky, and sent to the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia after his conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Carl Braden, and his wife Anne, have long been active in the Communist movement within the United States.

Emory University was once a great conservative Methodist school founded by Bible-believing Methodists who would probably turn over in their graves if they knew what was happening there now!

THE WORKER for Sunday, April 22, 1962, Midwest Edition, page 2, has the following headline:

"Midwest Campus Greets Anti-HUAC Student Leader."

The story from Des Moines, Iowa, then follows concerning one Burton White, identified as "student leader of Berkley, Cal., who participated in the demonstration against the House Un-American Activities committee (HUAC)," who "has won a large following while upholding civil rights on the Drake University campus."

White addressed six classes, spoke with student leaders, and appeared on the radio. THE WORKER stated that "the station's switchboard became flooded with phone calls, about 85 per cent in favor of White."

White attacked the House Committee on Un-American Activities and attempted to show that the committee was hindering "the racial integration movement" and that it was "anti-labor and anti-democratic" on important issues.

THE WORKER then stated that Drake students petitioned their student government to pass a resolution calling for the abolition of HUAC. The Drake students have also "organized the state-wide group called 'Iowans For Civil Liberties,' which calls for the abolition of the House

Committee On Un-American Activities and repeal of the McCarran and Smith Acts."

There is a continuous parade of this sort of information coming into the headquarters of the Church League of America, but we feel that illustrations of this type of material would not be complete without the following item:

THE WORKER for Sunday, April 29, 1962, page 2, headlines the fact that Benjamin Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party, appeared at Harvard University, his alma mater, in order to speak on the Communist Party and the Constitution.

The story, by Mike Davidow, columnist for THE WORKER, said:

"It would have been good if Jack Kennedy, Harvard '40, were present when Benjamin J. Davis, Harvard '28, revisited his alma mater last week."

THE WORKER stated that Professor Mark De Wolfe Howe, of Harvard Law School, a one-time secretary and biographer of Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, stated that he shared in part "Mr. Davis' feelings about the McCarran Act", and that he thought our national security would be still adequately protected "if we repealed the McCarran Act and little threatened if the same were done to the Smith Act." THE WORKER stated further that Robert G. McCloskey, Professor of Government, Harvard School of Public Administration, stated that he largely agreed with Mr. Davis about the McCarran Law and that he considered the law almost the worst of the lot. "The worst," he said, "was the Communist Control Act of 1954."

THE WORKER stated that Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School, author of the "Fifth Amendment To-Day," a Kennedy appointee to the Civil Rights Commission and a classmate of Ben Davis, said to him "that despite my opposition to your views, I thoroughly accept you as an American."

Some 600 students and faculty members were assembled in the Harvard Law School Forum to hear the above named three professors question Davis.

On the same page of THE WORKER it was announced that Benjamin Davis would speak at the University of Minnesota on May 2, 3:30 P.M., under the sponsorship of the Socialist Club of the university.

If anyone doubts what effect all of this propaganda on the part of the Communist Party leaders and their sympathizers is having on the youth of America, all he has to do is read Mr. Hoover's report to the Attorney General of the United States, and printed by the House Committee On Un-American Activities, entitled "COMMUNIST TARGET, YOUTH," well as the following three publications produced by the House Committee On Un-American Activities and available from the Church League of America headquarters:

"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FILM, OPERATION ABOLITION", Part I

"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FILM, OPERATION ABOLITION", Part II

"THE COMMUNIST-LED RIOTS AGAINST THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF." May 12-14, 1960

We know that it is impossible for most Americans to see issues of THE WORKER and other Communist Party publications. Furthermore, we would not want the average American to waste his money buying THE WORKER and putting money into the Communist Party coffers. However, if the average American could see the tremendous amount of material being published not only by the official publishing organs of the Communist Party, but also by so-called legitimate publications over this country, including vicious attacks on Conservatives and those who would expose these things, then he would spend a great deal more time in creating an awareness in every village and hamlet throughout the United States of the danger that threatens us from within.

The creation of such an awareness is needed, especially in cities where universities and colleges are training future leaders of our society.

If the present trend is not stopped, then within the foreseeable future, investigating committees of the Federal and State governments will have such a backlog of investigations on Communist activities, that they will never be able to overcome the backlog; for, fresh agents of the Communist Conspiracy will be produced in such rapid numbers on the campuses throughout the United States that it is possible that our nation as a free republic could not survive.

"As the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined," is a familiar proverb. Also, "Train up a child in the way he shall go and when he is old he shall not depart from it" is another admonition to parents from the wisest man in the Old Testament, King Solomon. May God enable not only the parents of this nation to train up their children in such a way that Communist and pro-Communist propaganda can have no effect on them, but also cause the tax-payers, whose money is used to support State institutions, or is given in tax-deductible gifts to private institutions, to investigate, protest, expose and oppose wherever the Red agents of the Kremlin appear in our educational institutions.

The Church League of America agrees with the Eleventh Report of the California Committee On Un-American Activities, published by the California State Senate in 1961, page 98, in regard to the communist-inspired San Francisco Riot Against HUAC dated May 1960:

"The contention that unless members of subversive groups are permitted to address students on the campus and unless faculty members are allowed to accomplish the same thing on university property, and unless any kind of subversive literature can be freely circulated, that freedom of speech and expression are being smothered, is to us merely an excuse to substitute license for freedom."

— END —

~~EXP. PROC.~~

37 OCT 18 1962

Form 2552
2-55-100M

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY

St. John, Wash. Oct. 15, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover;

Referring to attached letter received from Edgar C. Bundy.

You will note ten typographical errors which arouses my
curiosity as to what type of person and organization

Mr. Bundy represents.

On September 28th and 29th Mr. Bundy conducted a forum in
which many people in this area attended. His talk was an
anti-communist one and he left with us or made available
numxerous pamphlets and magazines such as "A Manual for
Survival", "American Opinion", and a "Guide to Subversive
Organizations and Publications".

He praised the John Birch Society and criticized former
President Truman and Eisenhower.

Would appreciate your views and advice regarding

Mr. Edgar C. Bundy.

Sincerely,

23
13 OCT 18 1962

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3 ENCLOSURE

ask
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CCF 6/9

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Callahan ☐
Mr. Conrad ☐
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Evans ☐
Mr. Malone ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Sullivan ☐
Mr. Tavel ☐
Mr. Trotter ☒
Mr. Jones ☒
Tele. Room ☐
Miss Holmes ☐
Mrs. Metcalf ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

Church League of America

EXP. PROC.

SEP 19 1962

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SEP 26 1962 115

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NOT RECORDED
SEP 24 1962

REC-962-104576-82

October 22, 1962



Union Pacific Railroad Company
St. John, Washington

Dear

Your letter dated October 15, 1962, with enclosures, has been received.

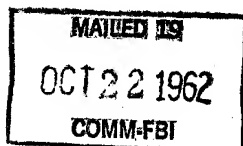
While I would like to be of service, the FBI, as an investigative agency of the Federal Government, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will understand my position.

Enclosed is some literature I trust will be of interest to you and I am also returning the items you sent.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (6)
See enclosures and NOTE next page

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

56 OCT 22 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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RECEIVING ROOM

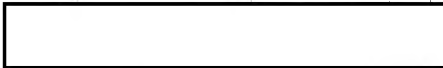
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OCT 22 10 20 AM '62

REC'D W. H. W. W.

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

CCM
B.D.



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Enclosures

Correspondent's three enclosures

An American's Challenge, 10-9-62

Do You Really Understand Communism?

Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. The items returned consisted of an envelope addressed to correspondent, a receipt for \$10 received from correspondent in support of the work of Edgar C. Bundy's Church League of America and a typewritten letter to correspondent thanking him for the \$10 contribution. This letter is signed by Bundy and contains a number of typographical errors.

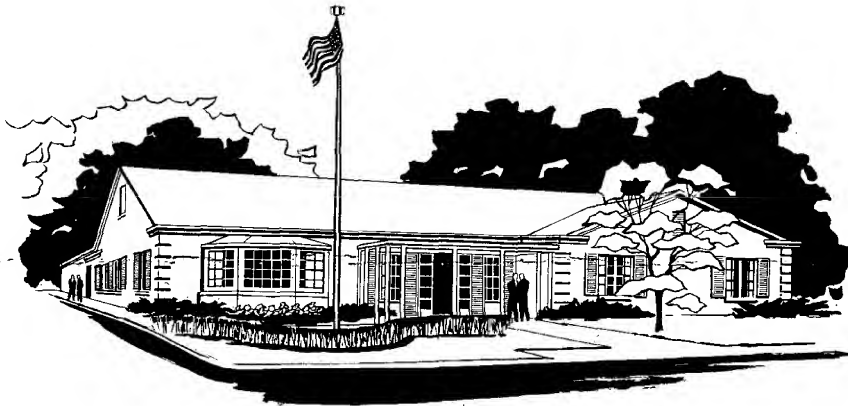
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CARRIES

62-104576 -

ENCLOSURE

PROGRAM



Grand opening and dedication of the National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America new National Headquarters Building, Sunday, September 16, 1962 through Sunday, September 23, 1962 at 422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Illinois and at Glenbard High School Auditorium, Glen Ellyn, Illinois.

62-104576-

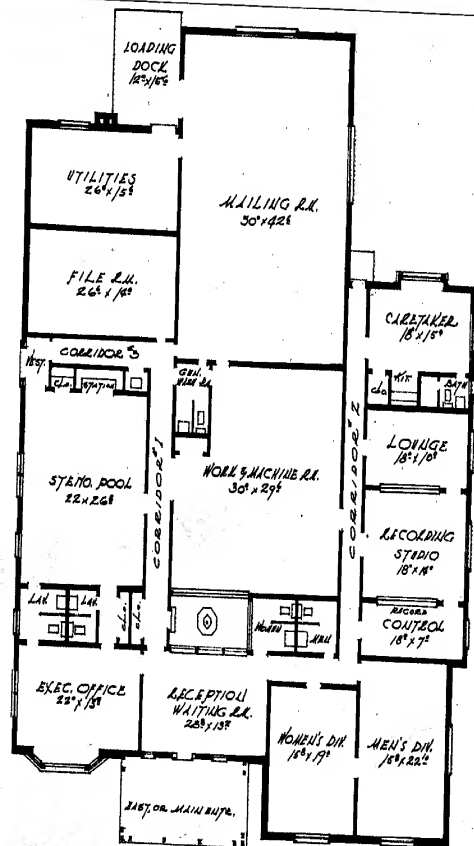
THEME: "OUR GOD AND OUR COUNTRY"

	SUNDAY September 16, 1962	MONDAY September 17, 1962	TUESDAY September 18, 1962	WEDNESDAY September 19, 1962	THURSDAY September 20, 1962	FRIDAY September 21, 1962	SATURDAY September 22, 1962	SUNDAY September 23, 1962
9:00 A.M.		REGISTRATION — 9:00 A.M. through 5:00 P.M. New Headquarters Building, 422 N. Prospect Street, Wheaton, Illinois						
10:00 A.M.		TOUR OF NEW BUILDING — 10:00 A.M. THROUGH 5:00 P.M.						Worship Services in various Wheaton and Glen Ellyn Churches. Inquire Church League Headquarters reception desk for locations and times of services.
11:00 A.M.								
12 Noon							Board of Directors Luncheon New Hdq. Bldg.	
1:00 P.M.								
2:00 P.M.							Annual Board of Directors Meeting	
3:00 P.M.								Dedication of new National Headquarters Building The Rev. CAMERON A. MACKENZIE, Pastor of St. Matthews Lutheran Church, Detroit, Mich., and member of the Church League Board of Directors, presiding.
4:00 P.M.							Tea — The Public Invited	
5:00 P.M.								
6:00 P.M.								
7:00 P.M.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Motion Picture Film: "The Ultimate Weapon" 27 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Motion Picture Film: "Communist Imperialism" 30 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Motion Picture Film: "Communist Accent on Youth" 45 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Motion Picture Film: "Communist Encirclement 1961" 40 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Motion Picture Film: "It's a Grand Old Flag" 20 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Motion Picture Film: "Red China—Outlaw!" 30 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Sound Film Strip: "Our American Heritage" 15 min.	Glenbard High School Auditorium Premiere of Motion Picture Film: "2 Before Zero" 1 hr. 25 min.
8:00 P.M.	Address by CDR. KARL BAARSLAG "The Turning of the Tide"	Address by DR. BELLA V. DODD Educator, Lawyer, Author and former official of the Communist Party, U.S.A. "Communist Penetration of Education"			Address by DR. CARL MCINTIRE President, International Council of Christian Churches, distinguished clergyman and author.	Address by ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN, Ph.D. Professor of History and Political Science, LeMoyne College, Syracuse, N.Y.; Lecturer, The National War College. "America Faces World Communism"	Address by the HON. GEORGE W. ROBNETT A founder and former Executive Secretary of the Church League of America. "The Menace of Organized Liberalism"	
8:30 P.M.			Address by PROF. E. MERRILL ROOT Author of "Collectivism on the Campus" and "Brainwashing in the High Schools" "The Type of Education Which Produced Great American Leadership"	Address by the HON. ELMER J. HOFFMAN, Member of U.S. Congress, 14th Dist., Illinois				Address by GENERAL WILLIAM H. WILBUR Congressional Medal of Honor Winner
9:00 P.M.	Address by MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY "Moscow-Directed Subversion in the Churches"				Address by MRS. HENRY S. JONES National Defense Chairman National Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution	Address by the HON. MILTON LORY President, American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, and Past President-General Sons of the American Revolution. "What Can We Do?"	Address by the HON. PAUL W. BROYLES State Senator, Mt. Vernon, Ill.; Chairman, Illinois Legislative Investigating Committee.	Address by ALLAN A. MACRAE, Ph.D., D.D. President, Faith Theological Seminary, Philadelphia "The Christian Faith As the Answer"



CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

422 N. PROSPECT AVE. • WHEATON, ILLINOIS



What the Church League of America Needs

It needs your help. It needs the help and support of all who want to see a stronger nation, a nation bound together with sinews of steel—steel forged of knowledge, information, truths, which are disseminated throughout the nation to the clergy and lay people.

Today, dedicated people support the Church League of America with labor and with treasure. More are sought.

The needs of the Church League of America mount daily. Only recently it was determined that a new physical structure was necessary to house the ever expanding facilities of the League. This structure, to be located in Wheaton, Illinois will cost \$250,000.00. This building will house the file rooms, provide a radio and recording studio; a new and larger mailing room plus a new work and machine area. These facilities will enable the League to increase its output and undertake greater tasks in the battle for men's minds and souls. It will be able to answer the requests of clergy, laymen, corporations and government officials with greater speed and in larger numbers.

During 1960, over 500,000 information requests were processed. A total of 200 speaking engagements were filled. Research requests totaled 600. Christian conferences numbered 25 and counter-subversive seminars amounted to 15, in number. The demands for these services have increased. If we are to fulfill our obligation we must turn to you. We must seek your support.

What You Can Do

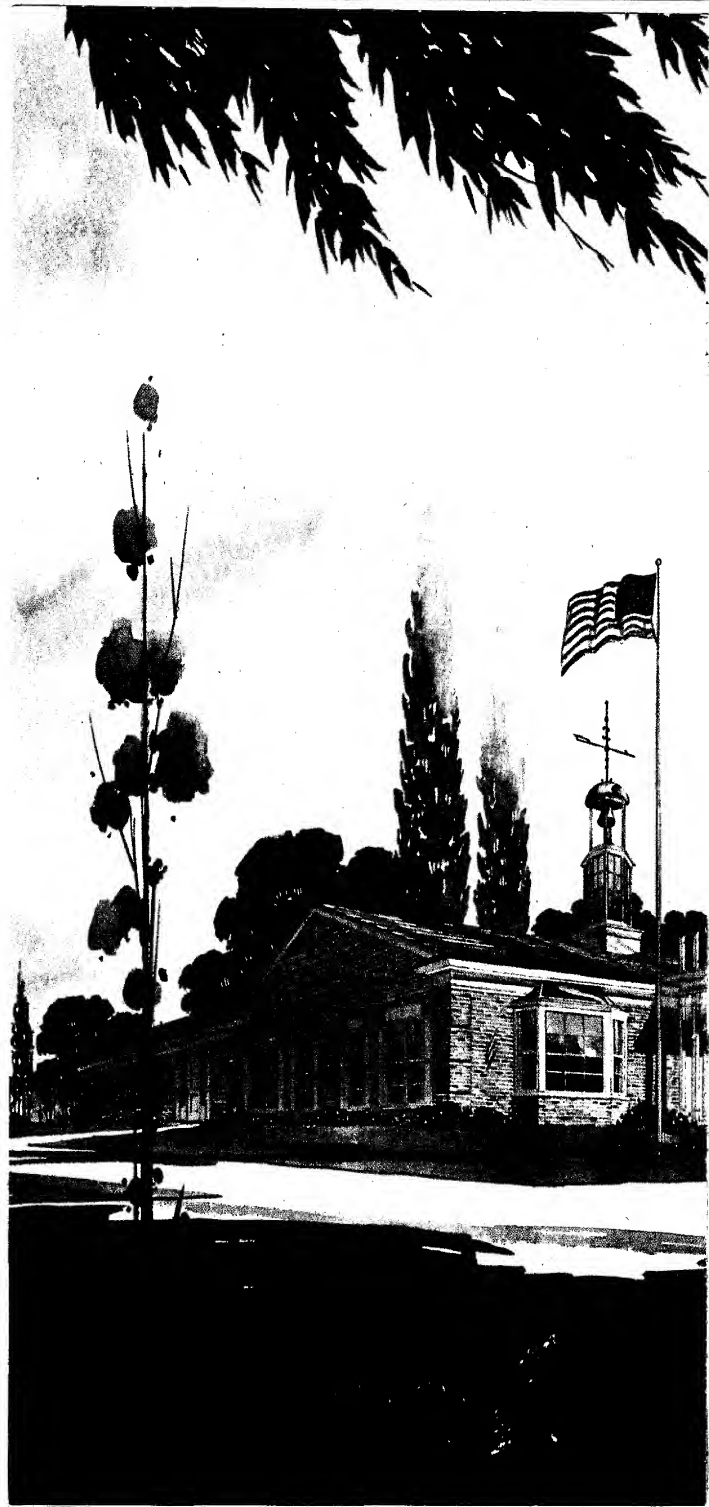
The greatest need of the Church League of America now is for its building. It is completely crowded out of the old

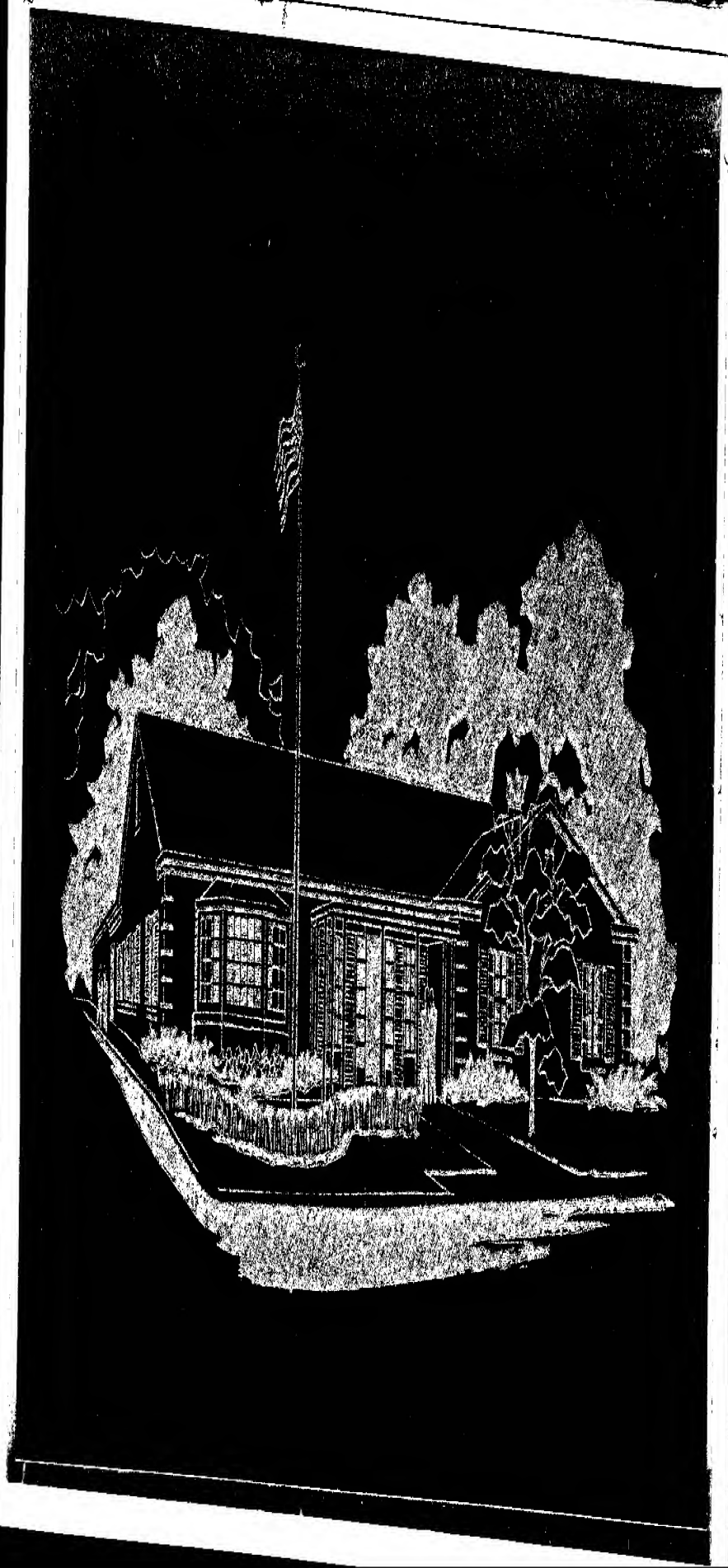
4. Strengthen ourselves against the external forces that are evident throughout the world.
5. Expose the threat of Marxian Socialism.
6. Fight to protect the individual from National Socialism and expanded Federal authority.
7. Preservation of Constitutional checks and balances.
8. Preservation of American traditions.
9. Maintain the dignity of the human being and protect it from becoming a pawn of the state.
10. Foster greater understanding between all groups, social, intellectual, clergy and laymen. Create an atmosphere which recognizes each of the great freedoms and correlates all humanitarian activities.

Having established a program as thorough as shown in the foregoing, the Church League of America has proceeded to make its voice heard. A publication titled, NEWS AND VIEWS, is distributed to both clergy and layman; to the League's supporters, to the national press and to legislative councils at all levels of government. This publication keeps its readers alert and vigilant against those subversive elements which would undermine our way of life. It presents not only the dangers but effective means for combatting these dangers. It presents the great issues to ministers, factually, so that they may keep their congregations informed and vigilant. NEWS AND VIEWS attempts to influence members of the clergy who may have socialistic learnings by alerting them to the dangers in the system toward which they are sympathetic.

The League maintains one of the largest files on Communist Party members, fellow-travelers and dupes in the United States. It is, in fact, one of twelve such files in the entire country. It scours communist publications and front-group publications to expose their ties and half-truths. The clergy frequently refer to this material for sermons and as ammunition in the daily battle against subversive activities.

The strength of the League's membership lies in being informed and to this end the League is dedicated.





*You are cordially invited to attend
the grand opening of the new national headquarters
building of the Church League of America and the
week of activities beginning Sunday, September 16, and
extending through Sunday, September 23, 1962, at Wheaton,
Illinois. Nationally known Conservative leaders will
participate in the dedicatory services, and a pro-
American film festival will be presented. Accommodations
will be arranged for those desiring reservations.*



PHONES (312) 668

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

422 NORTH PROSPECT STREET • WHEATON, ILL.

26 October 1962

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Edgar C. Bundy

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NATIONAL LAYMEN'S COUNCIL

what is the Church League of America?

LEGAL ADVISERS

Wormser, Koch,
Kiely & Alessandroni,
New York, N. Y.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Edgar C. Bundy

We are becoming deeply concerned with the increasing number of attacks upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and these attacks are being brought to our attention by loyal Americans who attend our seminars in major cities throughout the United States.

Recently we were holding seminars in the States of Washington, Montana and California and all of our people expressed shock over the open attack made upon you and the Federal Bureau of Investigation by Mr. W. H. "Ping" Ferry, Vice President of the Fund For The Republic, who addressed the Democratic State Convention in Seattle, Washington.

We were further shocked in the State of Washington when we obtained copies of the platform adopted by that State Convention, which included such things as the repeal of the McCarran-Walter Internal Security Act, the repeal of the Smith Act, the abolition of all "negative" loyalty oaths, and the revision of the House Committee On Un-American Activities.

One former distinguished member of the Washington State Legislature, a prominent Democratic delegate to the State Convention, stated that the platform adopted sounded like the Communist Manifesto, and that if he had voted for the platform he would have been excommunicated from his church.

This certainly agrees with your testimony before the House Appropriations Committee in March of 1961 when you stated that "They have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity;...civil and political units." We were amazed to find our own local newspaper in Wheaton, in the October 25 edition, reprint the editorial from the New York Times concerning the statements of a former F.B.I. agent, one Jack Levine.

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by Letter

Per FOIPA Request

ENCLOSURE

NOV 14 1962

Page Two

Although we have searched our files, which are quite extensive, we find only one Jack Levine listed on five separate reference slips, but identified simply as an artist from New York City. This Mr. Levine has lent his name to various projects calling for the abolition of the investigating committees of the Congress, and has sponsored exhibitions commemorating the birthday of a communist painter, and several other such things.

I want you to know that the Church League of America has had implicit faith in you and the Bureau. We have upheld your integrity upon every occasion when questions have arisen.

As Deke De Loach has probably informed you in the past, I have always seen to it that resolutions upholding you and the Bureau have been introduced and passed by the American Legion Department of Illinois and the National Legion conventions which I have had the privilege of serving for many years on the Counter-Subversive, Americanism and Foreign Relations Committees.

The only time we have ever raised a question concerning any of the personnel of the Bureau is when we have received hundreds of letters from concerned people throughout the United States, including some in government, about certain statements made by Mr. William C. Sullivan regarding the penetration of the fields of religion and education. Mr. Sullivan's statements have been at variance with the voluminous hearings of the House Committee On Un-American Activities and the Senate Sub-Committee On Internal Security.


We have consistently had the question thrown at us as to why Mr. Sullivan has made these statements in the light of the Committees' revelations. Although we have not been able to understand this discrepancy, we have still defended the F.B.I. and will continue to do so.

We have spent thousands of dollars having off-set reproductions made of your testimony before the House Appropriations Committee in 1961 and 1962 and your "Menace Of Communism" testimony before the House Committee on March 26, 1947. We consider these testimonies precise, clear and necessary for basic understanding in regard to how subversives work within our country. In our seminars we give hundreds of copies of these out to those attending for study.

Pa ge Three

Again, let me state our deep appreciation for the work which you and the Bureau have done for years in exposing the threat of communism to our way of life. Your address before the American Legion National Convention was excellent, and we are glad to see that Congressman Francis E. Walter had this read into the Congressional Record when many newspapers, radio and television commentators ignored it.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Edgar C. Bundy". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

EC B/gz
enc.

Edgar C. Bundy
Executive Secretary

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 10-30-62

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: **EDGAR C. BUNDY**
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
422 NORTH PROSPECT STREET
WHEATON, ILLINOIS

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Captioned individual wrote October 26th and expressed concern over the attacks against the Bureau. He mentioned the attacks by W. H. Ferry and by Jack Levine. He states that he and his organization will continue to support the FBI and the Director.

Bundy states that the only question his organization has ever raised concerning Bureau personnel relates to statements made by Assistant Director William C. Sullivan regarding communist penetration in the fields of religion and education. While his organization has not been able to understand the discrepancy between Mr. Sullivan's statements and the revelations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, they have still defended the FBI and will continue to do so. He expresses appreciation for the Bureau's work and that of the Director and compliments the Director on his recent speech before the American Legion. Correspondent sent a number of enclosures relating to the Church League of America and concerning matters which his organization opposes such as Communism on the Campus and self-styled experts on anticomunism (in the latter case he attacks those offering suggestions for opposing communists who have liberal backgrounds).

Bundy and his organization are well known to the Director. He is a former Baptist minister and was the subject of a closed Impersonation case. He has been described as typical of the irresponsible, irrational, "professional" anticommunist who makes a living touring the country and charging fees for lectures. His book "Collectivism in the Church" is an emotional attack on the National Council of Churches which has been a frequent target for criticism by Bundy and his organization.

In August, 1961, he wrote a letter containing obviously false and irrational statements regarding the heavy communist infiltration in the clergy. Mr. Smith to Mr. Sullivan memorandum dated 8-11-61 recommended and ^{it was} approved that Bundy's letter not be acknowledged. Mr. Tolson noted "nothing will be gained by writing Bundy" and the Director noted "I concur."

JH:nlb (2)

(See next page)

56 NOV 14 1962

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 10 NOV 1962
 CORRECTION
 JH

D. C. Morrell to Mr. DeLoach memorandum
RE: EDGAR C. BUNDY

RECOMMENDATION:

That Bundy's letter not be acknowledged since any reply he receives could be used to indicate Bureau support of his organization and activities.

DM
OK
h

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EPC
per W get

[Signature]

V

ENCLOSURE

62-104576-83

current issues

EDITOR DR. JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

COMBINED WITH

PUBLISHED BY THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION • BOX 271, NYACK, N. Y.

DISARMAMENT NEWS

February 28, 1963

THE CHINESE-INDIAN BORDER WAR

The background of the war between India and China includes two main problems, the conflict over Tibet and the controversy over the Chinese-Indian border.

Tibet

China has claimed Tibet for centuries. Tibet, however, was a concern of Great Britain's during her rule of India because of fear that Russia might control Tibet and gain access to India. In 1904 a British Colonel named Younghusband forced on Tibet "The Lhasa Convention" under which Tibet would not permit any concession to a foreign state without British consent. In 1906 Britain and China signed a "Peking Convention" which said no nation except China could have concessions in Tibet. A year later a British-Russian agreement recognized Chinese authority in Tibet both with respect to foreign relations and general over-all control. During the 1911 Chinese Revolution that brought Sun Yat-Sen to power as head of the Chinese Republic, the Tibetans seized the opportunity to get rid of Chinese control. When China tried to reestablish control, Britain told her to stay out of Tibet.

Simla Treaty and the McMahon Line

In 1914 representatives of the three nations met at Simla in India. The "Simla Convention" provided that Tibet was to be autonomous under the general suzerainty of China. China was not to interfere with her internal affairs and both Britain and China were to station a limited number of troops in Tibet. Sir Arthur McMahon, Britain's representative, drew a line on a map from Bhutan to Burma which roughly followed the Himalayan peaks. The line, however, was never surveyed or marked on the ground. The Indian government claims the McMahon line as a part of the Simla Convention. China denies that it was even discussed and asserts that it was determined "behind the back of the representatives of the Chinese Central Government. . .". In any event the "Simla Convention" was repudiated by the Chinese government of that day. The Chinese Communist government now points out that "the Simla Treaty. . . was not formally signed by the representative of the then Chinese government, and this is explicitly noted in the treaty." (Current History, December 1959, pp. 358, 359)

The British indicate that the Convention was initialed by the Chinese representative but China refused to let him put his full signature on the Treaty.

Transition to Communist rule

Between 1911 and 1949 when the Communists took control of China, Tibet had not been controlled by China, although a Chinese mission had been there. In 1949, taking advantage of the Revolution in China, the Tibetans expelled the mission. The Chinese Communists responded by asserting their right to Tibet.

On October 7, 1950, China attacked Tibet. India protested on the grounds that she claimed the earlier British rights and duties in Tibet. The Chinese insisted that Tibet was purely a domestic problem. Tibet took the matter to the United Nations, but on India's recommendation the U.N. decided against intervention. In a May, 1951 agreement between China and Tibet, China took military control of the country but permitted certain autonomy in local affairs. On April 29, 1954 India

and China signed an agreement on Tibet which in effect left Tibet to China. China's premier, Chou En-Lai, visited India in June, 1954 and Nehru visited China in October. Some months later, in April, 1955 at the Bandung Conference, both leaders encouraged friendship between their nations, which was maintained until 1959.

Tibetan revolt

In March, 1959, the Tibetans revolted and their religious-political ruler, the Dalai Lama (Buddhist) fled to India where he was granted asylum. India, however, refused to permit a Tibetan government-in-exile because this would mean breaking relations with China. China nevertheless retaliated by restricting Indian trade and the movement of Indians in Tibet.

The Border Dispute

The second problem is the border controversy. Actually, one border controversy in the East involving the McMahon line is related to the Tibetan conflict. The other border to the West is one where the British did even less to mark the dividing line. The Chinese have for centuries had a caravan trail running from Tibet to the Chinese province of Sinkiang through the disputed territory of the Ladakh area of Kashmir. In 1956 and 1957 the Chinese built a hard surface road over the Caravan trail. But the Indians paid so little attention to the area that it was about two years after the road was paved that an Indian patrol discovered it and notified New Delhi.

Prior to the Tibetan revolt there had been, beginning in July, 1954, a series of border disputes which led to 25 notes being exchanged between China and India. But these incidents were not made public by either nation. Only in August, 1959 did Nehru reveal that Chinese troops had crossed into Indian territory in the East and fired on an Indian post at Longju. In October 1959 a Chinese armed group killed nine members of an Indian patrol and captured ten others. Under the impact of mounting popular resentment, Nehru indicated that if the situation got much worse India would become "a nation in arms." Nehru also declared India responsible for the protection of the small border states of Bhutan and Sikkim.

On September 8, 1959 Chou En-Lai had written Nehru and on September 27 Nehru replied. Chou asserted that "Indian troops after the Tibetan rebellion. . . overstepped the so-called McMahon line. . . Indian troops invaded and occupied Longju, intruded into Yasher and are still in occupation of Shatze, Khinzemane, and Tamaden. . ." Nehru replied that "Yasher is a place not known to the Indian Government," that Tamaden, which has been ascertained as situated somewhat north of the McMahon Line, has been vacated by Indian forces" and the other two places are "on Indian territory." (Current History, December 1959, pp. 358, 359)

Chou En-Lai proposed an over-all settlement based on "friendly negotiation." In the meantime "the two sides should maintain the long existing status quo of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, even less by force." Nehru wrote in similar vein. (Idem.)

On October 20, 1962, after a number of border clashes, more serious fighting began. The Chinese accused India of launching "massive armed attacks all along the line on the Chinese frontier guards on October 20, 1962" and asserted that the border conflict had "been going on for a month." (New York Times November 21, 1962) Time magazine reported that "without consulting any of his military, Nehru publicly ordered (General) Kaul to drive out the Chinese invaders" in the Northeast. But, says Time, "before Kaul had a chance to try and 'clear out' the Chinese. . . the Chinese struck first on October 20." (Time November 30, 1962)

Premier Khrushchev on October 22 wrote Nehru and Chou En-Lai suggesting an immediate cease-fire and top level negotiations. The Chinese agreed to withdraw 12½ miles and hold talks but Nehru refused on the ground that this would still leave some Communist troops south of the McMahon line. Nehru did, however, accept a Soviet suggestion that diplomatic relations with China should not be broken. (New York Times, October 26, 1962)

On October 25 the Chinese began a drive into Indian territory, capturing a key town in the Northeast, Towang, and moving toward another strategic military area, Chushul in the Northwest.

After pushing deep into India's Northeast frontier and having moved to the plains of Assam, the Chinese suddenly on November 21 announced a cease-fire on all fronts and indicated they would pull back to positions 12½ miles behind the lines they held on November 7. The Chinese asked for Indian agreement but said the troop withdrawal would begin on December 1 even without Indian concurrence, provided that India did not attack the withdrawing troops or try to push beyond the Chinese line of November 7. Nehru avoided acceptance of Chinese terms but Indian troops did observe the cease-fire and withdrawal began.

Reasons for the Border Dispute

Before examining the reasons for the Chinese withdrawal, we shall take a look at the reasons for the warfare itself.

1) When Tibet ceased to be a buffer state in which both India and China had an interest, the border between India and Tibet was really a border between the two great Asian powers.

2) China has traditionally claimed areas south of the Tibetan border. Sun Yat-sen regarded Burma, Nepal, Bhutan and Siam as having belonged to China. So Chinese imperialism may have been in the picture.

3) Nevertheless China concluded January 4, 1961 a border agreement with Burma in which Burma got some land in exchange for some given to China. In addition China got a mountain pass and route into Tibet. (Current History, September, 1961, p. 136) Nehru, however, was unwilling to yield any land in Kashmir, just as earlier he had refused to negotiate with Pakistan over Kashmir. The Chinese appeared willing to trade border claims in the Northeast in order to retain the disputed territory in Kashmir, through which their road to Sinkiang had been built. Nehru's intransigence thus seems to be another cause of the conflict.

4) Undoubtedly there was genuine misunderstanding as to where the border actually was. Nehru admitted in his September 27, 1959 letter to Chou that "the India-China frontier which extends over more than 2,500 kilometers has not been demarcated on the ground and disputes may therefore arise. . ." (Current History, December, 1959, p. 358)

5) From the Chinese side there may have been other or secondary reasons. These may have included forcing Russia to take a stand in behalf of her Communist ally instead of continuing to give military and other aid to India. Incidentally, Russia was forced to take a stand somewhat in favor of China -- at least enough to make Nehru aware that Russia would not stand with him. Russia, for example, approved the October Chinese negotiation proposal, not the Indian. China thus also to some degree severed the close ties between Russia and India.

6) China may also have wanted to reorient Russia's thinking about war. China

heartily dislikes the Soviet doctrines a) that war is no longer inevitable and b) that coexistence is essential. The Chinese think Russia in practice engages in appeasement. So the Chinese may have hoped to line Russia up on the side of limited war. If Russia backed China against India in the face of Western support, then China might be ready to take Quemoy, Matsu and Formosa with the expectation that Russia would help.

7) From the Indian side there were conservative forces who reacted to the growth of Communism in India (particularly in Kerala), the shutting off of trade with Tibet, etc., and whose pressures on Nehru were designed to create a deterioration in Chinese-Indian relations.

8) Finally, there was Indian fear that if China succeeded in maintaining her border positions, additional claims could be maintained against Bhutan, Sikkim, etc., and Nepal would be infiltrated and taken over. That Nehru was sensitive to this is evident in the India-United States cooperation in strengthening Nepal. India was building the Nepalese army and together with the U.S., giving economic and technical aid to Nepal, including the building of roads, airfields, health and education, as early as 1959. (New York Times, August 3, 1959) China began economic penetration of Nepal in 1956 with an aid agreement. Even Russia was concerned about China and perhaps the U.S. in Nepal. In April, 1959 Russia signed an economic and technical aid agreement with Nepal. India has told both Nepal and China that she considers Nepal in her sphere of influence.

Reasons for Chinese Withdrawal

The reasons for the cease-fire and withdrawal are also numerous. Probably all play a part in the final decision, though it is difficult to assert which are most important.

1) Khrushchev listed one reason in his December 12, 1962 speech. "There are some who already say that apparently China desisted from hostilities because India started receiving support from American and British imperialists" and "that if the armed conflict were to continue to develop it might become a big war... Yes, clearly the Chinese friends considered the situation." The Chinese put it in slightly different words: "Particularly serious is the prospect that if U.S. imperialism is allowed to become involved the present conflict will grow into a war in which Asians are made to fight Asians, entirely contrary to the fundamental interests of the Indian people." (Time, November 30, 1962)

2) A second military reason is that China was over-extended. "Supply lines from the developed areas of China to the Himalayan fronts run from 1,000 to 2,000 miles across the mountain-girt roof of the world, the 15,000 foot Tibetan plateau. This transport route would daunt even a major power and the drain must be enormous on Communist China with her fumbling depressed economy, attempting to support the estimated 100,000 soldiers now in forward positions in the Himalayas." (New York Times, November 13, 1962)

3) A third military reason was winter, which was about to interfere with Chinese transport in the form of heavy snows and icy gales.

4) Another possibility which Time calls "the prevailing theory" is that the Chinese never intended to push on into India. They simply wanted to secure the border areas in the west that they wanted, but were quite ready to bargain with India for their heavy gains in the East if they could keep the territory through which their road to Sinkiang ran.

5) An important reason undoubtedly is related to Chinese political hopes.

China has been engaged in ideological dispute with Russia, the goal of which is Chinese leadership of Asian, African and South American Communist parties. The Chinese invasion of India began to nullify these hopes. Anti-Communist feeling in India rose to such violent proportions that the Communist Party's national council voted to back Nehru in the war against China. S. A. Dange, the Party chairman, with Nehru's consent went to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to build support for the Indian party position. Dange apparently secured from Nehru, in return for this help, release of the jailed Secretary of the Party and permission for the Party to continue to function. Only the Chinese faction in the Party would be arrested, thus saving the Russian faction from the necessities and results of a purge. (The Reporter, January 3, 1963) Presumably also Dange helped the Soviet Union decide to make good on its earlier contract to provide India with Soviet jet fighters. India sought Russian planes in the first place because the U.S. gave a squadron of F-104 supersonic fighters to Pakistan to shoot Russian planes photographing American equipment in Pakistan. (Parade, August 19, 1962).

Not only did China ruin her wing in the Indian Party, but she failed to win the North Vietnam Party, controlled by Ho Chi Minh. He followed the Russian line of backing the original Chinese peace offer but restrained Vietnamese press criticism of India throughout the war. (Reporter, January 3, 1963)

The lesson from these Asian Parties was not lost on Peking.

7) Finally, China was aware that if Russia had backed down over Cuba and had refused to turn her back completely on India she would not let China draw her into war. The Chinese gamble on changing Russia's position on risking war had obviously lost.

The Future

Space does not permit much further analysis but six things stand out in any appraisal of the future:

- 1) India will be forced to recognize the Chinese danger in all military and economic planning. This necessarily means damage to India in terms of abandoning some of her social and economic goals in favor of armaments.
- 2) India's political future now and after Nehru is more likely to be influenced by moderates and conservatives in the Congress Party rather than by the left wing which based its foreign policy on courting China. Military pressures will also be away from the left.
- 3) India will probably move closer to the West but not so close as to alienate Russia. While India wants U.S. aid she cannot afford to have two Communist enemies so powerful as Russia and China. So her policy must necessarily be anti-Chinese but not anti-Communist.
- 4) India will probably negotiate the border dispute but there is no assurance that agreement will be reached or that fighting will not break out again.
- 5) India will probably not yield to Pakistan on the Kashmir problem. Since any negotiations require some yielding, India and Pakistan are likely to remain at odds. Thus India, whose hands are not clean in Kashmir, may continue to have two enemies and two territorial disputes.
- 6) The continuing hostility between Pakistan and India and the U.S. aid to India has resulted in strains on U.S.-Pakistan ties and the regional* with the West. This may result in curtailing U.S. aid to India or in Pakistan's severing military ties to the U.S., or in strains so acute as to render the alliance even more ineffectual than it now is.

*alliance



NEWS & VIEWS

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

Vol. 25, No. 11

WHEATON, ILLINOIS

November, 1962

SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THE 'SCHOLARLY' MANNER

or

Now Who's Being 'Extreme'?

In our Manual For Survival on pages 21 and 22 we quoted a British tank general and a German military psychologist on the new techniques of psycho-social warfare. These involved the thorough demoralization of an enemy nation before the final military blow is struck. Ewald Banse, the pre-Hitler psychological warfare specialist, neatly summed up this technique as rotting through and through the "original well-knit solid, powerful fabric of the enemy nation" so that it is completely "disintegrated, broken down, rotted, so that it falls to pieces like a fungus when one treads upon it in a forest."

We then observed that one does not have to be much of a student of Communism in action in this country to see ample evidence of such efforts "to break down, rot, and disintegrate our national morale and will to resist Communism." A recent book ON THE BRINK by two apologists for the U.S.S.R., Jerome Davis and retired Army General, Hugh B. Hester, offers a good example of such morale rotting and disintegration.

While D. F. Fleming's THE COLD WAR AND ITS ORIGINS makes some pretense of being scholarly and pseudo-historical, the Davis-Hester effort is open-faced and unashamed pro-Soviet propaganda with the Soviets always the innocent and aggrieved party and Uncle Sam the deep-dyed villain. The Fleming major opus in two ponderous volumes and priced at \$15 limits it to libraries and affluent eggheads. The Davis-Hester exercise is less than 200 pages and sells for \$2.95, placing it within reach of a much larger potential market. Hester claims that the American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring its sale. Look for it to turn up in your local libraries.

The Foreword to ON THE BRINK was written by an old "acquaintance" of *News and Views* readers — Edwin T. Dahlberg former president of the National Council of Churches. *News and Views*, March 1958, documented much of the Rev. Dahlberg's front record and the Church League also summarized and published this record in a large eight page illustrated release in 1958.

Dahlberg believes that most of us "have all our values in reverse. We built our national defenses around the fallacious idea that we must have freedom if truth is to prevail. On the contrary, we must have truth if freedom is to prevail. Truth comes before freedom." John 8:32 is then quoted out of context by Dahlberg to bolster his completely fallacious analogy. While Dahlberg admits that he disa-

grees with some of the views expressed in ON THE BRINK he does believe that those who read it "will be following the road to freedom . . . because they will be walking in the way of truth — the truth that twentieth century man desperately needs to know."

Jerome Davis has been identified under oath, time and again, as one of the foremost joiners of Communist fronts in the United States. General Hugh Hester's record of affinity for left-wing causes is partially set forth in the following portion from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

June 19, 1962

The Situation in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 19, 1962

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, many newspaper readers must have looked with raised eyebrows upon a recent wire service story in which retired Army Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, who had just returned from Cuba, denied that Cuba had been taken over by the Communists. He called Fidel Castro a popular leader with solid support among 75 percent of the Cubans.

Those of us with some experience in Latin American affairs simply dismissed this report as obviously fanciful. It seemed clear to most observers that the 20,000 people jailed by Castro for opposing communism have a better firsthand view than General Hester of the situation in Cuba.

I was interested to learn that the Tampa Tribune looked into the matter and on Monday, June 10, printed an editorial on General Hester. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

His Vision Isn't 20-20

On May 3 news services distributed—and the Tribune printed—a report of an interview at Clearwater with retired Army Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, just back from a tour of Cuba.

In this interview he depicted reports that Cuba was in serious economic trouble, that it had been taken over by Communists, or that Fidel Castro had lost his popular following.

"Castro is still unquestionably the boss, the most popular leader in the entire Western Hemisphere with 95 percent of his people still behind him," he was quoted as saying. Describing "retrograde" counter-revolution and development work underway, he said: "The dissolution and expansion of the program have to be seen to be comprehensive."

This picture of conditions in Cuba was so contrary to that reported by virtually all responsible news organizations that some Tribune readers asked us: "Who's telling the truth?"

We can offer a clue.

A summary of General Hester's statements later was distributed in a pamphlet bearing the name of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a shadowy organization which has been shown conclusively to be heavily infested with Communists and Castro propagandists. This same pamphlet carried a call for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington contain the following references to a Gen. Hugh B. Hester:

"The September 1957 issue of Political Affairs, an official Communist Party monthly, carried a letter to the editor signed Hugh B. Hester which said in reference to a last-October article in a persons issue: 'You make a splendid case for sanity in international relations.'"

"The November 6, 1956, issue of the National Guardian (classified by the House committee as a subversive publication) published an article by Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester on the Berlin issue which stated: 'Britain, France, and the United States have no moral or legal rights in West Berlin. They have only power rights.' The article proposed a 'democratic confederation' Germany and supported the Russian plan for 'disengagement of hostile military forces' in Europe which had been advanced by the Berlin Government."

"The November 14, 1956, issue of the New York Times reported that Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester addressed a rally sponsored by the National Council for Soviet-American Friendship and that he advocated a 'limited world government.' The council is classified by the House committee as a subversive organization."

"The November 1951 issue of the New World Review—classified by the House committee as a subversive publication—carried an article by Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester in which he declared that the 1948 Berlin blockade was provoked by 'unilateral American action and that the present Soviet resumption of atomic bomb testing was a predictable reaction.' * * * (President Kennedy's) policy of many additional thousands of crates, National Guardmen, and reserves, and the increase of the U.S. military budget, already highest in the world, by many billion dollars more."

This background, we think, suggests which of the observers seen Cuba with the clearest eye. The general's vision where Communism is involved is obviously something less than 20-20.

ON THE BRINK was published by Lyle Stuart, who is not Lyle Stuart but was born Lionel Simon. Simon, alias Stuart started "Expose" in the late 1940's on a shoestring. "Expose" specialized in sensationalism and mud-slinging. Virtually every outstanding anti-Communist was given the full Stuart smear treatment after which the Catholic Church, conservative Senators and political figures, the American Medical Association and even the Anti-Defamation League were given the "treatment."

Later the publishing firm of Lyle Stuart went in for anti-religious and pornographic books. One of its more

recent products has been THE SHARK AND THE SANDWICHES, a rabid attack on U.S. policy in Latin America by Juan Jose Alvarez, a Guatemalan who apparently does not like Americans. Stuart has also been a consistent Castro-worshiper and Fair Play for Cuba, October 7, 1960, listed him as treasurer of the N.Y. Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Chapter II is entitled "The Taproots of War." The authors in the first sentence frankly admit that it would be "presumptuous and futile" on their part to attempt to discuss within the brief space of their book the "almost limitless causes of international conflict: War." Professor Quincy Wright is then used as an authority to prove what even his two-volume "scholarly work" failed to do. Wright, needless to say, is one of a long list of well-known left-liberals, radicals, or Communists cited by Davis and Hester as "authorities."

However, in the very next paragraph the authors are quite positive that the "deep, primary-roots" of war are "poverty, ignorance, and bigotry." (Italics in original) No proof is adduced other than the mere assertion that "some," not otherwise identified, believe these to be the real taproots of war. The very next paragraph then cites the enormous costs of modern war running into millions and billions — "the great powers alone spending approximately \$120 billion annually" as proof that "poverty and ignorance" are the main taproots of modern hostilities. No explanation is offered as to why Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, all with high per capita incomes and high educational levels, except Russia, went to war in 1914 while the poorer nations of Europe, mainly, managed to stay out of it despite their poverty and lower educational levels.

World War II, as every school child knows, was touched off by Nazi Germany under a megalomaniac who had cooked up a nice arrangement with Stalin for the partition of Eastern Europe. Germany had a very high educational level and per capita income. While the average Russian might have been wretchedly poor, the Communist leadership could hardly be called "ignorant and poverty-ridden" even if they could be charged with Marxist bigotry. As News and Views has pointed out in previous issues it would be impossible to find even a single example of a nation which went to war with the slogan "We are poor, bigoted, and ignorant" and that is why we have to attack you."

We come then to this incredible sentence: "To charge the Communists with materialism, aggressiveness, and the desire for world domination is not satisfactory." (page 23) The entire structure of Marxist-Leninism, i.e., Communism is based on dialectical materialism. This is not a "charge" by anti-Communists; it is the proudest boast of every Communist from Karl Marx to Khrushchev. Whether or not Communists are aggressive we are perfectly content to leave to the reader. Even a high school student would have little trouble with that one.

Finally, whether or not world Communism is bent on world domination we prefer to believe the official declarations and manifestos of the Communists since 1918 and constantly reaffirmed and re-reiterated during the intervening forty-four years. The mental contortions which Davis and Hester go through in order to argue their case are simply fantastic. Here is one of them: "While it is true that the Soviet leaders have called for world revolution in the past, they have also, more frequently in recent years, called for peaceful co-existence." (page 23)

On the next page the very moral General Hester and "religious" Jerome Davis defend slave labor camps with this rhetorical question: "may not non-industrial nations

resort to unorthodox methods . . . in the honest belief that they are as necessary to their survival, and therefore certainly as morally defensible as the drafting of men into the military service for the defense of highly industrialized ones?" Having made that moral hurdle with the greatest of ease, the moralistic Hester and Davis have no trouble whatever justifying bloody Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 — they (the Russians) were there by post-war agreements just as the powers are in conquered Germany today."

The United States fears Soviet Russia and the Soviets fear the United States. The obvious answer to this impasse, as Hester and Davis see it is "a limited form of world government." (page 25)

They also argue that there are a few other things the United States might consider doing to lessen tensions and diminish the chances of War: Send Red China in the United Nations; Help the U.S. become a world federation with adequate powers for the World's needs; pour U.S. billions into the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED); and "negotiate" with the USSR and its allies to end military alliances and unilateral aid. They have no suggestions as to what the Communists might do to lessen tensions — all the concessions must come from us.

The Hydrogen Bomb

In Chapter Three, Hester and Davis claim that "many business circles in the United States" fear a major depression and "are convinced that spending for armaments is essential to keep the economy healthy." Nothing new here. The Communists and Soviet have been saying this ever since the end of World War II. Soviet propagandists employ much more colorful and piquant language to say the same thing. They have "Wall Street atomaniacs eager to coin profits out of human blood" as the reason behind American armaments.

This whole chapter is so patently dishonest and contrived that it seems almost a waste of time to attempt sentence by sentence, detailed refutation of every blatant falsehood, distortion, and unsubstantiated contention. Linus Pauling, Michael Amrine, Cyrus Eaton, and Norman Cousins are seriously quoted as authorities for certain dire and catastrophic predictions. They carefully avoid quoting from or even mentioning such real authorities as Louis Alvarez, Charles Dunning, Shields Warren, Admiral Lewis Strauss, Glenn T. Seaborg, J. I. Rife, William Lawrence, or Edward Teller and Willard F. Libby.

— Linus Pauling's discredited alarmist figures of millions dying horribly as a result of nuclear tests and fallout are naturally played up big by Hester and Davis. Dr. Teller's statement in "The Legacy of Hiroshima" that "Fallout from nuclear testing is not worth worrying about. Its effect on human beings, if there is an effect, is insignificant," is naturally not mentioned. In a recent magazine article, Dr. Hermann J. Muller, a noted geneticist, stated:

"Despite these dangers from testing to us and the Russians, I believe that today the only sensible course for democratic America is to admit the damage potential in resumed tests, but at the same time to weigh the case for testing against the possible consequences of not testing—our subjugation by a totalitarian system." (Italics in original) This Week, June 10, 1962.

Dr. W. F. Libby, Commissioner of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in 1956 is quoted on Strontium 90 but this same authority is not quoted when he told the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy in June, 1957:

"Testing constitutes a small risk — very small compared to ordinary risks which can be tolerated. It is not con-

tended that there is no risk. But all life, and every minute of our day and night is measured in terms of risk — 40,000 highway deaths each year in this country, accidents in the home, etc.

We make our choice: How much risk are we willing to take as payment for our pleasures — swimming at the seashore, for example, our comfort, our material progress?

Here our choice seems much clearer: Are we willing to take this very small and controlled risk, or would we prefer to run the risk of annihilation which might result if we surrendered the weapons which are so essential to our freedom and our actual survival?" (U.S. News and World Report, page 77, June 14, 1957).

Dr. Albert Schweitzer, working in the heart of Africa, is next quoted as an authority on fallout in the Columbia River! The Daily Worker seldom misses an opportunity to quote Dr. Schweitzer — if his remarks can be used for propaganda purposes. The Saturday Review of Literature in 1957 revealed that the Communists that year had exploited Dr. Schweitzer's off hand remarks because its editor, Norman Cousins, honestly admitted that he had written to Schweitzer urging him to speak out on the H-bomb question. (U.S. News and World Report, page 79, June 14, 1957).

Hester and Davis then make a great to-do about the fact that 2,705 U.S. "scientists" had signed a petition to the United Nations calling for an end to all nuclear tests. They fail to mention the fact that this petition was the brain-child of Linus Pauling and that there are several volumes of testimony and report on these petitions by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee readily available at the Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C. These reports include Pauling's long front record.

The term "scientists" is also used in its broadest and most tolerant sense. While 101 signers are represented as being members of the National Academy of Sciences, a substantial majority of the names are obscure and not otherwise identified. Many were laboratory technicians, graduate students, research fellows, etc. Pauling himself admitted that some of his signers were "students of science." There are between 250,000 and 300,000 scientists in this country. Thus 2100 signers would be less than one percent. Only three faculty members out of 77 in the Physics Department of the University of California signed the Pauling petition — that field of science most concerned with radiation effects.

Chapter IV is a brief resume of all the Soviet objections to various U.S. bases scattered around the world. The fact that these bases form a "defensive shield" against surprise Soviet attack is tacitly conceded by Hester and Davis. That these far-flung and enormously expensive bases backed by the awesome power of our Strategic Air Command are apparently the only thing which deterred further Communist military aggression against small and weak western nations is conceded by everyone — except Communists, of course.

Taking the annual defense budget and showing how many hospitals, schools, research centers, and new homes could be built with the money has been done by Socialists, radicals, and pacifists since the turn of the century, if not longer. Hester and Davis unabashedly trot out this ancient gimmick once more, showing that they do not rate the intelligence of their readers very highly. If there were no thieves, criminals, and lawless elements in a community look at all the money that could be saved by abolishing the police department!

We are next told that "Two thousand years of recorded history have shown that an arms race always leads to war." (page 43). Two thousand years of history show nothing of the kind. Hester and Davis should know this very well. Men have gone to war or have been forced into war to defend their freedom, to achieve liberty (our own revolutionary war and many others), to settle racial, ethnic, religious, and other differences not otherwise soluble, and for a variety of other reasons ranging from Napoleonic search of glory and European hegemony, to the simple desire or necessity for more land to feed and support a cramped and rapidly expanding population.

The lesson of history is the exact opposite of what Hester and Davis claim it to be. An ample supply of weapons plus the will and courage to use them in defense has always been the most effective deterrent to aggression. Lack of sufficient weapons and, more important, lack of will to defend oneself have always been and will always be an open incentive to all aggressors. Hester, as a former military man, should know this full well. Therefore, supping a nation's morale and will to resist and defend itself is just as treasonous as sabotaging an arms arsenal or blowing up a naval vessel at the outbreak of hostilities. ON THE BRINK is precisely just such an effort to sap and not through a nation's morale and will.

Imperialism In Our Time

Chapter V is such an open and undisguised piece of shameless pro-Soviet special pleading that the reader can only conclude that ON THE BRINK was written especially for an audience devoid alike of information and sophistication. Not one is the United States defended; not one is Soviet Russia even mildly criticized. To make the reading of this chapter even more annoying, if not nauseating, all of the specious and fraudulent arguments advanced by Hester and Davis appeared years ago in various Communist publications, speeches of leading Soviet or American Communists, or in the writings or speeches of well known fellow-travelers and pro-Soviet apologists.

The introductory quotation is a litter dished by Richard Wright, an embittered American Negro radical who left these shores years ago to settle down in Paris. Wright's "White Man Listen" is Black Muslimism on a pseudo-intellectual plane. Hester and Davis use Dean Johnson; Clement Attlee, the British Socialist; the malicious Washington Post; the ultra left-wing Monthly Review; and an article in the modernist, left-liberal Christian Century as the main props and underpinning of this whole chapter.

A sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph exposure and refutation of every specious and false argument in this chapter alone would stretch this issue out to twelve or fourteen pages — a treatment which the whole book does not deserve.

Just a few examples of the Hester-Davis method of interpreting history and plain facts: By aiding anti-Communist and patriotic Guatemalans to rid their country of an odious and murderous Communist regime, we indicated ourselves of engaging in "economic imperialism." (page 47.) Castillo Armas, the Guatemalan liberator, Hester and Davis relate, "has since been slain by his own people for his subservience." (To the United States—ed.) Writing history ala Davis and Hester one might also say "Abraham Lincoln was slain by his own people for his subservience to the Abolitionists." Or again, "President McKinley was slain by his own people for his subservience to the financial tycoons of Wall Street."

Lincoln, McKinley, and Castillo Armas were assassinated not "by their own people" but by identified and

known assassins. In the case of Armas it was done by an assassin who had been thrown out of the army for Communist activities.

In another paragraph we learn that "It might be said that today America is the backer and the residuary legate of world imperialism." Writing ala Hester and Davis one could evaluate their whole dishonest book in the same style by writing: "It might be said that ON THE BRINK is the backer and supporter of every pro-Soviet and pro-Communist anti-American statement ever made."

A small left-wing journal, Monthly Review, is seriously quoted as an "authority" for the allegation that "imperialist ventures" in Algeria, Indochina, Madagascar and elsewhere have taken the lives of several hundred thousand people. "Assiduous scholars and researchers" Hester and Davis apparently were unable to find any figures on the total number of human lives taken by the Communists since 1917. Estimates vary from 25 to 40 million, but Hester and Davis either were unable to find any figures at all, or if they did, are strangely coy and reticent about using them.

"Hitler invaded Poland in 1939"; but, "historians" Davis and Hester make no mention of Hitler's pal Stalin who simultaneously invaded Poland from the other side at the same time and proceeded to divide that unhappy and tragic country along the lines that he and Hitler had easily agreed upon in advance. Throughout this chapter, as throughout their whole nauseating book, Hester and Davis paint the USSR and world Communism as purest white while Uncle Sam is smeared as a deep-dyed and blackest of villains.

Chapter VI on Arab Nationalism, Israel, and the Middle East is opened with an introduction by the ineffable Edwin T. Dalberg. News and Views throughout the years, as well as the Christian Beacon, has more than amply lured Dr. Dalberg's pacifist and front record. The former president of the National Council of Churches of Christ is quoted on the "futility of spending forty billions of dollars on a system of defense that never in the world can defend us." The favorite and overworked old logaboo of the pacifists and Communists that unless we disarm or "negotiate peace with the USSR" we may convert the "whole world into a dead, radioactive ash heap" is trotted out once more to frighten the timorous and the gullible.

Oddly enough, this chapter is largely a pro-Arab argument for the moral and historic right of the Arabs of the Middle East to form a unified nation of their own. As Pan-Arabism is a major threat to the security and future of Israel this line by Hester and Davis may appear puzzling at first blush. However, the Soviet line on the Middle East has been precisely the same for the past several years — pro-Arab, anti-Israel. The fact that the Arab states are fanatically dedicated to the extinction of Israel apparently does not bother the authors of ON THE BRINK. Indeed, they even quote the Secretary of the Arab League that there "will be a war of extermination and momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian Massacre" when the Arabs attacked Israel in 1948. (page 64) On the following page, Hester and Davis admit that the Arab League "is still determined to destroy Israel."

"The Cold War: Facts, Myths, and Consequences."

Chapter VII continues the Hester-Davis thesis that Soviet Russia, since the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, has been one of the most unjustly treated, victimized, misunderstood, and aggrieved nations in all history. Search as carefully as one may, there is not a line to suggest that the Soviets ever committed a wrong. The present cold war being waged between the USSR and the USA is not new or

of Soviet creation — it goes back to Sparta and Athens and Rome and Carthage, we are told!

After the poor and much maligned Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 and abolished the Constituent Assembly in January, 1918, with bayonets, western imperialists invaded Russia from all sides to support White counter-revolutionary forces, according to Davis and Hester. "Normalization of relations was refused" the new regime by all the Western Powers. No reasons are given by Hester and Davis. The facts of history, needless to add, that a bandit regime which abolished all forms of democracy and human freedom, extirpated all religious practice, massacred and starved millions of its own subjects, abrogated all international law, invalidated all national debts and obligations, seized all foreign property without compensation and finally, initiated a system of government based on open and admitted terror is hardly one which can expect the amenities of international recognition and diplomacy.

The fact that four American administrations, Democratic as well as Republican, for a period of fifteen years refused to consider extending diplomatic recognition to a gang of murderers is used by Hester and Davis as proof of American hostility towards the Soviets! As William Henry Chamberlin commented on D. F. Fleming's incredible *THE COLD WAR AND ITS ORIGINS* the Hester-Davis distortions have to be read to be believed. They are simply fantastic beyond description or exaggeration.

Consider the total moral myopia, to say nothing of total inability, ever once to see something wrong or questionable on the part of Communist leaders, betrayed by Hester and Davis on page 75 when they discuss the fact that there were "many Americans (who) bitterly opposed" Khrushchev's coming to the United States in 1959. The *London Times*, which quoted Senator Byrd of Virginia as having said that "he would rather resign from the Senate than listen to this man (Khrushchev) who deals in duplicity, perfdy, and murder," is denounced as "broadcasting a blast of hate." This, Hester and Davis feel, injured the United States rather than Russia. (page 75.)

Then comes this truly priceless gem of purest pro-Soviet adulation: "We must approach this problem (Communism) in the spirit of friendship and this means invincible good-will, understanding and reconciliation instead of hate." After this it would seem redundant and a waste of time to offer any more examples of Hester-Davis reasoning and argument. However, we offer just one more sample: "If we genuinely wish to build peace, we must try to understand the Communists, not to hate them." (page 76)

Had enough?

Another "myth", according to Hester and Davis, is that there is anything that America can do to insure its security. Security, no matter what we do, is a "myth." A whole chapter is devoted to a not particularly new line of defeatist argument. While we have some 40 or more "allies" (always sneeringly inclosed in ironic quotation marks) they are only interested in U.S. dollars and would never risk getting involved in any war on our side.

Where no left-wing sources can be found or quoted as reference sources or authorities, Hester and Davis airily use such anonymous devices as "reports from recent visitors to Europe and Asia" or "many competent students of international relations." The latter face-less authorities are credited with finding that "the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, following the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, is the nearest prototype to the present containment policy of Truman-Dulles-Eisenhower."

Most of the rest of this chapter is given over to a rabid attack on the late John Foster Dulles and to disparaging

NATO, SEATO, and other alliances and arrangements to thwart or block further Soviet aggression.

Chapter IX, "The Myth About China", is a straight and unvarnished plea for Red China's admission to the U.N. and for our acceptance of the murder regime of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai as moral and diplomatic equals. Again the authors, who surely have a lot to learn in the art of propaganda, paint in all solid white (for Red China) or solid black (the United States); Red China has and can do no wrong; the United States has been exactly 100% wrong! Needless to observe, while the Korean War is briefly discussed, no mention, not a word, is made of Communist atrocities and massacres of unarmed American G.I.'s with their hands tied behind their backs as established by a Senate Investigating Committee under Senator Potter in 1953. Nor do Hester and Davis have anything to say about the 400 or more American boys treacherously held back at the time of the "Big Switch" by the Chinese Communists and never accounted for to this day.

Indeed, history as it is written by these two worthies is really "out of this world," as the expression goes. The long series of sell-out maneuvers and tricks used by crypto-Communists in our own State Department to betray China into the hands of the Communists and abundantly documented in the sixteen volumes of hearings and reports on the Institute of Pacific Relations by the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee is not mentioned. Nor, of course, would such books as *THE CHINA STORY*, *WEDEMEYER REPORTS*, *THE LATTIMORE STORY*, or others be mentioned in anything like *ON THE BRINK*. We lost all of China because Chiang Kai-shek "was surrounded by wealthy and corrupt henchmen exploiting the situation for their profit." (page 169) Hester and Davis at least were decent enough not to add that the Chinese people voluntarily went over to the Mao forces because they were "agrarian reformers!" Or, they perhaps realized that this mouldy old Lattimore gag has been pretty well exposed for the pro-Communist gimmick it turned out to be.

The true measure of the scholarly integrity and ordinary veracity of General Hester and Mr. Jerome Davis is unwittingly betrayed on page 171. Here we find the following:

"After studying the complex situation in China from all sources available we ask ourselves again whether the United States would not do better to recognize Red China. What should we do if we genuinely try to put ourselves in her place?"

The simple answer, of course, is that no American, no Christian, and no anti-Communist would ever dream of putting himself or his country "in the place of the Communists." The glaring additional fact is that if these two pro-Soviet apologists had studied "all the sources available" why, then, did they make no mention of any anti-Communist sources such as the I.P.R. hearings and numerous books on this subject? If they did not study these sources then they obviously lied when they claimed that they had.

Despite such obvious literary and historical skulduggery there are humorous and even hilarious passages in this otherwise totally dishonest and totally useless book. After a long lecture on delinquent children and modern psychiatry we are told on page 138 that there is no such thing as a delinquent nation. "We are all at least a little guilty." Even though we might think of another nation as being delinquent we should ask ourselves "What causes him to behave that way?" We are then told:

"We should never follow a negative policy towards him.

We should never deprive him (the delinquent nation) of something wholesome merely because we disapprove of

some other action of his: 'alleged Communism' for example." (Honest! it's on page 139)

Curiously enough, such remarkable indulgence is not extended to Nazi, Fascist, Falangist, imperialist, or dictatorship of the right forms of government. The Golden Rule is for misunderstood and "disturbed" Communists — not for others!

Hester and Davis have been more than liberal in sprinkling big names all through their truly amazing opus — hundreds of names. They range from Jesus and St. Augustine to Archibald MacLeish and Linus Pauling. Here again we have a fascinating and curious imbalance. Liberals, radicals, Communists, pacifists, non-entities, and screwballs far outweigh the conservatives, the patriotic, and those whose thoughts and political positions may be considered sound.

George Washington, Daniel Webster, Florence Nightingale, former President Eisenhower, Edward Teller, John Foster Dulles and a few others are quoted when some stray sentence of theirs can be taken out of context and used advantageously by Messers Hester and Davis. These quotes serve as a sort of figurative fig-leaf to hide the otherwise naked bias and distortions of *ON THE BRINK*.

The list of "authorities" on the wrong side also gives the reader a fairly good idea of just where Davis and Hester stand ideologically. While Solomon Adler's book is quoted there is no mention of the fact that he was linked in sworn testimony to Soviet espionage in the United States during World War II and has long since fled to England. The World Federation of Trade Unions is mentioned but not identified as nothing but a Soviet paper confederation of alleged unions in Iron Curtain countries.

The sophisticated and long time readers of *News and Views* will not be too favorably impressed by the following list of authorities quoted by Hester and Davis:

Norman Cousins	J. K. Calbraith
Walter Lippman	Linus Pauling
Cyrus Eaton	Harlow Shapley
Archibald MacLeish	Chester Bowles
Harold Ickes	Paul G. Hoffman
Senator Fulbright	Charles O. Porter
Matthew Josephson	C. Quincey Wright
Walter Rauschenbush	Richard Wright
James Warburg	Edwin T. Dahlberg
Frank Laubach	Karl Barth
George F. Kennan	Clement Atlee

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

No intelligent, reasonably well-informed, or sophisticated reader could possibly get very far beyond the second chapter without smelling a very dead red rat somewhere in the woodwork. This is lowgrade effort obviously aimed at the simple-minded, the unsophisticated, and the hopelessly gullible. That we do have a certain percentage of such people in our population cannot be denied and the Davis-Hester effort is obviously directed at them. Even here, however, the two authors so over-sell their pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese Red line of goods that even ordinarily cautious and skeptical readers will soon catch on to the basic swindle underlying *ON THE BRINK*. Lyle Stuart has acquired a reputation of being a pretty cagey publisher who knows how to make money with "off-beat" books. He got badly hooked on this one.

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NEWS & VIEWS

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

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THE 'EXPERT' EPIDEMIC

A rash of self-styled "experts" on anti-communism is breaking out throughout the nation.

One of the strangest phenomena of all is that individuals who for years were associated with some of the notorious communist-front organizations in the United States are now writing books on "how to fight communism" while denouncing the House Committee On Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Committee, various undercover spies for the F.B.I., loyalty procedures of the Federal Government, and the workings of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

While disclaiming any affinity for communism or its apparatus, these people spend the major part of their speaking time and writing space to denouncing anti-communists.

The Church League of America herewith presents two classic examples of these self-styled "experts" on the subject of anti-communism. It reminds us of the daffy definition of an "expert" which we heard sometime ago: "ex" is the unknown quantity in Algebra: "spurt" (spert) is a drip under pressure!

The first example is an individual by the name of Herman Frederick Reissig, who has written a pamphlet entitled, "How To Combat Communism," and which pamphlet is being widely distributed by radical liberals in the USA.

The other example is a council of churches known as the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA, which has published A CHRISTIAN'S HANDBOOK ON COMMUNISM.

We have had our research department do a thorough analysis of both of these publications, and we leave it to our readers to judge whether or not these sources are qualified even to discuss the subject of communism.

We refer our readers, as we have done many times before, to the statement of J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. Chief, to the U.S. House of Representatives Appropriations Committee on March 6, 1961, following the question by Congressman Elford Cederberg of Michigan in regard to the National Council of Churches.

Lest his testimony has escaped some of our readers' notice, we reproduce that portion referred to once again:

CONGRESSMAN CEDERBERG: "Mr. Director, I just wonder if you can give any explanation as to why so many organizations that are basically sound and dedicated to doing what is right — and I do not hesitate to name one of them — the National Council of Churches — why are some of the hierarchy of these organizations so naive to the threat posed by communism in this country?"

MR. HOOVER: "Mr. Congressman, I think it is due to the fact that they have not fully informed themselves as to what the facts are. Many people have the idea that com-

munist is not a serious threat because the movement is numerically small in this country. Its numerical strength is one thing, but we must judge it by its fanatical, dedicated, and disciplined membership. Most non-Communists are not disciplined, fanatical believers in the theory and practice of American democracy as are the Communists in communism. That is the reason why some of these people err in their thinking.

"Such erroneous thinking often results in a great deal of harm, particularly in many organizations where the practice is followed of having the rank-and-file elect delegates to represent them at conventions without exhibiting a sufficient degree of alertness and interest to determine the beliefs of their chosen representatives. As a result, these representatives commit large groups of the rank-and-file to a course of action which in reality is contrary to their true feeling and beliefs."

We ask that our readers keep this testimony in mind when considering the qualifications of National Council of Churches spokesmen to speak on the subject of communism.

Although a great deal of the secular press usually grants the National Council of Churches a considerable amount of favorable space, there are some newspapers which have the forthrightness and the knowledge to oppose the National Council of Churches' so-called anti-communist "experts" and expose them for what they are.

Please pay especial attention to the excellent editorial and write-up which appeared in the Jefferson City (Missouri) Post-Tribune, which is photographically reproduced on page 2. Also, notice should be taken of the information sheet on Dr. Reissig, which was distributed by the Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies, and which forced the cancellation of Mr. Reissig's appearances in various cities in the State of Florida.

HERMAN FREDERICK REISSIG

Herman F. Reissig is the clergyman son of the Rev. Frederick E. Reissig active for many years in the old Federal Council of Churches and a modernist of the social gospel persuasion.

Reissig first became active in Communist fronts in 1935 when he was pastor of the Kings Highway Congregational Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. Of strong pacifist belief he was disturbed by widespread unemployment and privation among some of his parishioners. He detested the Hearst papers and was an ardent supporter of F.D.R.'s "New Deal."

The American League Against War and Fascism, then in its heyday, naturally attracted his interest and he became chairman of the Religious Committee. As an anti-Fascist the

Plea Renewed Disarm Debate

An Editorial

Farce at New Haven

Could any greater farce be perpetrated on Mid-Missourians than this one?

The Rev. Herman F. Reissig, one of the leading members of the National Council of Churches, was a guest lecturer at St. Peter's United Church of Christ in New Haven, Tuesday night.

His topic: "How to Combat Communism."

Mr. Reissig called for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He blew lukewarm and cold on the Federal Bureau of Investigation and contended that when its director, J. Edgar Hoover, philosophizes about communism and its histories, "I don't think he's so hot."

Mid-Missourians may well want to examine Mr. Reissig's communist front record.

At a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in New York City in 1953, Benjamin Gitlow, a leading official of the Communist Party in the United States before he severed his ties with the Reds in 1929, had this to say:

"Dr. Herman F. Reissig has a long and notorious record of affiliation with Communist front organizations."

Gitlow then ticked off a few of them: The Friends of the Soviet Union, the International Labor Defense, American Branch-of-the "MOPR," a Moscow organization, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and "many more." "One Communist-front he (Reissig) was connected with, the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee," Gitlow adds, "had 71 sponsors, 40 of whom were card-carrying members of the Communist Party. All of its officers were members of the Communist Party."

The December, 1960, issue of The Westchester Spotlight, published by the Westchester County, N. Y., Committee on Un-American Activities of the American Legion, says:

"This man (Herman F. Reissig) addressed a national convention of the Communist Party, according to a 1942 HUAC report, 'Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government.' This same report ties Reissig to the following infamous Communist fronts: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American League for Peace and Democracy; American Student Union; Friends of the Soviet Union; International Labor Defense; International Workers Order; League of American Writers; National Negro Congress; New Masses; and 'Spanish aid organizations of the Communist Party.'"

Dr. J. B. Matthews, former executive director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Government Operations, in his compilation "Certain Activities of Certain Congregational Clergymen," cites 40 subversive activities with which he said Reissig has been associated.

None of these reports implies that the Rev. Reissig was a member of the Communist Party. But the documentation makes clear that he was associated with many Communist fronts.

Mr. Reissig admitted he had been a member of some "United Front" groups, but that he probably would not join them at the present time.

It simply makes no sense to us that Mr. Reissig be invited to be guest lecturer on the subject: "How to Combat Communism."

We reach no conclusion but to term the event a farce: an insult to our American heritage.

Mid-Missourians have every reason to rebel against this travesty.

HUAC Attacked By Clergyman At School Meet

Abolish Committee,
Dr. Reissig Urges
In New Haven Talk

By JOSEPH G. MAJERSKY
NEW HAVEN (Special) —

Dr. Herman Reissig of the United Church of Christ Tuesday night attacked the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities at a School of the Church meeting at St. Peter's United Church of Christ here.

He said he wholeheartedly supported abolition of this committee.

Speaking on the topics, "How to Combat Communism," Dr. Reissig said that Christians should never be satisfied with any system and that they should be always aware of the dangers of self-righteousness. A Christian, according to Dr. Reissig, sits in judgment of all ideas and should always ask whether something is wrong with his system. He insisted that the Christian battleline is not a line between communism and anti-communism but between truth and error. He added that a Christian does not always know where this line runs.

He said Americans are dissatisfied with many of the social conditions in America and asked whether America because of its "failures" could really condemn atheism in other societies. According to Dr. Reissig, America has not yet solved the problem of freedom and order and that it is still not certain whether the structure of our federal government is adequate in a modern world.

"Too Idealistic"

Dr. Reissig contended that Congress acts extremely slow and that at times it does not set at all.

Communism was alleged by Dr. Reissig to have been conceived by its founders as an answer to the problems of modern man. He said that Communism "is not a monolithic slab of evil," but that in many respects it is "too idealistic and too utopian."

The evils of the 19th Century capitalism, Dr. Reissig said, fully justified the attacks of communism. He said Marx failed to recognize that capitalism could change and he told the audience they were neither capitalists nor members of the bourgeoisie but members of the middle class.

He claimed the need for some sort of "world system" and deplored the fact that at the present time a nationalistic system existed with only a thin line of internationalism.

Dr. Reissig stressed that communistic ideas should be permitted to circulate, but that the organized move of communism should be opposed. According to Dr. Reissig, a Communist sympathizer is a person who for one reason or another has not joined the party, but is more for communism than against it.

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Channel 3

Jefferson City Post-Tribune

JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI, WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 15, 1961

HOME EDITION

suspicion that the League might be Communist infiltrated or even dominated did not greatly disturb him. It was fashionable to be anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi in the mid-Thirties.

Ralph Lord Roy in *Communism and the Churches*, page 92 states:

"Reporting to the Third Congress (of the League) Reissig stated boldly that churchmen in the League had the duty 'neither to commend nor to vindicate religious beliefs or organization. Our function is to use religious forces in the defense of masses of people.' But Reissig was frustrated in his work. The religious committee helped to give the League an impression of broad representation, but it actually accomplished very little. In assessing the committee's work years later Reissig recalled that most clergymen avoided any contact with the League primarily because even at its peak it never quite achieved respectability. Too many lay people, in particular, were convinced that it was a Communist front. For their minister or rabbi to join in its activities could lead to parish difficulties."

A survey of the American League Against War and Fascism's leadership in 1935 already showed a heavy preponderance of clergymen. The Rev. Harry F. Ward was National Chairman. The executive secretary was a Quaker, Paul Reid and Herman F. Reissig was religious secretary. A daughter of the famous radical bishop, Francis J. McConnell, Miss Dorothy McConnell, headed the Womens' Division while the Rev. William B. Spofford became vice-chairman and acted as chairman in the absence of Ward.

In a report compiled by the Committee for Cultural Freedom in 1940, (an anti-Communist liberal group) the history of the various Spanish Loyalist relief organizations is traced. After the Spanish Civil War ended in April, 1939, a new organization, the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, was organized. Socialists and Communists were asked to drop out.

A crisis developed when unauthorized press releases and statements were issued over a forged document which led to the Communists picketing of the French Consulate in New York. The chairman of the Campaign, Francis J. McConnell and the secretary Herman F. Reissig thereupon disassociated the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign from all responsibility for the picketing and managed to wrest the national body from the control of the Communists. The New York section, however, remained in communist hands and was temporarily called "The Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees." It later became the North American Spanish Relief Committee. (Eugene Lyons' "The Red Decade", footnote page 280).

Roy states that "It was also in 1940 that Reissig broke with all Communist-front activities. He was serving at the time as chairman of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. At its national meeting, he joined with others in introducing a resolution attacking both fascism and Communism. It was shouted down. This convinced him that the Communists had packed the meeting and that the Communist pretensions of a genuine 'United Front' were false. Reissig resolved never to support Communist-front activities again." (op cit page 446.)

THE FOLLOWING CITATIONS FROM APPENDIX IX.

In 1937 the American Friends of the Soviet Union promoted a Golden Book of American Friendship which numerous Communists and fellow travellers signed including Herman F. Reissig. The purpose of the Golden Book scheme was to kill off some of the unfavorable publicity and anti-Soviet reaction which Stalin's bloody purges in 1936-37 were causing.

In 1940 during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact the Communists set up The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable rights. A number of known Communists and well-known fellow travellers lent their names to this front including the Rev. Herman F. Reissig.

In 1937 the Communist International Labor Defense conducted a Christmas drive to raise funds for "political prisoners" i.e., Communists in legal trouble. The sponsors list contained the usual sprinkling of well known Communists, veteran fellow travellers, and C.P. supporters. The Rev. Herman S. (sic) Reissig was listed as a sponsor.

On December 14, 1939, 65 "prominent citizens," according to the *Daily Worker*, signed a public statement warning that any suppression of the Communist Party would gravely jeopardize all basic American freedoms. The Rev. Herman F. Reissig was a signer.

On January 24, 1936, the Communists staged a banquet in New York in honor of veteran Communist leader "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor. The Rev. H. F. Reissig was listed as a sponsor. According to former Communist Ben Gitlow 40 of the 71 sponsors were "card-carrying Communists."

Herman F. Reissig was a speaker in 1938 at the Second National Negro Congress, a Communist front.

The September, 1936, issue of FIGHT, official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, listed Herman F. Reissig as on the secretarial staff. Reissig also wrote for the March 29, 1938, and August 29, 1939, issues of the Communist *New Masses*.

* * * * *

House Report 2277, Special House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1942, page 17, states: Herman F. Reissig, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, was one of the speakers at the tenth national convention of the Communist Party which was held in 1938."

Under-date of June 27, 1947, Tito's Yugoslav Embassy in Washington wrote a letter to Dr. Emory Stevens Bucke of Boston inviting him and nine other clergymen to visit Yugoslavia as Tito's guests. Among those selected by the Communist government of Yugoslavia were: Bishop Bromley Oxnam, Guy Emery Shieler, Dr. Claude Williams (later identified as a Communist) and the Rev. Herman Reissig. (page 96, American Slav Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1949). Reissig did not accept.

In 1949 Reissig was a member of the honorary committee of a Churchman dinner to award Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. These annual dinners were strictly Guy Emery Shieler promotions honoring left wing clergymen and others.

IMPORTANT NOTE. Reissig's alleged vow never again to be connected with any Communist front supposedly made in 1940 appears on the record to have been maintained. While his father, the Rev. Frederick E. Reissig has lent his name in the early 1950's to various open letters and committees to repeal the McCarran Internal Security Act, the son has studiously refrained from so doing. However his most powerful verbal attacks are against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the so-called "failures" of America, and J. Edgar Hoover.

Information copied from BULLETIN

THE FLORIDA COALITION OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES
Tampa, Florida

February 15, 1962

DICK SMITH, Director

REISSIG SPEAKS IN FLORIDA

Dr. Herman F. Reissig, of the United Church of Christ is scheduled to speak in Florida this month under the auspices of the "Florida Chain of Missionary Assemblies." According to a pamphlet produced by them, the "Florida Chain of

Missionary Assemblies" is sponsored by the National Council of Churches.

Dr. Reissig has a long front record stretching back over many years and his pro-communist activities are well documented. Following is a statement by former communist Benjamin Gitlow, which appears on page 2086 of the House Committee on Un-American Activities document "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area":

Dr. Herman F. Reissig headed the religious section of the American Legion Against War and Fascism. Dr. Reissig has a long and notorious record of affiliation with Communist-front organizations. One Communist-front he was connected with, the Mother Bloor Celebration Committee, has 71 sponsors, 40 of whom were card-carrying members of the Communist Party. Its officers were all members of the Communist Party.

According to the Congressional Record of July 27, 1954, pages 12257-12261, Dr. Reissig has been affiliated with over 15 organizations which have been cited as subversive by the United States Attorney General and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This record revealed Reissig "spoke at a meeting of the Communist Party, held in Washington D.C." in March 1938.

The Florida Chain of Missionary Assemblies pamphlet referred to above lists the following schedule for programs:

Feb. 14 and 15 Fort Pierce; Feb. 15 and 16 Vero Beach; Feb. 18 and 20 Fort Lauderdale; Feb. 20-22 Palm Beaches; Feb. 22-25 Miami; Feb. 26-28 Tampa.

We urge you to acquaint the church leaders and the people in these communities with the pro-communist background of Dr. Reissig.

According to a speech made at St. Peter's United Church of Christ, New Haven, Missouri on Tuesday, November 14, on the subject "How to combat Communism", Dr. Reissig believes:

- The HCUA should be abolished
- We shouldn't condemn atheism in other societies because of the failures of our own systems' social conditions
- It is not certain whether the structure of our Federal Government is adequate in a modern world
- Communism was conceived by its founders as an answer to the problems of modern man
- Communism "is not a monolithic slab of evil"
- The evils of 19th century capitalism justified the attacks of communism
- We need some sort of World Government to replace the present deplorable nationalistic system that now exists
- Those who claim that such men as Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and Dr. John Bennett are communist sympathizers are confused
- There never has been any communist or communist sympathizer in the leadership of the National Council of Churches, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the White House or the Supreme Court (1)
- The Virgin Birth of Christ is not true
- The Genesis Creation account is not to be taken literally
- The Biblical accounts of the Resurrection of Christ are contradictory and Christ did not rise physically from the grave
- Harry F. Ward is not a communist
- And on and on ad nauseum

HOW TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

By HERMAN F. REISSIG

Published by the Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ, Cleveland and New York

24 pp. December 1961

(A CRITICAL ANALYSIS)

This is a curious hermaphrodite pamphlet of a scant twenty pages — half of it quite sound and worthwhile reading; the rest badly misleading if not utterly worthless. While there are a few weak formulations and poorly developed observations in the first ten pages the presentation on the whole shows considerable insight into the true nature of Communism and no attempt is made to soften the picture or to minimize the threat. Reissig unquestionably understands Communism and is under no illusions about it like most of his liberal friends.

Reissig, who obviously did not consult any former high-ranking Communist or acknowledged expert in this field in preparing his pamphlet, begins to wobble on page eleven and goes off into the wild blue yonder by the time he reaches page thirteen. In Section IV, "How Can We Know Who Is A Communist Or A Communist Sympathizer?" Reissig deplores the "probing of the political beliefs of other persons" and includes Communist *activity* as being part of such "political beliefs." He had just spent several pages correctly describing Communism as a quasi-criminal and anti-democratic conspiracy based on secrecy and deception. In the next paragraph he again reverses himself and admits that "it is the conspiratorial aspect of communism that justifies the attempt to identify communists."

Reissig then makes a number of mistakes or incorrect evaluations on Communists. F.B.I. Director Hoover is cited as authority for the figure of 17,500 C.P. members which Reissig calls "an extremely small number in a nation of 185 millions." He does not quote J. Edgar Hoover or other authorities who in the past have pointed out that there are now more communists proportionally in the United States than there were in Russia in 1917 when 35,000 Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky seized power. Even non-experts on communism know that the communist threat within any country can never be correctly evaluated by mere numbers but only by knowing where they are located. Fifty highly trained, well-disguised, and strategically located communists in government, news media, and other vital spots present a far greater menace than ten thousand communists working as itinerant farm workers, dishwashers, or unskilled factory hands in non-defense plants. Also, Hoover declares that for every party member there are 10 others outside the party ready willing and able to do the party work:

Reissig, who had a considerable front record in the '30s to which we shall refer later, also does not like the loose terms "Communist sympathizers" or "fellow travellers." He finds these terms to be "highly imprecise." The average even semi-sophisticated and partly instructed American has no such difficulty. A Communist sympathizer is one who openly or secretly over an appreciable period of time has been sympathetic toward a majority of Communist activities and enterprises. This would include those who sympathize with Communists in trouble to the extent of signing petitions or open letters in behalf of convicted or indicted known Communists.

Webster's dictionary defines the follow traveler (translation from the Russian *popuchiki*) as one "who sympathizes with and often furthers the ideals and program of an organized group (originally and chiefly the Communist Party) without membership in the group or participation in its actions."

"Suggested Guides" for spotting suspected Communists while well-meaning is not wholly correct and hence of only

limited value. Reissig makes no distinction between open or legal Communists and secret sympathizers and underground apparatchiks engaged in "special" or illegal work. Fellow travelers and open supporters of the C. P. line, it is true, will never criticize the U.S.S.R. or any of its policies. However, there is ample testimony that really important secret sympathizers and underground Communists engaged in critically important work for the party or Russia may, if needs be, engage in anti-Communist talk in order to conceal their identity or to protect their mission.

The question is often raised by those who know little or nothing about Communists, "How can one ever be sure that a pretended defector from Communism is not still a secret Communist?" The answer is that the ordinary uninstructed citizen cannot be sure. Only former Communists and specialists in dealing with this problem possess the insight and know-how. Reissig fails to point out that there is one infallible test and only one: This is going into court or before any competent government agency and identifying secret Communists not previously exposed. Or, collaterally exposing inner Communist Party secrets not already known to the authorities and subject to verification through other sources.

In a sub-section on Communist fronts, Reissig states quite fairly that front activity twenty or thirty years ago should not be grounds for suspicion today *unless* the person had continued such front activity down to fairly recent times. Reissig is speaking from direct and bitter personal experience. Extremely active and nationally prominent in a number of Communist fronts and activities from 1935 to 1940, the Rev. Reissig had some shattering first hand experience with treacherous and unscrupulous Communists. He foreswore all such activity in 1940 and with one or two minor exceptions had given the comrades a wide berth for the past twenty-two years.

Sub-section 4 on page 13 leaves a great deal to be desired. Communists are not interested in pushing their "beliefs" which they keep pretty much to themselves. They are interested and fanatically so, in advancing the various parts of the "line of the party", i.e., the immediate and long range objectives of the Soviet foreign office. Most of these can very easily be disguised to appear not of Moscow origin at all but of primary national interest to each country concerned. E.G., Resumption of unrestricted trade with Iron Curtain countries (to ease local unemployment); universal and total disarmament to avert the possibility of a world nuclear holocaust (so that the Soviets can continue their world-wide advance through subversion, infiltration, guerrilla warfare, nationalist uprisings, "liberation from colonialism"; withdrawal of all U.S. forces from foreign bases so that local Communist guerrillas will have a free-hand, etc., etc.).

As the Manual for Survival points out, the Communist Party's 1954 Draft Program made no mention of Communism. It was interested only in the "American Way to Jobs, Peace, and Democracy."

By the time Reissig reaches page 14 what little value his booklet may have had is destroyed by his absurd attempt to whitewash and deodorize the highly controversial National Council of Churches. Reissig makes the flat assertion:

"There are no communists or communist sympathizers in the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

"There are no communists or communist sympathizers in responsible positions in any denomination having membership in the National Council of Churches" (Page 14).

Not even the F.B.I. would ever make such a statement about any organization although it might make a qualified one that to the best of its knowledge and belief there were no communists in a particular organization. Bedell Smith, when he was Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, admitted to a Congressional committee that he could not swear or be positive that there were no secret Soviet agents or well concealed communists in that highly secretive agency. In fact, he admitted that it was reasonable to assume that there might be one or more.

To claim that there are "no communist sympathizers" in the N.C.C.C. is playing fast and loose with the English language as most of us understand it. Over 700 officers or employees of the N.C.C.C. have at one time or another lent their names to one or more Communist fronts. Many of these were admittedly minor or just one or two front citations. Others had considerable records according to the public records of 30 of the 95 men who worked on the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. Whether or not these 719 individuals "sympathized" with the Communist conspiracy is unimportant. They did aid and abet the criminal conspiracy, knowingly or wittingly, on at least one or more occasions.

To make a similar positive assertion for the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or any other liberal group because it has been charged in the past with aiding and protecting Communists is a bit disingenuous. Organizations which consistently over a period of years have carried on activities which in the main give aid and comfort to the Communists by dividing and confusing Americans over other issues and certainly never hurt them any, may not be under the direction or control of Communists or Communist sympathizers but they certainly can be classified as Communist-aiding or Communist-favoring.

There certainly has never been a Communist or Communist sympathizer in the Presidency of the United States, but a U.S. Supreme Court justice who in a span of twenty years upheld the Communist position or an anti-security position 102 times in 102 decisions might just as well be a Communist because even a sympathizer presumably might have slipped once or twice and voted the other way. The mere fact that this particular justice may not be a Communist proves very little — a self-admitted Communist on the Supreme Court bench obviously could not have done any more for the Communist Party. Even Khrushchev could not do better than a 102 out of 102 vote.

Reissig's latent and up to now well concealed dislike for anti-Communists finally slips out on page 15. He does not like anti-Communist "crusades" or people who expose Communists. "They are wholesale sowers of suspicion," he claims. This is the classical and apparently unchangeable position of the pseudo-liberals — they are opposed to Communism and all it stands for *but*, and this is the big **BUT** — they are also opposed to exposing or doing anything to restrain, isolate, identify, or inhibit Communists. This is placing oneself safely on record as opposed to typhoid fever and smallpox but at the same time defending "civil rights" and "basic American freedoms" by insisting that the carriers of these highly contagious diseases must never be identified or even temporarily isolated or inconvenienced in any way, whatsoever.

Scratch any phony liberal or poorly instructed individual on the subject of Communism and you always get the same reaction — "I am against Communism 100%, but I do not think we should restrict any American's political beliefs."

It is a little wearying and discouraging in the Year of Our Lord 1962 once more to hear the ancient and long dis-

credited fallacy that communism "feeds on poverty, injustice and other social evils" (page 15). Reissig, who was badly burned mucking around with Communists, still has apparently learned very little about them. Some patriot should spend three dollars and mail the worthy clergyman "authority" on Communism our Manual For Survival calling his attention to Chapter IV.

Right Ways to Combat Communism

Were it not for the gravity of our times and the present chaotic state of our whole internal security defenses, this chapter in Reissig's booklet would be too funny for words. Veteran and informed anti-Communists will find Dr. Reissig's recommendations depressing to say the least. He admits that "the Christian faith cannot be offered as the alternative to communism because it prescribes no definite political or economic system." He then goes on to make the astounding charge "that if Christians had been faithful to their Lord, if they had obeyed the command to do justice and love mercy and care for their neighbor, communism would never have come into existence" (page 16). In the other words, world communism is the fault of Christians failing to practice Christianity! There will be great hilarity and rejoicing in the Kremlin over that. Dr. Reissig, however, is hardly original here — this is Barthianism as widely promulgated by the Swiss theologian Karl Barth, and his school for many years.

Reissig then lists seven things which Americans can still do to combat communism. 1. Leave it all to the F.B.I. as far as "unlawful political action is concerned — there is that word "political" again! The F.B.I., as we have been pointing out for years is the investigative arm of the Department of Justice. It can legally concern itself only with the investigation of and reporting on the violations of such laws as fall under its jurisdiction. It reports facts to the proper government agencies but does not make recommendations or initiate action with respect to its findings. It obviously can do nothing about communist activity which falls within the law, as Dr. Reissig should know very well.

In the second suggestion, what we can do about communism, we get that old, old liberal cliché once more "political opinions". Communists, according to Reissig, apparently never engage in activities; they only hold "political opinions." He knows better as the result of several years of first hand experience when the wily and tricky Muscovites made a sucker out of him more than once.

The third suggestion "Encourage full and free discussion of every public issue" is too ridiculous to merit comment. Communists not only do not object to "full and free discussion", while they are still on the road to the seizure of power, but, like Dr. Reissig, fight for it so that they, too, may be heard. Once they take power all "free and full discussion" is quickly strangled and the half-wits who argued for "right of even Communists to be heard" are quickly transported to slave labor camps to be "socially rehabilitated."

Dr. Reissig's fourth suggestion, "Study Communism" is sound and commendable except that he should take His own advice. He still shows a lamentable ignorance of the whole communist problem in the second half of his booklet. We recommend that he study the Manual For Survival and write out his answers to all the lessons at the end of each chapter.

Suggestion 5 is on a par with No. Three and merely a restatement of the old and threadbare fallacy, "The only way to defeat Communism is to improve and strengthen democracy."

Reissig's sixth suggestion for combatting communism is the quack remedy and favorite nostrum of the modernists — social action. It is merely a defense of the N.C.C.C. and other social gospels. Former high-ranking communists have long ago warned that liberalizing and socializing Christian doctrine merely made it easier for secret communists to infiltrate the churches and to pose as Christians while at the same time carrying on moral disintegration work and undermining the faith of real Christians.

Reissig's seventh and last suggestion is merely a rehash of the old fallacy of "beating communism by drying up its breeding spots" which the Manual For Survival thoroughly demolishes in Chapter IV.

Thus, of Reissig's seven recommended courses of action against communism only one can be classified as sound and intelligent. Like the Rev. Cronin, to the defense of whose pamphlet this N.C.C.C. booklet is all too obviously devoted, Dr. Reissig is positive that the communist threat presents the greatest danger on the international level (page 18). The rest of the N.C.C.C. pamphlet consists of worthless platitudes about making "freedom and peace" as "supreme objectives" of the United States, as if world peace were not jeopardized by advancing world Communism.

It would be difficult to find a more tortured and topsyturvy bit of reasoning than the following:

"In combating communism, the democracies have the obligation to demonstrate their opposition to all forms of dictatorship. (italics in original) Our case is seriously compromised if we condemn communist dictatorships but appear to have no objection to the regime of a Batista in Cuba, a Salazar in Portugal, or a Franco in Spain. Let the lesson of Cuba be learned! Had we been more worried by Batista we might not now have to worry so much about Castro."

Here certainly we have a fair example of Reissig distortion of the plain facts of history and the pseudo-liberal's congenital and total inability to think straight about communism.

The facts are that while we may have made a few official remarks deploring Communist dictatorship we, nevertheless, have consistently and openly aided Tito, Gomulka, and other Communist dictators in maintaining their regimes by pouring literally *billions* of dollars of food, economic aid, and even weapons into Communist countries in the vain and fatuous hope that we might win them over to our side. We most certainly connived directly at the building up of Castro and the undermining of Batista and the facts are readily available in published U. S. Senate Internal Security Sub-committee reports as well as in several documented books. By stupidly withdrawing recognition from the Trujillo government, in order to mollify certain Latin-American countries who never bothered to reciprocate anyway, we helped undermine and destroy that staunchly anti-communist regime which never committed a single unfriendly act towards the United States.

The debasing record of our State Department's coddling and protection of communist regimes, bowing low and kow-towing to neutralist "emerging nations" no larger than a big county in Texas and "emerging" only from recent cannibalism, while we are flinty hard with dependable anti-Communist European powers, is to sickening and shameful to recapitulate here. For those demanding proof we suggest Edgar Ansel Mowrer's "An End To Make-Believe", Frank Johnson's "No Substitute For Victory", Kintner and Kornfeder's "The New Frontier of War", and O'Connor's "Cold War and Liberation."

Reissig is also convinced that another way of turning uncommitted nations away from communism is to serve

dark-skinned U.N. delegates without discrimination! The fact that many of these dark-skinned delegates to the U.N. practice racial, religious, and social discrimination in their own lands and that Communism seems to advance even where there is total and absolute freedom and non-discrimination, as for example in Iceland, Sweden, and other semi-socialistic countries, is lost on this alleged "expert on Communism." But then, on second thought, a purported Christian minister, who seriously attributes the birth and rise of Communism to Christianity's failures, is capable of any kind of lunacy.

Dr. Reissig even supplies his N.C.C.C. readers with what he hopes will pass for a bibliography on Communism. He does mention J. Edgar Hoover's "Masters of Deceit", the "Roots of American Communism" by Draper, the American Bar Association's Report on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives" which is excellent, and "The God That Failed" by Koestler and other fallen away Communists. These are all good books.

He then ruins the whole dish by adding John C. Bennett's "Christianity and Communism Today", Oxnam's "I Protest" and several lesser works of no consequence or worth. *All Congressional committee reports and Hearings going back for 25 years are rigorously excluded or blacked out*, as are all the several hundred authoritative works listed in our bibliography at the end of the Manual For Survival.

Summary conclusion. As we stated at the opening, Reissig's little pamphlet is of scant value except for its first ten pages. It is based entirely on a false assumption and the greatest fallacy in all history: that Communism is largely the fault of the West and the failure of Christianity. Communists preach and argue exactly the same line. Reissig, as a young man, had some really shocking and eye-opening first hand experiences with Communists. These bitter lessons apparently taught him nothing. He still thinks that Communism can be stopped mainly by reformation and regeneration on our side—that is to say, by passive defense.

The workings and squirming of the pseudo-liberal mind are fearful and wonderful to behold!

AN EVALUATION OF "A CHRISTIAN'S HANDBOOK ON COMMUNISM" (new and revised 1962 edition) published by

The Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature
National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A.

Foreword.

There is no identification of the "group of knowledgeable people" who researched and wrote this handbook, hence their competence and authority cannot be examined.

Chapter 1 The Power and Appeal of Communism.

Only two books, both of them non-objectionable, are quoted as reference sources. The rest of the chapter is based on two newspaper stories and the unsupported opinions and ideas of the anonymous writers. In view of the wealth of authentic material available on this aspect of communism it is hard to understand why the author, or authors, saw fit to dismiss the very important facet of communism so lightly. This chapter is not objectionable — it is merely weak and inadequate.

Chapter 2 Communism in Theory.

One quotation from Lenin and two newspaper sources form the total research foundation of this important chapter. Again, with such a great plethora of material available in even third rate libraries, it seems strange that the author

or authors of the handbook would base their literary product on such slender and tenuous underpinning.

While Karl Marx is not glamorized or glorified, he most certainly is let off very gently in the handbook. There is not the slightest hint of his thoroughly disreputable life, his neglect of his family, his odious and vindictive nature in attacking and destroying eminent radicals and Socialists, and finally his venomously infamous attacks on Christianity and Jews is completely blacked out for some reason.

The sub-conscious bias of the author or authors is disclosed on page 17 where Lenin's "real fight was against Socialists and socialism" and not the Czar and capitalism. This is hard to reconcile with the fact that Lenin's first words after the proclamation of the Soviet state were "We shall now proceed to the creation of the world's first Socialist state."

Lenin and his Bolshevik associates needed total power to create the sort of Socialist state their revolutionary blueprint required. All vestiges of democracy, freedom, religion, morality, and law had to be swept away before the Soviet Socialist state could be erected. Not only Socialists but Anarchists, liberals, and all other political groupings had to be destroyed or rendered innocuous.

The authors of this handbook would have been well advised to base their chapter on William Henry Chamberlin, Miliukov, Sukhanov, Lockhart, Mavor, Chernov, or any other established historian of the Russian Revolution.

The unwavering and rigid subservience of the American Communist Party to Moscow is a matter of established legal record by the findings of fact by the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1953 as well as by judicial decisions by both Federal Circuit Courts of Appeal and the U. S. Supreme Court. Just why the NCCC handbook fails to document or even mention this is incomprehensible.

That "Communists fear Socialists far more than people on the right" (page 18) is a preposterous assertion which the handbook authors do not even attempt to clinch with the slightest bit of evidence. While Communists have not always succeeded in befuddling, dividing, and scattering Socialist parties and forces, their record, particularly in this country, has been one of considerable success.

A Religion. Communism is generally defined as a world-wide conspirative combat party dedicated to the capture of total power in order to remake the world on an entirely new Socialist order. Religion is usually defined in most dictionaries as the belief in and the worship and service of God. Awareness of or conviction that there is a Supreme Deity is a basic and minimal condition of all religious belief.

That individual Communists pursue their objectives with a semi-religious fervor or fanaticism may be conceded, but to call Communism a "religion" is a gross and inexcusable error. All true Communists must be atheists; Marxist-Leninist dogma as well as Soviet established practices leave no doubt on that score. All atheists reject any and all concepts of a Supreme Being or God. To argue therefore that Communism is "basically a religion" (page 22 of the handbook) is to argue nonsense.

Communism may, in a figurative sense, be called a "pseudo-religion" or a diabolic religion, or the religion of anti-Christ but it obviously cannot be called "a religion." It may even satisfy devoted Communists as a *substitute* for religion but it can never be a religion as Communism in itself is dedicated to the eradication of all religions and all religious beliefs.

It is rather significant that no recognized or accepted theologians are quoted on this question in the N.C.C.C. handbook, not even in the credits. This altogether poorly

formulated and brief chapter therefore is of little value to any sincere Christian seeking guidance on Communism. *Chapter 3 Communism in Practice.*

This chapter suffers mainly from over-simplification, over-condensation of important historical facts into a simple and meaningless sentence or two, or from minor errors. The Communist Party of Russia, for example, did not exist in 1898. The first congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party met in Minsk in 1896 — not 1898. Most Communist historians however, date the founding of the Bolshevik, later Communist Party, to the London 1903 or Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

The November 1917 Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd as a minority revolutionary party and the gradual destruction and elimination of other Marxist and revolutionary parties over a period of several years is not even mentioned in the handbook. We jump from 1903 to 1919 when the goal of the "dictatorship of the proletariat had been achieved."

Two skimpy paragraphs are devoted to the Soviet Secret Police — the state within a state. There is no mention of how and why the Cheka was first created by Lenin nor the slightest reference to decades of terror, and mass murder by its successors the dread OGPU, GPU, and NKVD. As far as the N.C.C.C. handbook's readers are concerned "this important agency of control was known until 1960 as the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and is now the Committee for State Security (KGB)."

The credits in the back of the handbook list a total of six sources as authority; three N. Y. Times citations, a magazine article, and two of the N.C.C.C.'s own publications! This certainly must be an all time record for careful avoidance of mentioning any authoritative source material while still pretending to objectivity and reference to original material! For those interested in a little bit more information on the Soviet Secret Police than the N.C.C.C. handbook provides we suggest "In the Name of Conscience" by Khokhlov, MacKay, New York; Forced Labor in the Soviet Union, Dallin & Nicolaevsky, Yale University Press; The Secret World by Deriabin and Gibney, Doubleday; and The Soviet Secret Police by Wolin & Schlusser, Praeger.

Nor, needless to say, does the handbook make the slightest reference to the Soviet slave labor or horror camps operated as part of the Soviet economy by the secret police. Thousands of innocent and harmless religious leaders perished in these Siberian horror camps.

While the N.C.C.C. handbook has little to say about Soviet slave labor camps it does devote almost two pages of laudatory space to Soviet industrialization. Communist claims and alleged statistics are accepted at face value without any caveat or question. It is well known to all experts in this field that Soviet statistical claims are part of their over-all political-psychological warfare against the West and therefore must be accepted with great caution and distrust.

While Stalin's mass liquidation of the "kulaks as a class" between 1929 and 1932 is casually mentioned no figures of the total number of human lives sacrificed is given although there is ample documentary material on this greatest mass murder in all history. The handbook merely calls it "cruel repression" which certainly qualifies for some sort of prize for the understatement of the past fifty years.

Under economic effort (page 32) there is no mention of the well-established fact that substantial percentages of Soviet production in coal, gold-mining, lumber, and canal and road-building are contributed by slave labor battalions. The figures can be obtained quite readily in any reference library.

The anonymous authors of the handbook, however, do mention that the "effects of unemployment have been eliminated" because the Soviet state controls all manpower which it shifts about as it pleases. With equal logic one might argue that there also is no unemployment in Sing Sing or San Quentin and for exactly the same reason.

About three pages are devoted to the "Peoples Republic of China" (the handbook shies away from such terms as Red China or Communist China). Here we find the characteristic left-liberal or crypto-pro-Communist technique — omission or minimization of all derogatory data and glossing up what little material is used. The whole history of the rise of the Chinese Communists from 1921 to their final assumption of power in 1949 is neatly condensed into one grotesquely misleading paragraph!

Even more revealing is the total absence of any known authorities. Only two sources are mentioned: Dr. A. Doak Barnett and an obscure official of the N.C.C.C. one Francis Price Jones. It appears that Mr. Jones wrote "The Church in Communist China" published by the Friendship Press of New York in 1961. This must have been a truly monumental study — the Library of Congress after diligent search had to report that it did not have even a copyright copy!

The Communist take-over of China, we are told, was due in part to their "effective guerrilla tactics carried on during the period of war with Japan." (page 40) All historians, except Communists and their sympathizers, are agreed that the Chinese military efforts as far as the Communists are concerned were minimal against the Japanese.

No less authority than Mao Tse-tung himself in 1937 stated openly that it was Communist policy "to devote 70 percent of our war effort to our own expansion, 20 percent to coping with the government (Nationalist) and ten percent to fighting the Japanese."

Needless to add, the N.C.C.C. handbook makes no mention of the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee's two years of hearings and 16 volumes of reports on the Institute of Pacific Relations or any other authoritative sources showing how covert assistance by highly placed cryptos in our own government and in key spots in mass communication media aided enormously in one of the greatest betrayals in history.

See General Wedemeyer, Richard Walker, Freda Utley, to mention only a few. The section on Red China is probably the most one-sided and wretchedly partisan in the whole dishonest booklet.

There also is no mention, as might be expected, of the massacre of unarmed American G.I.'s by the Chinese Communists during the Korean "police action." The whole ghastly story was amply documented with pictures and first hand, eye-witness testimony before the Senate sub-committee under Senator Potter. Nor is there a word of mention of the twelve to fifteen million Chinese the Communists have murdered since 1949 as part of their campaign to "liquidate counter-revolutionary and landlord elements." Indeed, Mao Tse-tung himself has boasted of liquidating 800,000 "anti-social elements."

The Summary on page 43 is either hopelessly naive or deliberately misleading. Soviet alleged accomplishments are played up in glowing terms. There is not the slightest reference to the frightful cost in human lives — estimated at least as 25 million — which these slight gains in a few limited fields have cost. To say nothing of the mass terror, loss of all human rights and dignity, and the present close to starvation level economy under which most Soviet people still suffer forty-four years after their "emancipation" from the horrors of capitalism.

The Church and Communism.

The opening paragraph states:

"Communism has gained power in many countries where there are Christian churches, but many Christian people still do not understand the Communist policy toward the church. One reason for this lack of understanding is that Communist governments have different and changing policies."

To which might be added "but another and stronger reason is the beautiful cover-up and whitewash jobs secret pro-Soviet sympathizers among our clergy have been doing for the past thirty or more years."

This entire chapter is so thoroughly dishonest that a paragraph by paragraph refutation and exposure would seem in order were it not for lack of space. Consider the second paragraph:

"Many things appear to indicate that Communist governments give full religious freedom to Christians. Practically all of the Communist countries guarantee freedom of worship in their constitutions. Seldom today are Christians being persecuted directly for their religious faith. Churchmen are tried, but it is for crimes that they are said to have committed, not for the faith they hold."

Note the double qualification — "seldom" and "today." And, of course, it is notorious that church leaders by the thousands have been persecuted in the past and usually for such crimes as "espionage", currency speculation, and "Anti-state activity," in China alone. The Canadian Catholic nuns who were tormented and mistreated in Shanghai were charged with "murdering" hundreds of babies left in their care — not for practicing their religion and seeking to save Chinese girl babies abandoned in ditches and alleys.

On page 57 under "The Church in China" we learn that "Although there is no positive evidence than any church leader has been put to death, communism has removed from office leaders critical of the Communist regime so that the church in China is a thoroughly captive church." *This statement is a bare-faced lie and was either written by a person or persons who knew it to be false, or it was made by a writer, or writers who, made no effort whatever to check the facts and dishonestly made an unsupportable assertion hopping it would pass unnoticed.*

The Red Book of the Persecuted Church by John Galter, Newman Press, 1957, quotes the *China Missionary Bulletin*, 1948, as giving the names and details of "more than 100 priests who were put to death often under the most inhuman conditions" between 1947 and 1948 alone. *The Systematic Destruction of the Catholic Church in China* by Thomas Bauer, World Horizons Reports, New York, 1954 states: "In the eight years from 1946 to 1954 a total of 166 members of the secular clergy and Religious Orders, both male and female, Chinese and foreign, have been executed by the government (Communist, ed.) or had died of mistreatment in prison at the hands of their jailers." This report then appends the names and details of their deaths at the hands of the Communists.

In addition there are a dozen or more books by Edward Hunter, Liu Shaw-tong, Rigney, Winance, Robert W. Greene, Dr. Paul K.T. Sih, Mark Tennien, De Jaegher, and Chow Ching-wen, to mention only a few, which cite cases and name names of Christian clergy and medical missionaries tortured and murdered by the Chinese Reds.

Greta Palmer's "God's Underground In Asia" (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953) is devoted entirely to recounting the murders of religious workers, Catholic and Protestant, by the Chinese Communists and the murderous persecution of the church in China. Hunter's "Black Book on Red China" (Bookmailer, New York, 1958) devotes a whole chapter to "Martyred Religion." Olin Stockwell's "With God in Red China" (Harper Brothers, New York, 1953) is sub-titled "What is Happening to Christians in China." Not one, strange as it may seem, is mentioned in the N.C.C.C.'s "Christian's Handbook on Communism."

Last, but not least in importance, is the testimony by several Protestant Chinese clergymen before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in March, 1959 and released as "Communist Persecution of Churches in Red China and Korea." The N.C.C.C. handbook does not mention it.

The Christian Way

Chapter 5 of this truly remarkable booklet is devoted to a summation of the N.C.C.C.'s answer to Communism — Do nothing except preach Christ. No Christian will quarrel with the exhortation that deepening the Christian faith is a primary and essential first step in the world wide struggle against advancing atheistic Communism. However, the sad lesson of history is that prayer and Christian witness, at least thus far, have not been too effective in arresting Communism or in converting any substantial number of Communist leaders from their evil ways.

The final chapter is devoted to "The Christian's Responsibility", which is nothing more than a condensed rehash of the social gospel theme of the liberal-modernists in contemporary theology.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

To a true Christian, disturbed by the advance of Communism and seeking some simple and dependable guides of instruction and action, this N.C.C.C. pamphlet is very close to worthless. It was hastily and sloppily written by some person or persons of obvious liberal, if not Socialist, inclination with a minimum of knowledge of the subject. The significant omissions, all through the handbook, of a great mass of readily accessible documentary information on Communism might even be adduced as indicating that the writer or writers were secretly sympathetic towards Communism and therefore reduced the whole exercise to a slap on the wrist.

The fact that there is no bibliography and that not a single Congressional Committee report is mentioned out of several thousand published since 1930 would tend to strengthen this suspicion. However, the handbook cannot be dismissed as utterly worthless or wholly bad. There are a few passages totaling possibly five pages out of 84, which are not objectionable and do contain some small glimmerings of truth and limited understanding—hardly enough for anyone, however, wasting his time, going through the rest of the handbook.

The National Council of Churches' handbook for Christians on Communism sells for one dollar. On the basis of the above evaluation it is worth between five and six cents. Anyone paying more than that price for it had been badly gypped and should demand a refund.

Here is what
the experts say
in regard to
**A MANUAL
FOR SURVIVAL,**
the great study
course on subversive
activities published
by the
**CHURCH LEAGUE
OF AMERICA**

**NOW IN ITS
THIRD EDITION:**

From Dr. J. B. Matthews, former Research Director of the House Committee On Un-American Activities and consultant to many State Legislatures:

"When **A Manual for Survival** arrived two days ago, I put everything else aside in order to read the book thoroughly. I was struck immediately by the quality of the make-up. It is clearly the work of someone who appreciates the value of striking appearances in the art of printing.

The contents of the **Manual** are equally, if not more, impressive. I cannot remember any other book as useful for students who want to learn what Communism really is and what it does to those who embrace it. The text is truly the work of experts; and I do not know more than a dozen of these who are in circulation. Don't ask me to name twelve.

Please don't think that I think the **Manual** is anything but superb."

From Herbert A. Philbrick, famous undercover spy for the F.B.I. for nine years:

"The **Manual For Survival** is not only the best thing the Church League of America has ever done, it is also one of the finest books of its kind I have seen. It packs a tremendous amount of very useful information in 200 compact, well-written pages. **Manual For Survival** should occupy a permanent place on the top of every freedom fighting American . . . and you can quote me."

From the Editorial Page of **NATIONAL REVIEW**, William F. Buckley, Jr., Editor:

"We have been asked to comment on the 200-page pamphlet compiled and published by The Church League of America, of Wheaton, Ill., called **A MANUAL FOR SURVIVAL**, "a counter-subversive study course." It is an excellent publication, full of sound comment and valuable bibliographical information. It is available from the League or from The Bookmailer for \$3.00."

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15-chapter study course.

WHAT IS THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA?

SEE PAGE 6

**A History of the Organization, Including
Its Founders, Scope of Activity, and
How Individuals May Participate
In Its Mission**

**"Eternal Vigilance
The Price**



**Is Forever
Of Liberty"**

MEN OF VISION

The organization of the Church League of America was born in the minds of three men: the Honorable Frank J. Loesch, Henry P. Crowell, and George Washington Robnett.

Frank J. Loesch was the great Chicago lawyer whose memory is still green as the man who, in 1929 when he was head of the Chicago Crime Commission, was a major factor in the prosecution of Al Capone which sent the gangster to prison. It was Mr. Loesch who labeled Capone "Public Enemy No. 1". Mr. Loesch was 76 years old at the time. That, and his work as a member of the Hoover Law Enforcement Committee, headed by George W. Wickersham, brought Mr. Loesch national recognition.

Mr. Loesch, Senior member of the Chicago firm of Loesch, Scofield, Loesch and Burke, was a constitutional lawyer.

He was also an ardent and active churchman and Elder of one of Chicago's most prominent churches, the Fourth Presbyterian Church.

Early in the 1930's Mr. Loesch saw the growing encroachment of government upon the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the individual and a consequent threat to the constitutional structure itself. Moreover, he saw that many ministers and church leaders throughout the country were accepting socialistic experimentations as a great reform movement and they began preaching it from their pulpits and writing it in church literature without apparent understanding of the road they were traveling toward complete socialization of the American way of life, including religious institutions.

When the Supreme court Packing Bill came up in 1937, with the very patent intent of discrediting the "nine old men" of the National Judiciary and of overriding their judgment by increasing the number of judges on the Supreme Court bench, Frank J. Loesch decided that he must do what he could to inform the church leaders of the country, whose influence upon mass thinking was probably greater than that of any other agency, of the dangers inherent in the Court Packing Bill.

This particular problem might well be said to be the occasion for a gathering of prominent Chicago

churchmen and civic leaders, resulting in the formation of the National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America.

Mr. Loesch spent fifteen years as leader of the Men's Bible Class of the Fourth Presbyterian Church. He was a member of the Chicago and American Bar Associations; was counsel for the American Medical Association; organized the \$80,000,000 Chicago Union Station Company in 1913 and was its general counsel; counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad System in Illinois; member of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago; special States Attorney to uncover election frauds; President of the Chicago Bar Association; President of the Union League Club of Chicago; President of the Literary Club of Chicago; one of the founders of and President of the Law Club of Chicago; Trustee and Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society and later First Vice President; special assistant Attorney General of Illinois for Cook County to clean up the crime situation; honorary member of Rotary and Kiwanis; and the recipient of the Chicago Merit Awards, presented by a distinguished jury composed of presidents of leading business, education and civic organizations.

Henry P. Crowell, internationally known cereal manufacturer, Chairman of the Board of Quaker Oats, and referred to in his biography as "The Aristocrat of the Breakfast Table", was also a noted Presbyterian layman, a thorough evangelical in his theological beliefs, and a heavy supporter of the work of the famed Moody Bible Institute, known as "The West Point of Christian Service." The largest edifice on the Moody Campus today is named after Mr. Crowell.

George W. Robnett was an advertising executive in Chicago for years, a research expert and analyst on subversive activities, and a member of the Methodist Church. Mr. Robnett had accumulated a library and "working files" on communists and fellow-travelers in the United States over a period of thirty years, during which time he studied the various social and economic movements and cataloged the names of individuals involved in these movements with the various doctrines they were advocating.

His library included reports of U.S. House of Representatives Investigating Committees on un-American activities as far back as the Hamilton Fish committee of 1930 — the first such Congressional report ever made on communism in this country; the Lusk legislative investigation in New York State; the Rapp Coudert investigation of communist teachers in New York; the Illinois and California reports; reports of the Dies and McCarran committees, and of other House and Senate investigations which are now unobtainable.

The First Organizing Meeting

The three gentlemen named above called a meeting on Wednesday, March 24, 1937, at which time Mr. Robnett stated as follows:

"A part of the program proposed for this organization, which it is suggested that we create, is to publish and distribute to ministers and lay people regular bulletins in which would be described certain political movements which might have direct or indirect effect upon the churches or their work, or the future of religious movement. Many ministers are too busy with their church work and programs to do much general reading, and it is believed that during a period such as this information of this kind would be helpful."

At this meeting were prominent lay people of Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, and Disciples of Christ churches.

Mr. Harley Ward, Baptist layman, Wilmette, Illinois, an advertising man, made a motion to establish the Church League of America — to concern itself with matters that may concern religious liberty, and that particular attention be given to a national radio program and the publishing of informative bulletins.

Mr. Wilbur Helm, prominent Methodist layman and Secretary of the Conference of Methodist Laymen, Chicago stock broker, moved that a national headquarters be established; that funds be raised to carry on the work; and that George W. Robnett be elected temporary chairman.

A few weeks later Frank J. Loesch was elected as General Chairman and Mr. Robnett as Executive Secretary.

National Headquarters

National headquarters were opened at 53 West Jackson Boulevard and the following individuals made directors:

C. W. Howe, Director of the Old Republic Life Insurance Company of Chicago,—Chairman of the Committee of Laymen;

Dr. John W. Brandt, leading physician of Pittsburgh, — Vice Chairman of the Laymen's Committee;

Dr. Almer Pennewell, prominent Methodist minister of Evanston, Illinois — Chairman of the Committee of Clergy;

Dr. R. L. Decker, Pastor of the Temple Baptist Church of Kansas City, Co-Chairman of the Committee of Clergy.

Within a few short months the Church League of America had more than six thousand members of the clergy from all church denominations throughout the United States and over 50,000 lay members of churches supporting the work of the League and receiving its monthly documented bulletin, *NEWS & VIEWS*.

Research and analytical work was done in the Chicago headquarters for all of the Church League supporters who desired background information on individuals speaking before their church groups and writing church literature. Outstanding speakers were provided by the League who appeared before large audiences over the nation. Many seminars lasting two and three days were conducted by the Church League. Among the speakers provided by the League were:

Dr. Kenneth W. Colegrove, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northwestern University, and well known authority on Far Eastern affairs;

Charles Lachman, retired businessman and Vice President of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania;

Rev. Johnstone Beech, Episcopal minister of Gainesville, Texas;

Col. Walter L. Furbush, former head of Army Intelligence for the Sixth Corps, U.S. Army;

Dr. Alfred P. Haake, managing director of the National Association of Furniture Manufacturers, former Mayor of Park Ridge, Illinois, author and well known economist;

E. Gordon Fox, past President of Chicago's Western Society of Engineers, and retired Vice President of the Koppers Company;

George W. Robnett—and others.

Recently the Church League added several writers to its distinguished list of *NEWS & VIEWS* authors, such as Dr. J. B. Matthews, former Research Director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and Herbert A. Philbrick, who spent nine years as an under-cover spy for the F.B.I. within the Communist Party.

In 1952 the Church League moved its headquarters to Evanston, Illinois, where it acquired considerably more space to house its voluminous library and additional working areas for office employees. Since November of 1956 it has been located in Wheaton, Illinois.

The Library

The library of the Church League of America has accumulated a vast number of books on religious, educational, political and social movements, and on communism, many of which are rare and out of print. It has an entire section for religion, including government hearings by State and Federal authorities; pamphlets, books, and sermons by ministers; youth publications, and Sunday School quarterlies. There is one whole section built around John Dewey, the educator, whose philosophy of pragmatism ("what works is good and the end justifies the means") softened many intellectuals in America for the acceptance of communism.

The Church League headquarters contain thousands of files of individuals and organizations who have been engaged in subversive or "fellow-traveler" activities. These files contain original documents and propaganda published by such organizations as The American League of Peace and Democracy (the first communist-front organization in the United States); the League for Industrial Democracy; the Institute of Pacific Relations; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the People's Institute of Applied Religion; the Workers' Defense League; Americans For Democratic Action; and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Other files contain outright communist data and propaganda such as:

material on the old I.W.W.; - the American-Russian Institute; the John Reed Society; the Jefferson School of Social Science; the American Committee For the Protection of the Foreign Born; and hundreds of others.

In another section are stacks of communist publications running back to the date when the Communist Party was first founded in Chicago in 1919; the *New Masses*, *Daily Record*, *New Times*, the *Daily Worker*, the *Communist*, *Political Affairs*, and the *People's Daily World*.

The Church League files contain nearly 400,000 3x5 cross-referenced index cards on individuals, organizations and publications which serve the communist cause in the United States in at least one or more of the three categories:

- 1) Communist Party members;
- 2) Fellow-travelers, party sympathizers or front-joiners;
- 3) Dupes.

Thousands of ministers have written to the Church League headquarters saying that they have used source material received from Church League headquarters as material for sermons and for instruction in religious institutions.

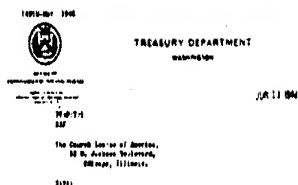
There are not more than twelve files in the entire United States comparable to the Church League files.

Great American daily newspapers, such as the Chicago Herald-American, devoted entire pages to the Church League of America. (See page 16, Part I, Editorial Page of Chicago Sunday Herald-American for February 8, 1942, giving two column wide editorial and three columns on the Church League of America).

Tax Exemption

The Church League has been supported wholly by tax-deductible contributions from individuals, churches, foundations and business corporations through the years.

The Church League of America received tax-exemption status from the U. S. Treasury Department on June 11, 1942. Here is the copy of the letter received from the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue:



Policy and Procedure

An Outline of Policy and Procedure for the Church League of America was adopted by the League in its early beginnings and which sets forth its purpose as follows:

1. The purpose of the Church League of America is—

- To distribute literature to ministers to the extent of financial ability giving them a picture of the dangers to them in our trend toward national socialism;
- To act as a sounding board for publicity in press and magazine—in which way we have reached millions through news releases and newspaper stories;
- To try to influence these ministers and educate them to the point they will, through the vast numbers they in turn reach, extend this influence and education on and help to build a great national bulwark opposed to radical schemes and totalitarian trends;
- Gradually to coordinate the voices of the sound thinking ministers into a powerful voice that can mean something when great national questions and issues arise;
- Gradually to have an effect upon those left-wing ministers who are strongly Socialistic in idealism and action.

The Church League must therefore be considered largely in the nature of a public relations agency functioning for the purpose of stemming the tide that has been flowing toward National Socialism.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE is not a cure all and does not represent itself as such. We are prepared to do a job—a vastly important job—in a field where it is badly needed—where the potential reach is great—and where no

one else is working for the same purpose. For that reason we are entitled to support.

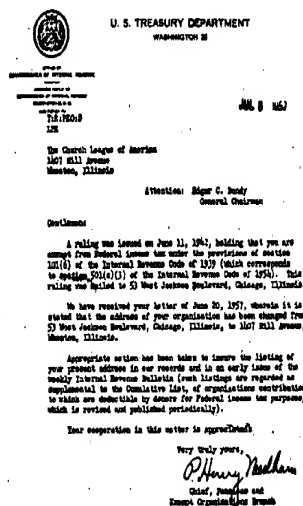
The Purpose of NEWS & VIEWS

- A reporting service for those who support the Church League work—and also to serve itself as a source of income for that program. All the money that comes in for subscriptions to NEWS & VIEWS is turned into the Treasury of the Church League to help carry on the work as described above.
- NEWS & VIEWS is unique and different from anything else published along this line and furnishes its readers with a good running picture of the radical movement—and how it functions.

NEWS & VIEWS enables our sponsors to get their money's worth in actual value for all they contribute to the Church League program and offers them an ideal chance to keep their own key employees informed as to the radical movement which they could not very well otherwise do. Such information is insurance because it makes those who read it more vigilant and more resistant to radical infiltration—and makes them much more intelligent in watching for its inroads. This information is naturally passed along in conversation and otherwise and has far reaching effect.

- NEW & VIEWS has the value also of keeping our sponsors cognizant of what we are doing for it would otherwise be difficult to keep in touch with them in between the times they contribute. In this way they hear from us frequently and know we are alive and on the job.

On July 8, 1957, the U. S. Treasury Department reiterated the tax-exempt status of the Church League in the following letter:



- (e) NEWS & VIEWS has the further effect of letting everybody know that *we know* our subject. It has built a reputation for a genuineness of understanding of the radical movement. In other words, our people know that we are not talking through our hats — but that we have ourselves anchored deep in fact and grasp of the whole subject.

A Statement of Premise and Program

The Church League of America is a voluntary organization of citizens constituted of both Clergy and Laymen who are affiliated with the Christian church movement in America and who are in general agreement with the principles as set forth below:

1. We must rekindle the spirit of valiant Christian Americanism.
2. The American System of free speech, free press, free religion, free assemblage and free enterprise must be maintained in this nation irrespective of what social, economic or political systems any other nation may prefer and adopt.
3. The American Way has provided a wider distribution of prosperity and happiness than any other system of self-government ever attempted by human kind at any time or in any place.
4. This vast global upheaval has unleashed forces which will have far-reaching and dynamic influence upon the spiritual, social, economic and political strata in this nation as well as throughout the world. Revolutionary forces will capitalize and utilize the favorable conditions of unrest that are now a part of and which will follow this titanic struggle. Unprecedented problems will face our own nation as the result of external and internal pressure forces now at work which will be highly active during the readjustment period which we inevitably face.
5. Marxian Socialism is a growing force in this nation (as well as throughout the world) the history, character, and purpose of which is an alarming threat to all existing order. This particularly applies to religion — especially to Christianity.
6. The challenge of destructive,

organized Radicalism must be met intelligently and courageously. These are issues that require greater vigilance and understanding than in former times. The trend toward National Socialism is marked by a desire to centralize and expand Federal authority to encompass and control the minutiae of our lives—and such trend must inevitably eventuate into some form of collectivism *where the sovereignty of the individual is totally eclipsed by the sovereignty of the State.*

7. The best safe-guard against totalitarianism in this country is to preserve the integrity of our Constitutional "checks and balances"—and it is a distinct responsibility on the part of each citizen to help see that this is done. The Legislative—the Judicial—and the Executive Departments of government must remain independent of each other—and a wide range of States' rights must be preserved and respected if our Republic is to endure. Ours is distinctly a limited government deriving its powers from the governed and it must always remain so. Jefferson spoke truly when he said: "In matters of power then let no more be heard of confidence in men but bind down the officers of the government with the chains of the Constitution." *An all-powerful government tends to become arrogant, imperious, extravagant and Fascistic.*

8. The Church League of America, composed of a Committee of Clergy and a Committee of Laymen (The National Laymen's Council), works in common interests and common purpose to preserve those American traditions which constitute the only foundation upon which free institutions can survive.

9. This work is inspired by the Christian philosophy that elevates and dignifies human personality in contrast to the so-called "Collectivist" or Marxian doctrines which seek to make the people the servants of the State. American traditions mirror the State as the servant of the people. Christian philosophy teaches that people are the children of God—not the pawns of a soulless State. There is no place for free religion in either a Fascist or Socialist regime.

10. The Church League of America is a medium of contact between social and intellectual leaders and laymen, serving to bring about a closer mutual understanding and apprecia-

tion of each other's problems and interests in relation to each other and to the American system as a whole. Those who are affiliated with the Church League of America in action or in sympathy recognize that intellectual and spiritual freedom are inseparable from the freedom to accumulate and own—and that free enterprise is the only economic foundation upon which free institutions (churches, colleges, etc.) can satisfactorily survive with their great network of humanitarian activities which are peculiar to the church and education movement in this nation.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIES WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS:

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Reports To Contributors

Annual Reports, showing complete income and expenditures of the Church League of America for the calendar year, are sent to every financial supporter of the League's work.

All contributors are sent receipts and records of contributions are kept on file in triplicate files. Annual reports on the operations of the League are sent to the Treasury Department in accordance with the requirements of established laws.

Our regular publication, NEWS & VIEWS, dealing with some current phase of subversive activity in the church and educational fields, is sent as a service to all who contribute \$5.00 or more per year to sustain the work of the League. For those who send \$10.00 or more per year, special research reports on individuals and organizations, government hearings in the fields of religion and education, and important books are sent, in addition to NEWS & VIEWS.

The League also offers a report service to its \$10.00 or more contributors which includes routine checks, involving twenty separate checking sources on names of individuals, organizations and publications which appear in the contributor's local community. Limitations are placed on this special service according to the amount of the supporter's contribution because of salaries of employees involved and time consumed in investigation and compilation of such reports.

Gifts Sought

Large gifts from Foundations and corporations are especially solicited to take care of the large overhead for maintaining the headquarters.

Plans are being drawn now by a noted architectural firm in Detroit for the new national headquarters building which will involve fundraising in the amount of \$250,000.00. This will be a modern equipped, fire-proof building with ample space for executive offices, work rooms, machine and mail rooms, protected file rooms, radio and recording studios.

Directors

Present members of the Board of Directors of the Church League of America are:

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Past President of the Illinois

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The present temporary General Chairman, who is also serving as Executive Secretary, is Edgar C. Bundy, biographical sketch of whom is as follows:

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON EDGAR C. BUNDY

Born in Stamford, Connecticut, November 1, 1915. son of Merton E. and Ida M. Bundy. Father died in 1918. Mother moved to Miami, Florida, and remarried. Step-father's name, Walton Floyd Studwell.

Attended public schools of Miami and Kissimmee, Florida. Was graduated from Miami Sr. High School with honors, June 1934. Awarded a four year scholarship to Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia, for having had highest average in Senior class of 500. Average of 97.8. Finished freshman year at Oglethorpe with 96. average and transferred to Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, in Fall of 1935.

While at Wheaton College was Director of College News Bureau and sports writer for Chicago papers. Worked entire way through Wheaton College and was graduated with AB degree in June, 1938.

Joined the staff of the Chicago Herald-American in Fall of 1935 and then later with the operations department of American Airlines in New York, and in Chicago.

Entered the Armed Services in February of 1941 and rose in rank from Private to Major, seeing six years of active duty in Air Force Intelligence in every major theatre of war. Served first in South America, then in North Africa, Europe, China-Burma-India and after the war in Alaska. Received Nationalist China's highest aviation decoration from Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, the Bronze Star Medal from Major General Claire Chennault of the 14th Air Force, and five battle stars for major engagements.

Was Chief of Research and Analysis of the Intelligence Section, Headquarters, Alaskan Air Command in 1948 and a Briefing Officer for the Command.

In August 1948, he returned to the United States. Became City Editor of the Daily Journal, Wheaton, Illinois. In June 1949 received invitation from Senator Kenneth McKellar, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee, to testify before full committee in Washington on entire Far Eastern Situation, including China, Siberia, Japan, Manchuria, Korea, the Philippines, South East Asia and Alaska.

Testimony lasted for two hours before members of both Houses of the Congress, representatives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the State Department and all the major news services. The presentation was termed by Republican and Democratic senators

alike as being one of the finest given on the Far East before a Senate Committee. These remarks were read into the record by Senators Bridges, McCarran and McKellar.

Bundy predicted under oath that South Korea would be attacked by the North Korean Communist forces which had been trained and equipped by the Soviets. This prediction was made one year and two days before it occurred. He also warned of the impending fall of China and scored the State Department, Dean Acheson and the Truman Administration for what he termed "appeasement of the Soviet Union and failure to recognize the Communist threat" in the Far East.

As a result of the publicity received from this presentation to the Congress, Bundy answered invitations to speak before leading clubs, conventions, town-halls, forums, patriotic societies, universities and colleges, and for the Republican Party.

Besides testifying frequently before Congressional committees he has supplied them with research material and has aided in the passage of three important bills through the Illinois State Legislature during three sessions, as an individual citizen.

He is a research analyst, lecturer, author and acting General Chairman of the Church League of America. In

1958 he published a 354-page documented book entitled *Collectivism In The Churches* (Devin-Adair Co., N. Y.) exposing the alarming extent to which Communist propaganda has penetrated religious groups and institutions. He is the author of numerous booklets and articles relating to church affairs.

Mr. Bundy was ordained as a Baptist minister in the Southern Baptist Convention, March 1942, in the Emmanuel Baptist Church of Alexandria, Louisiana, with Dr. Herschel H. Hobbs as chairman of the ordaining council.

Bundy is married to Lela May Nash Bundy of Louisiana.

He was awarded the American Legion's Americanism citation for distinguished service by the Department of Illinois, and was selected as Young Man of the Year by the Wheaton Junior Chamber of Commerce, of which he has been a member. He has been a member of the DuPage Young Republican organization, American Veterans of World War II, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Air Force Association, the 14th Air Force Association, the "40 & 8", and Co-ordinator of the DuPage County Coalition of Patriots. He was selected for two successive years as a member of the American Legion National Convention's Americanization Committee by the Illinois Legion,

and served as secretary of the Joint Foreign Relations - Americanization Convention Committees.

He is a Baptist and a member of the Twin City Baptist Temple of Mishawaka, Indiana. He holds a Major's commission in the U. S. Air Force Reserve and teaches frequently in Air Force schools as a guest lecturer.

All ministers and educators are placed on the mailing list for NEWS & VIEWS as soon as their names are forwarded to the Church League office, without a contribution being required. This is made possible by the lay contributors, upon whom the Church League depends for support.

The Church League sponsors Christian conferences and counter-subversive seminars in cities throughout the Nation. It has reached untold thousands of leaders in community life in many of the major cities of the United States.

Your contribution in support of the Church League is earnestly solicited.

Remember the League

Please consider remembering the Church League in your will so that future generations may enjoy freedom to worship in the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave.

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Annual Reports, showing complete

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